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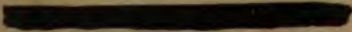
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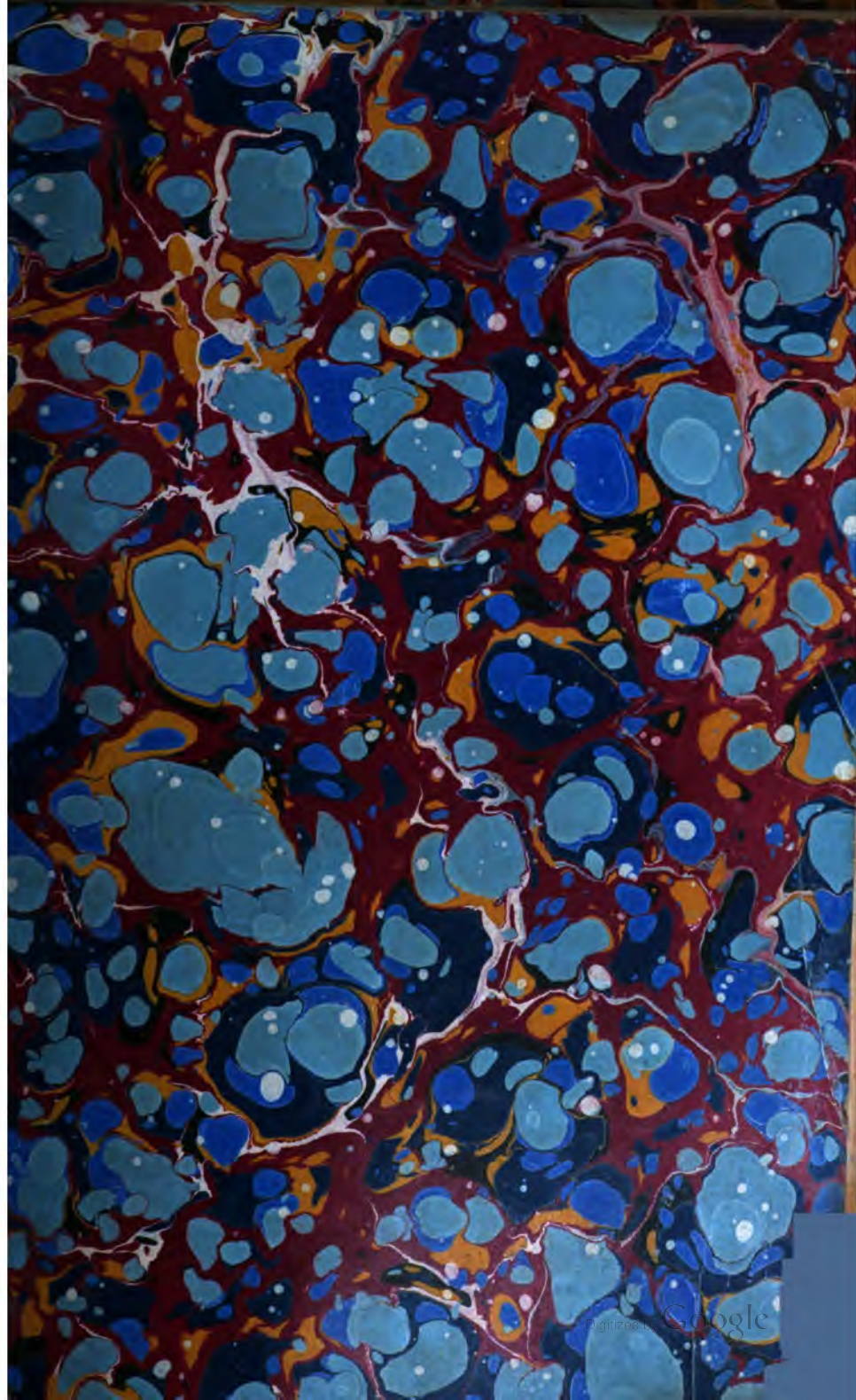


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**1887.**



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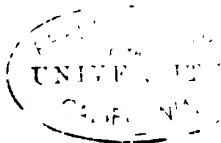
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AND ABROAD,

FOR THE YEAR

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NEW SERIES.



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# ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1887.

## PART I.

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THE perplexities into which Lord Salisbury had been thrown by the abrupt withdrawal of Lord Randolph Churchill were not lessened by Lord Hartington's refusal to take office, although the arguments by which the latter supported his determination were irrefutable. The formal coalition of the Unionist Liberals with the Conservatives would, in all probability, have brought about an immediate disruption of the former party. The Radical section, under Mr. Chamberlain, would hesitate to pledge its support of a Ministry in which the Conservatives must of necessity predominate, and in the policy of which they could have no deciding voice. On the other hand, so long as Lord Hartington remained untrammelled by official pledges he would be the recognised leader of the Unionists, and by the weight of his following might hope to exercise a sensible influence over the legislation of the session. Moreover, the defeat of the Salisbury Cabinet, whenever it happened, could, in the existing state of parties, only be followed by a Coalition Cabinet, of which it was useless to stake the existence prematurely.

Mr. Goschen, to whom Lord Salisbury next turned, was altogether in a different position. He had no seat in the House of Commons; he had on many important occasions in the past few years separated himself from the Liberal party, especially when it supported proposals he regarded as visionary or unsound.

His reputation as a financier, moreover, would give to the Conservative policy the qualities it had lacked since Sir Stafford Northcote's elevation to the peerage; and, above all, the entry of Mr. Goschen into the Cabinet would definitely bar the way to the return of Lord R. Churchill, and the subsequent disruption of the Conservative party.

Mr. Goschen, however, was by no means eager to entertain the overtures that were made to him by Lord Salisbury. He insisted upon certain conditions, of which, probably, the most important was the maintenance of his existing relations with Lord Hartington.

The introduction of two other Unionists into the Cabinet, although readily agreed to by Lord Salisbury, was found to be less easy of arrangement. Lord Northbrook and Lord Lansdowne were offered seats in the Cabinet, but to the satisfaction of all parties, especially to the Tories, they declined, and Mr. Goschen, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, was the only representative of the Unionist Whigs in the remodelled Cabinet. The other changes following upon Lord R. Churchill's resignation were chiefly departmental. Mr. W. H. Smith resigned the Secretaryship of War for the post of First Lord of the Treasury, coupled with the leadership of the House of Commons, the Hon. E. Stanhope succeeding to the vacancy thus created. Lord Iddesleigh, ever ready to stand aside when the public interest was at stake, resigned the Foreign Office to Lord Salisbury, and Sir Henry Holland, the Vice-President of the Council, was promoted to the Secretaryship for the Colonies with a seat in the Cabinet. How far Lord Iddesleigh felt that a slight had been put upon him will probably never be known; but his sudden death, almost at the moment that his successor was entering upon his new duties, cast a cloud over the prospects of the Cabinet, which subsequent events deepened.

Lord Hartington's anticipation that a closer understanding between the Unionists and the Conservatives would lead to something like uneasiness, if not revolt, on the part of the Radicals, was speedily justified by the result. The negotiations between Lord Salisbury and Lord Hartington had scarcely commenced before Mr. Chamberlain had raised the question why, if the Unionists and Gladstonians thought alike upon every point outside Ireland, and upon three points out of four in Ireland, they could not agree to a line of policy in which all were agreed, and then consider whether the point on which they differed was still required. Mr. Gladstone at once saw the chance thus offered for composing the differences among his followers, and cordially supported the idea of a conference between the principal leaders of the two sections. Mr. John Morley and Sir William Harcourt representing the Home Rule party, Mr. Chamberlain and Sir George Trevelyan on behalf of the Unionists, and Lord Herschell, the ex-Chancellor, acting as president, were selected to meet and in-

formally discuss the whole Irish question, with a view of arriving at the basis of a settlement acceptable to both sections of the Liberal party. Mr. Gladstone lost no time in giving the proposal his support, and in showing that he was ready to co-operate in any scheme of reconciliation. To Sir William Harcourt, who had been the ostensible originator of the Conference, he wrote as follows :—

“ Hawarden Castle, Chester : Jan. 2, 1887.

“ My dear Harcourt,—As I wrote to you some days ago, I consider the recent speech of Mr. Chamberlain at Birmingham to be an important fact, of which due account ought to be taken. I think that, if handled on all sides in a proper spirit, it ought to lead to what I may term a *modus vivendi* in the Liberal party. I should be very glad if any means could be found for bringing about a free discussion of the points of difference, with a view of arriving at some understanding for such common action as may be consistent with our respective principles, or at least of reducing to a minimum the divergences of opinion upon the Irish question in its several parts and branches.

“ Having, as you may remember, spoken in this sense when you were here some weeks ago, I shall not excite your surprise by retaining the opinion now that some encouragement has been given to it by an occurrence such as the recent speech of Mr. Chamberlain ; and I think that if such a consultation is to take place it is desirable that there should be no concealment about it, because rumour in these cases easily springs up, and travels fast to untrue or premature conclusions.

“ You are, therefore, at liberty to make such use of this letter as you may think proper.—Believe me, yours sincerely,

“ W. E. GLADSTONE.”

Mr. Chamberlain's original intention had been to postpone Home Rule, and to discuss the questions of Irish land, local self-government, and municipal reform—points on which there was fair ground for agreement. But in view of Mr. Gladstone's strongly expressed wishes the original limits of the discussion were, it was agreed, to be extended so as to embrace all points of the Irish question. From the very first it must be said that public opinion anticipated few, if any, practical results from the Conference. The divergences of opinion between the members were too radical to permit any settlement short of an absolute abandonment of conditions which one or other considered vital. The first sitting, however, took place on the day originally fixed (Jan. 18), and the discussion, it was understood, turned chiefly upon the land question. As, however, the proceedings were private, nothing definite transpired as to the result of the meeting, beyond the fact that, after sitting for some hours on three consecutive days, they adjourned until after the meeting of Parliament.



Meanwhile the first object of the reconstructed Cabinet had been to find a seat for Mr. Goschen. The death of Mr. Duncan, a Gladstonian Liberal who had been returned by a majority of 170 for the Exchange division of Liverpool (the only seat carried by that party in Liverpool at the General Election), offered an opportunity of testing how far the alliance of the Unionists and Conservatives would prevail against the Liberals of that constituency. The struggle promised to be a severe one, and the result doubtful; but Mr. Goschen, after a short hesitation, decided to engage in the contest. In his address to the electors he said, "A Liberal all my life, I have yet thought it the duty of men of all parties to close their ranks in the face of a common danger. Under the influence of that deep conviction I have rallied to the government of Lord Salisbury, and I now ask the electors of this division, Conservatives and Liberal Unionists alike, to rally to me. . . . The issue between us and our opponents is a plain one—the maintenance of the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland. This issue is as paramount to-day as it was at the General Election six months ago. Now, as then, Unionists of all parties see in the proposal to establish a separate Legislature in Ireland, with an Executive responsible to it, not only disaster to both countries, but an abandonment of national duty. Nothing has occurred in the past six months to weaken that conviction, and much has occurred to strengthen it. The majority of Englishmen will be less willing than ever to surrender any portion of the United Kingdom to be governed by the advocates of the Plan of Campaign. Thus far the efforts of the Unionists have been triumphant in averting such a catastrophe, but unwearied patience and unflinching courage will be necessary to maintain the victory which we have won.

"But, though the defence of the Union must at this moment be the supreme consideration, we have to look to it that other national interests do not suffer in the meanwhile. We cannot allow the discontent of some three millions of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom to reduce more than thirty millions to impotence. We cannot allow that discontent either to paralyse our power abroad or to destroy our capacity for legislation at home. The Separatist party delude themselves with the idea that surrender to sedition in Ireland will secure tranquillity in Great Britain and a peaceful era of beneficent legislative activity. I do not believe it. On the contrary, such surrender would, in my opinion, be the first step in a downward course of national disintegration and decay. While yielding to none in my desire to promote the welfare of our Irish fellow-citizens, and to foster in Ireland the growth of industries and the development of prosperity, which lawless agitation has done so much to check, I utterly repudiate the idea that our popular Government is not competent to maintain the law, and to cope with excesses which, if unchecked, will bring free institutions into disgrace."

Mr. Goschen then went on to say that he appealed to the electors as a Unionist, prepared to sink differences on questions which, great and important in themselves, must yet be subordinated to the supreme issue of the integrity of the State. After remarking that he rejoiced to think that, in accepting the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Salisbury's Government, he had the cordial concurrence of Lord Hartington and the great majority of the Liberal Unionist party, he concluded:

"Let me once more remind you that the Union is our watchword. I have broken some cherished ties in order to take up my post at that point of the line of battle where Lord Salisbury and the leader of the Liberal Unionists thought that I could render most effectual service. I do not conceal from myself that in voting for me some of you also may be sacrificing lifelong habits and traditions. But I ask you to make that sacrifice for the sake of our common cause."

The Gladstonian Liberals brought forward in opposition to Mr. Goschen a London barrister, Mr. Ralph Neville, who had contested another division of Liverpool at the General Election, and who in his address declared that the Irish difficulty should be boldly met by a scheme of self-government, in accordance with the sentiment of the Irish people.

In his first address to the Liverpool electors Mr. Goschen alluded to the altered aspect of affairs in Ireland, throwing the blame upon those "teachers of Ireland" whom the returning confidence did not suit. He declared that Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's clemency, or "lenient enforcement of the law," had been met by increased agitation, and by the "Plan of Campaign," which, though not accepted by Mr. Parnell, had been viewed with silence by many English politicians. Mr. Goschen fully admitted the serious fall which had taken place in the price of cattle, but he attributed it not to bad seasons, but to the antagonism between landlord and tenant, which prevented the former from carrying out those improvements by the introduction of new stock which in other countries were their first duty and privilege. Mr. Goschen went on to say that the Land Act of 1881 had proved a gigantic failure, and that the system of purchase it inaugurated had broken down. He thought the duty of British statesmen was to develop to the utmost the industries of Ireland, and to promote its prosperity, whilst at the same time they maintained order. Their views, however, failed to satisfy the Liverpool electors that the policy of the Government would lead to the pacification of Ireland; and although Mr. Goschen succeeded in reducing the Gladstonian majority from 170 to 7, he failed to carry the seat, and Parliament met without a Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The sudden death of Lord Idlesleigh under circumstances almost dramatic drew away for a moment public attention from election contests. It was felt on all sides that Lord Idlesleigh's death was in some measure due to the unceremonious way in

which he had been treated by his colleagues in the rearrangement of the Cabinet. It was said that he received the first notice of Lord Salisbury's resumption of the Foreign Office through the newspapers, and that, although his complete unselfishness prevented him from complaining or resenting the treatment, he received a blow from which he never rallied. Lord Salisbury's intention may have been prematurely communicated to the papers, but there was no evidence of any misunderstanding between the two statesmen; but the action of the Prime Minister was fully justified by the critical condition which European politics suddenly developed, and by the growing irritation, publicly expressed, between France and Germany. The storm-cloud, however, which at one time seemed about to burst over Europe, dispersed by degrees, leaving behind it no other traces than increased elements of mischief on both sides of the Rhine.

In our country public attention was soon called back to the strife of parties, and to the efforts of the leaders on both sides to animate their followers. The unwelcome, and in some degree unexpected failure of the Gladstonian Liberals in London and its suburbs set the party managers thinking how the disasters of the past could be repaired in the future. Under the auspices of Mr. Causton and Mr. Schnadhorst it was decided to establish a Liberal and Radical Union for London, which should take up in the metropolis the work which had been so successfully carried out in the provinces by the Birmingham Association. At the inaugural meeting, held in St. James's Hall (Jan. 11), Mr. John Morley occupied the chair, and sketched out the programme of the new association. He deprecated any attempt to interfere with local associations. The local associations, whether Radical or Liberal, or composed of Liberals and Radicals alike, would send representatives to that Union, which was intended to aid the Liberal cause in that, the most Conservative of English regions. Mr. Morley also discouraged mutual suspicion. The greater his experience in politics, the less suspicious he became. He was, indeed, quite convinced that the men who differed from him were just as honest as himself. Mr. Morley took credit to himself for having warned the Liberals that they should not say grace for Lord Randolph Churchill's promised banquet of popular measures until the dish-covers had been removed. Already the banquet had become a mere phantom banquet. Though the old Tory pump was fitted with a new Radical handle, the thread of water issuing from it was a very thin one even at first, and now the handle had come off. Mr. Goschen's secession to the Government had not, in Mr. Morley's opinion, very much altered the level of the Liberal party. An American who wanted to make the most of his successful fishing had boasted that when he got his fish out of the lake, the waters of the lake sank a couple of feet. He did not think that Lord Salisbury, after landing his fish, would be able to make a similar boast.

Mr. Bryce, whose confidence in the Liberalism of the London electors had been shown by his hasty retreat from the Tower Hamlets to Aberdeen, followed in a colourless speech. Its natural sequel was an amendment moved by the Radicals, who did not like to amalgamate the Radicals with the Liberals, and thought that the result would be to weaken Radicalism, and to render the Radicals less powerful for protest against such a policy as the Liberal Government had followed in Egypt. But this proposal was resisted by Mr. Bradlaugh, and the Radical amendment defeated by an overwhelming majority; and a resolution for the formation of the Liberal and Radical Union in London was passed.

With few and unimportant exceptions the interval between the remodelling of the Cabinet and the meeting of Parliament was unmarked by any political speeches. Both parties were watching the progress of events in Ireland, where Sir M. Hicks-Beach was using all his influence to restrain bad landlords from converting the law into an instrument of oppression. With singular courage, and in spite of the murmurs of his own supporters, he held to the policy announced in his Bristol speech; and for his reward he could point to a marked diminution of lawlessness and crime throughout Ireland. The hopes which were rising that the winter might be got through without any serious outbreak of disaffection, were rudely dispelled by an opinion pronounced from the Bench during the trial of the Woodford rioters. Lord Chief Baron Pales, before whom the case was tried, laid down that the attempt to withdraw the police from supporting the legal claims of private individuals was altogether unjustifiable. Sir Redvers Buller, who with the approval of the Chief Secretary had been exercising a "dispensing power," at once found himself censured by the mouthpiece of the law, and his influence destroyed. The "Plan of Campaign" forthwith took the field, and was warmly welcomed on those estates where rack-renting and ejectment were rife. In reply, the cry for the enforcement of "law and order" began to be heard, especially in the English press, and the Government was urged to take prompt measures to vindicate its authority. The *Times* in this conclave took a prominent part. In the course of an article (Jan. 11) on the political situation it observed that "what is seriously to be feared is the failure of the Irish executive to grapple effectually with the conspiracy to prevent the payment of rent and to depress the value of land in Ireland." It went on to explain: "We do not underrate the difficulties which impede the course of the law in Ireland, and we are willing to believe that the attempts to cope with the Plan of Campaign by prosecuting a few agitators are not meant to remain without result. A more important question, however, is involved in the attitude of the Irish executive towards the landowners whose rights are assailed, and who cannot resort to the

law for their vindication without the assistance and the protection of the Government. Unfortunately, it is too clear from the evidence of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Sir Redvers Buller, and Captain Plunkett in the Dublin police court, as well as from the charge of Chief Baron Palles at Sligo, that the vigorous enforcement of the law against tenants combining to refuse the payment of rent is discouraged by the Irish executive. It is not, we are sorry to say, true that weakness in this direction has been long ago corrected. We have excellent reasons for believing that high officials, undoubtedly acting under direct orders from the Chief Secretary, have taken upon them to advise landlords not to proceed in the only effectual manner against tenants who have adopted the Plan of Campaign. Combination must be met by decisive action against the whole combined body; but this is precisely the course discountenanced by the Government, which, nevertheless, is supposed to be contending against Mr. Dillon's policy. Nor must it be imagined that these counsels of concession—which are perfectly well known to the leaders of the League—are not backed up by strong practical arguments. When a landlord who desires to resort to his legal remedies is 'advised' to try to come to a settlement with his tenants through the priest—generally the prime mover in the mischief—or is met with the derisory suggestion that he should evict one or two of his tenants out of scores or hundreds, he has to consider what measure of aid he will receive from the executive, and what protection will be given to his servants and agents. Nothing could be more fatal to the hope of restoring order and peace in Ireland than the repudiation by the Government of the duty of protecting the persons and asserting the rights, subject to the decrees of the public tribunals, of a class marked out for spoliation by an 'illegal and criminal conspiracy.' "

To these warnings, following so closely upon the Lord Chief Baron's judgment, must in some degree be attributed the action of the Irish executive at Glenbeigh in South Kerry. To support Mr. Winn in his struggle with his tenants, a large force of constabulary was employed to support the sheriff's officers; a severe conflict ensued, and the cottiers, after a protracted struggle, were overpowered. The cry for another Coercion Bill was raised in various quarters, and every word uttered by a Cabinet Minister was weighed and tested in order to discover the intentions of that body. The *Standard*, which for some time had played the part of "candid friend" to the Government, nevertheless appeared to receive some of its confidences; and shortly before Parliament met loudly announced (Jan. 18) that it was finally decided at the Cabinet Council (of Jan. 16) to "bring in a Bill at the beginning of the session to deal more effectually with the agrarian conspiracy." The *Standard*, however, in making this announcement warned the Ministry of the

risks they would be running unless at the same time they legalised "the dispensing power." "There are some landlords," it wrote, "who have not behaved with any show of respect for the commonplaces of equity, and who have done gross wrong to those whose lives even depended on their forbearance. . . . Such landlords have no right to be supplied by the Government with the means of carrying out the decrees granted them by the strict process of law."

Had it not been for the extraordinary scare aroused by the *Daily News*, which boldly announced that Germany and France were on the eve of a struggle which would probably involve the whole of Europe in war, it is probable that the peaceful meeting at Hawick (Jan. 22) would have attracted more attention. The occasion was the presentation to Sir George Trevelyan of his portrait in recognition of his services to the Liberal cause and to the Border burghs. The testimonial was the gift of his constituents who, at the General Election, had been unable to return him against his more Radical and Home Rule opponents. On the present occasion he was accompanied to Hawick by Mr. Chamberlain, who with him had quitted Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet, when the Home Rule Bill had been introduced in 1886, and who at that moment was his colleague at the "Round Table Conference," by which it was hoped some means would be found for healing the breach in the Liberal party. The objections of the two Unionists to Mr. Gladstone's measure were not identical, but both were agreed upon the dangers to which both Ireland and the United Kingdom would be exposed. Their appearance together in public, therefore, at such a moment was regarded as significative of the determination of the Unionists to sink minor differences, and to work together towards a common end. The greater portion of Sir George Trevelyan's speech was devoted to a review of the victories of Liberalism, in which he had taken an active part; the extension of county franchise, army reform, primary education, and many other measures having for object the good of the masses. All those results had been attained, argued Sir George Trevelyan, because the Liberal party had been united, but the dissension incident upon Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy had brought about a series of disasters, and the power of the party for good was temporarily shattered. And he went on to say, "There is no prospect of things mending until Liberals can come to some agreement among themselves. The public men who dissented from the majority of their party did not go out lightly. They gave up office, seats in Parliament, popularity, old associations, political and social; and, having made this great sacrifice for the sake of honour and conscience, you may be sure that they will never even be tempted to surrender honour and conscience for the sake of getting back what they have lost. The future scheme for arranging the relations between Great Britain and Ireland such as I would be content to see, and the



scheme that was embodied in the famous Bill that was rejected in June last, differ in particulars which I regard as most vitally important, and which would have to be arranged before I could be satisfied, either as an elector or as a member of Parliament; but I assert most confidently that those particulars do not touch anything in the scheme which, if altered, would make it less of a truly Liberal measure, or, if brought forward or recommended to Parliament by the Liberal leaders as a body, would make it one whit less truly acceptable to the people of Ireland. I speak this for myself. But I believe that in speaking for myself I likewise speak the mind of a great many Liberal members who voted against the Irish Bills in the last Parliament, and a vast number of the voters who supported them at the General Election. More I cannot say, for, as you well know, I am engaged in a consultation called for the purpose of arriving at those common views which I am quite satisfied exist, if only we choose to find them; and I can hardly speak more in detail without being disloyal to men who were my colleagues in the Cabinet once, who are my fellow-workers in this conference now, and who, whatever has happened or may happen, are and will be my friends always. As to what is passing or may pass at the conference I can say nothing; but about the conference itself it is necessary to say at least a word. Cold water has been thrown on this attempt to reunite the Liberal party from a most important quarter. The great event of the last fortnight has been Mr. Goschen's acceptance of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer in a Conservative Government. Now, I do not hesitate to say that of all the changes across the floor of the House of Commons which have taken place in recent memory, this of Mr. Goschen has been marked with the most perfect propriety. When the Liberals came in in 1880, and stayed in for five years, and looked as though they were going to stay in for twenty, Mr. Goschen for conscience' sake refused office, and continued to refuse it at a time of life when office is most attractive to a man of energy and ability. He refused office on grounds which go to the very root of the difference between the Liberal and Conservative creeds—whether Whigs or Tories were in power he remained a private member, and a most important private member, for twelve years, and after that period of probation he takes office with Lord Salisbury with as clear and indisputable a justification as any public man could ever claim. But it is quite another thing when, speaking not in the interests of the country, and I do not believe even in the highest interests of Conservatism, he taunts the adherents of Mr. Gladstone with making or accepting advances for reunion, and indicates a pretty strong desire that those advances should not be crowned with success. The truest test of Liberalism, and of patriotism too, at this moment is that a man should be sincerely desirous that the Liberal party should once more be united on terms honourable to itself and advan-

tageous to the nation ; for it is the most fatal mistake to imagine that the efficiency and the reputation of either of our two great parties are merely a party interest. This is the moment when it is the duty of every Liberal to stay in the Liberal ranks if he can find a solid foothold there. The great danger of the Liberal party now is that various motives, in themselves honourable—sympathy with Irish sentiment, regret for past injustice towards Ireland, and for hardships endured by individual Irish tenants—should lead Liberals to approve and abet the proceedings of a good many of the Nationalist politicians. When a Nationalist member of Parliament persuades tenants not to come to terms with their landlord—knowing, as he does, that his action will result in many cases in a violent breach of the peace and the commercial ruin of the unfortunate farmers whom he professes to protect—he is doing that which admits of no defence whatever. And if all the Liberals who will have nothing to say to these proceedings, and who are prepared to denounce and to resist them, instead of trying to convert their party to their own views, give up the game as a bad job, then you may be very sure that the Liberal party will suffer most fatally in the estimation of the public. I am not going to leave the Liberal party because a certain number of people tell me that I must use fair words with regard to the violent utterances and illegal actions of those who are conducting the Plan of Campaign—utterances and actions which I believe are heartily disapproved by nine-tenths of the Liberals of the United Kingdom. It is our business boldly and strenuously to apply a remedy to the evils in the political and social constitution of Ireland, and it is to discuss how the remedy may be both efficient and safe that the conference is now sitting ; and it is our business likewise boldly and strenuously to see that the law, both now and hereafter, is asserted and obeyed. That was the creed of Liberalism in old days, and I believe that it is so still.” Claiming for Mr. Chamberlain and himself the right to be regarded as representatives of the old Liberal party with its wide sympathies and love of reform, and expressing the hope that the country would be spared the experience of politics becoming a war of classes, which “ would infallibly happen if, whenever a Liberal cannot endorse the official Liberal policy of the moment, he throws up the game and goes over to the other camp. The first interest of us all, which concerns Whig and Tory alike, is that public men should be true to their pledges. And what were the pledges I gave ? I said a year ago in Warwickshire, in words that have often been misquoted, that I never would consent to give out of the hands of the central Government the control of law and order in Ireland ; and I said in Parliament that sooner than put the lives and safety of law-abiding Irishmen in the power of the lawless and the unscrupulous, I would surrender my career and retire into private life. That pledge has been kept. I am not a public man any longer, but a private

citizen like all of you. I have accepted my fate cheerfully and even proudly, but further I will not go, and I will never transfer my political allegiance. If those who are charged with the guidance and fortunes of the Liberal party think it right to ostracise me and you and the tens and hundreds of thousands of Liberals like us in the constituencies of the kingdom, if they think that by so doing they are advancing the interests of true Liberalism, we believe that they are making a grave and fatal mistake, but the fault will be theirs and not ours."

At the banquet which followed Mr. Chamberlain was the chief speaker. After rehearsing Sir George Trevelyan's claims to the gratitude of the Liberals in the past, he went on to speak of the prospects of the future, in which he found evidence of a strong desire to restore the unity of the party which had been so great an instrument of progress. Without hinting at the topics which had been under discussion at the conference, Mr. Chamberlain bore witness to the sincere desire of all directly or indirectly represented at it to carry agreement to the utmost limits consistent with the maintenance of those principles which each member regarded as fundamental. "There are some," he continued, "who say that no compromise can be allowed, no settlement take place, unless Mr. Gladstone retires from the leadership of the Liberal party and confesses the errors he has committed. There are others who declare that no arrangement of any kind should be listened to unless Sir G. Trevelyan and myself are sufficiently contrite and humble; and unless we recant our heresy we are not to be allowed, we are not to be received into the arms of those gentlemen who are generally very sincere politicians. Gentlemen, I shall not break any confidence at all when I tell you that no such pretension as this by either side has entered or will enter into the deliberations, into the proceedings of our friendly discussion. If the union of the Liberal party can only be accomplished by the humiliation of one or other of its sections, if it can only be purchased by the betrayal of principles manfully asserted hitherto and persistently maintained, then I say, better a manly strife and an honest difference of opinion than a patched-up peace bought by dishonourable concessions. And it is because I believe that at all events a great approximation to peace, if not a complete agreement, may be attained without betrayal of the trust which has been reposed in us that I ask you to await with hope and confidence the result of our further deliberations. I am well aware that even if we are as successful as we hope in bringing about a common agreement among ourselves our task is only half accomplished, unless we have the sanction and approval of others who are more influential than we are. But that is a prospect which does not discourage me. I am not hopeless of an appeal to the patriotism of our statesmen. Do you not think this question of Ireland has been long enough the sport of parties? Has not Ireland

been long enough a playground for British politicians and for Irish agitators? May it not be possible even now at this last moment to arrange a national settlement of what is after all a national difficulty? This great Irish problem has baffled our statesmanship and distracted our politics for centuries."

Mr. Chamberlain then passed in review the various phases of the Irish question, beginning with the land. "Where is the remedy to be found," he asked, "for the state of things which I have explained? I suppose everybody has been brought by recent events, if not by past experience, to the conviction that the matter must be dealt with wholly and comprehensively, that nothing short of a great measure will settle this question. Such a measure has settled similar questions, as when the serfs were enfranchised in Russia, or when the peasants of Germany were made owners. Only by dealing with the question in this way is there any chance of securing anything like finality; and any measure that is proposed must seek in the first place to do away with all this complication of dual tenure, and get rid of landlords and substitute cultivating owners in every case. And in the second place it must make adequate and effective provision for enlarging the smaller holdings, for reselling the land among the occupiers of the land, so that at least all those who remain upon it shall have land enough to give them the chance of a comfortable and happy existence. I will not dwell on Mr. Gladstone's last attempt to deal with this matter. It was a great attempt, a very bold and a very generous attempt, but I think it was conclusively repudiated by the country. It was repudiated because the electors thought, and in my judgment rightly, that it involved too great a risk and was likely to impose too heavy a burden upon the British taxpayers for the benefit of Irish landlords. It is quite true that Mr. Gladstone said that the risk would be infinitesimal, and any statement coming from him with his great financial experience is entitled to the most serious consideration. But the inference I draw from that statement is this—and I should make it a cardinal principle in any future legislation—that if Irish security is good enough for the British Exchequer and for English and Scotch taxpayers, it is good enough for the Irish landlords. And in any future scheme I believe it will be found impossible to put the risk anywhere but upon the right shoulders—in fact, to keep the risk where it is at present."

Admitting that Lord Ashbourne's Act had been taken advantage of to a considerable extent, Mr. Chamberlain thought it failed in being voluntary and not compulsory, and that its operations, limited to five millions, were too restricted. On the other hand, if the Act were deprived of these two conditions, the money required would be as much as under Mr. Gladstone's Bill, and the risk to the British taxpayer greater. Mr. Chamberlain next dwelt at some length on the political position.

He placed side by side Mr. Gladstone's main principle, the avowed policy of the Conservatives, and the conditions demanded by the Unionists; and he concluded that there was nothing in these conditions inconsistent with the main principle of Mr. Gladstone's Bill, namely, the establishment of some kind of legislative authority in Ireland for the transaction of domestic business, applicable in principle to other parts of the kingdom, and with ample guarantees for the unity of the empire, and for the rights of minorities. At the same time the Conservatives were prepared for great reforms in local government, and to review the whole of the irritating centralising system of administration known as "the Castle." They might think Mr. Gladstone's guarantees inadequate, but once launched upon reform of "the Castle" administration, they would be forced to substitute for it some kind of legislative authority. From this point of view of the position of parties Mr. Chamberlain believed that a compromise might be arrived at which would be satisfactory to all, and would give such a measure of autonomy to Ireland as would satisfy all reasonable desires. Mr. Chamberlain went on to say, "Every one of the conditions laid down by Lord Hartington would be met by the adoption or by the adaptation of the internal Constitution of Canada. The Constitution of Canada preserves to the Dominion Parliament, which represents what the Imperial Parliament would represent in our case, its supreme authority. The subjects committed to the local Legislatures are strictly defined, are delegated, and not surrendered, are subject in certain cases to revision and control. There is an analogy in the Constitution of Canada for the separate treatment of provinces which are distinct in race and which differ in relation. And, lastly, the administration of justice in Canada is under the control of the Dominion authority, and is absolutely independent and free from local pressure and from local interference. . . . But you will ask, 'Will the Irish party accept a proposal of this kind?' I look to Mr. Parnell as the only authorised exponent of Irish Nationalist policy, and Mr. Parnell is very well able to keep his own counsel and to say what he has to say without reference to what his subordinates have said before him. All I can say is that in recent times he has never said anything inconsistent with the acceptance of such a plan as I have suggested. On the other hand, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, who is, I think, vice-chairman of the Irish Parliamentary party, has in a long article declared that his plan of Home Rule would be based upon the establishment between England and Ireland of similar relations to those which exist between the provinces of Canada and Ottawa. Under those circumstances I do not dismiss as an absolutely impossible hypothesis that the time may shortly come when we shall all be once again a happy family. But, further, I would say this—if any scheme should be elaborated after full and public discussion

(because no one supposes that anything which may be decided in secret conclave can be accepted without the fullest public criticism and public sanction)—if such a plan should be ultimately elaborated, if it should commend itself to the majority of the English and Scotch people, if it should satisfy the demands of patriotic and fair-minded Irishmen, I hope that the Irish people will give to it an impartial and a calm examination; and if they approve of it I would not allow anybody to stand between them and the boon which was so freely offered to them."

The reception of these speeches by the London and Dublin journals gave little hope that the attempts to come to an understanding would be helped forward by the advisers of the tenantry; whilst in England Mr. Chamberlain's eirenikon was received with general scepticism. The *Times* wrote of it, "Mr. Chamberlain's bias is very strongly on the side of comprehension, and we think that it has led him to overlook or underrate some real difficulties, and to deal with the subject too much as if human conduct were wholly governed by pure reason. If land is to be first dealt with, we have to reckon with the National League, and the primary problem remains just what it is at this moment—how to make the law respected and to protect the honest and law-abiding. Mr. Chamberlain does not refer to this difficulty, or to the divergence of opinion which it excites, yet his programme does nothing whatever to turn it. Mr. Chamberlain's programme has only to be taken seriously, and seriously thought out, to bring us back to the old question—Are you going to make imperial law absolute in Ireland or are you not? If that question is answered in the affirmative, then, but not before, we get a basis for Mr. Chamberlain's procedure. Unless the National League is put down and the law vindicated Mr. Chamberlain's constructive legislation is morally impossible, while Mr. Gladstone's destructive legislation is morally easy and nearly inevitable. That is the dominant fact of the situation, which we very seriously commend to Mr. Chamberlain's attention."

The *Standard*, which all along took a wider view of the duties of England towards Ireland than its contemporary, said, "Mr. Chamberlain is either in pursuit of shadow, or he is actuated by some *arrière pensée* which it is not expedient to declare. Suppose, for the sake of argument, that the whole body of Scotch and English members could agree upon some Irish measure such as Mr. Chamberlain sees in his dreams, and that Mr. Gladstone were willing to abandon all his ideas of Home Rule, what would happen? The Bill would be passed. Parties would revert to their original attitudes, and in a little while, perhaps, British parties would be fairly equal, faced by an Irish contingent of sixty or seventy as discontented as ever. We should then have our work to do over again, and have had all our trouble for nothing. We do not, therefore, believe that a



compromise on the Irish question would end in any permanent reunion of the Liberals."

The *Daily News*, in its eagerness for reunion, wrote, "The past is gone, and we are glad to recognise the new tone. The triumph of Mr. Gladstone's principle, which Mr. Chamberlain declares he never repudiated, and which he now again cheerfully professes, is assured with time. Mr. Chamberlain in his speech contributed points to the discussion which deserve consideration. But the most important for the day is his recognition of the impossibility of remaining where we are. We shall soon learn whether Lord Hartington is inclined to take the same line. If not, the speeches at Hawick mark the beginning of the disintegration of Liberal Unionism, and once begun it must inevitably be rapid."

On the other side of St. George's Channel, the chief organ of the Nationalists, the *Freeman's Journal*, wrote, "Both Sir George Trevelyan and Mr. Chamberlain appear to have moved forward since last year. They have not advanced far enough, and we cannot see how the bulk of the Liberal party can accept the terms of reconciliation specified by Mr. Chamberlain without abandoning the principles that they have pledged themselves to maintain. It is better that Home Rule should be delayed for twenty years, if needs be, rather than that it should be a farce. We say advisedly that such local autonomy as Mr. Chamberlain professes himself willing to concede could never be accepted as a final settlement by the Irish people. If this is his last word, better fight the issue out on the lines laid down if it costs us years of suffering and turmoil."

The *Irish Times* viewed matters more hopefully:—"Matters at this moment are well controlled by the coalition; and if Mr. Chamberlain were to triumph in his undertaking of bringing the Liberal party together again upon a plan of modified local government, a government applicable equally to England, Scotland, and Ireland in its safest form, there would still remain, we believe, sufficient of a coalition in the constituencies and among the public to ensure that the plan would be well considered."

The *Dublin Express*, on the other hand, said, "In the face of Mr. Sexton's declaration that nothing but independence will satisfy the Irish, Mr. Chamberlain would be more sanguine and less cool-headed than he is reputed to be if he long indulged in a hope that his compromise would solve the Irish difficulty and be accepted as a final settlement."

The hopeful expectations to which Mr. Chamberlain gave expression were not in the end realised. The "Round Table" Conference indeed met again and again, but without coming any nearer to agreement. To whom the failure was mainly due is an open question. The members of the conference were pledged to secrecy as to what took place round Sir William Har-

court's dinner-table, and it is only by piecing together the hints and allusions subsequently let fall by the guests, and still more by their mutual recriminations, that we have any clue to their discussions and divisions.

Upon one point, at all events, at the outset of the negotiations all parties were agreed—namely, that both the original Home Rule Bill and the Land Bill should be regarded as dead. Without this understanding frankly accepted on both sides, it would have been mere waste of time for the politicians to meet in conference. The points upon which the Unionists insisted as the price of their return to the Liberal camp were—(1) the retention of the body of Irish members at Westminster intact; (2) the control and revision by the Imperial Parliament of the decisions of the Irish Parliament; (3) the delegation, not the surrender, of the subjects to be given over to the management of the Irish Parliament; (4) the separate and special treatment of Ulster; and (5) the maintenance of law and order, and the control and organisation of the Royal Irish Constabulary under the Imperial Parliament. These points, as necessary concessions, were, it was understood, insisted upon by Sir George Trevelyan no less than by Mr. Chamberlain, on going into conference with Sir William Harcourt and Mr. John Morley. According to Mr. Chamberlain's version, instead of a definite promise of concession being made, the views of the Unionists were taken down, and an answer promised so soon as the leader's opinion was taken. The conference was adjourned first for two days, and afterwards from time to time, until a month had passed, but no offer of concession came; and then, with the consent of Sir George Trevelyan, a letter was addressed to Sir William Harcourt, saying that things must come to an end one way or the other, the Government having meanwhile produced their Crimes Bill, and thereby introduced fresh elements of discord. Sir George Trevelyan, however, gave (July 26) a very different account of what had passed during the attempts to reunite the Liberal party. The idea, he said, originated with Mr. Chamberlain, who was convinced that the leaders of the party, coming together in a spirit of compromise, would be able to reconcile the conflicting views of the two sections. The first definite invitation received by Sir George Trevelyan (Jan. 2) was to take part in a conference limited to two proposals: to ascertain on what points an agreement could be come to; and secondly, to establish more harmonious relations, and to put a stop to the hostile and acrimonious speaking between the two sections. The earlier discussions (Jan. 13 and 14) were, according to Sir George Trevelyan, friendly in a high degree, and pointed to conclusions of practical utility, and he expected that the sittings would be resumed early in February. None, however, were proposed, but Sir William Harcourt (Feb. 6) told him in a private interview that Mr. Chamberlain's utterances in public had appeared to other members of the conference as

inconsistent with friendly negotiation, and that, Mr. Chamberlain having made similar complaints, some steps should be taken to prevent the conference from falling through. The members in consequence met again on Feb. 14, and separated after a long discussion, leaving upon Sir George Trevelyan's mind no doubt whatever that a union of the party was thoroughly attainable. A few days later there appeared in the *Baptist* newspaper an article by Mr. Chamberlain upon Welsh disestablishment and the Liberal prospects, in which he expressed his sympathy with the Welsh Nonconformists that, at the moment when the prospects of redress seemed most favourable, they were overshadowed by the sudden introduction of a new subject of political contention. Until the settlement of this question the pressing demands of "poor little Wales" would have to give way. Mr. Chamberlain then went on to express his doubts whether the confidence shown by the electors of the Principality in Mr. Gladstone meant an approval of Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy, or a willingness to wait ten or twelve years until Mr. Parnell was satisfied, or Mr. Gladstone's policy adopted. He protested, moreover, against the idea that the crofters of Scotland and the agricultural labourers of England were to be neglected, or that thirty-two millions of people must go without legislation because three millions were disloyal; and he appealed to the Welsh constituencies to press on their leaders the necessity of reuniting the Liberal party. "The breach which has been made must be repaired, and this can only be done by conciliatory action, and not by threats of expulsion or charges of treachery. . . . Some of the former leaders of the Liberal party are now engaged in this necessary work of reconciliation. They require, and they ought to have, the support and sympathy of all who desire that remedial legislation should be at once resumed. The issue of the Round Table Conference will decide much more than the Irish question. It will decide the immediate future of the Liberal party, and whether or no all Liberal reform is to be indefinitely adjourned."

This article was, according to Sir George Trevelyan, considered by the Liberal leaders in the conference and by all their adherents in the House of Commons to be absolutely incompatible with the continuance of negotiations. As for Sir George Trevelyan himself, he was, he said, kept in complete ignorance of the active correspondence which was going on between Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Chamberlain, and three weeks later (March 9) the latter wrote to him to say that he should not rejoin the Round Table Conference. Sir William Harcourt, speaking the following day (March 10) at Chelmsford, took the opportunity of contributing his version of the events. It differed in no very material respect from Sir George Trevelyan's, but he explained more fully the course of the proceedings. The object of the conference was to ascertain how far the two sections of the Liberal party

agreed and how far they differed, and to minimise the points of difference. The points of agreement were found to be numerous and important, including a Land Bill for Ireland which should not pledge the credit of the British taxpayer, and the form of local government for Ireland identical with that of county government to be given to England. Upon the difficult question of Home Rule, the negotiators found that on certain fundamental points they were in entire accord. The Gladstonians took their stand on the principle adopted at the Leeds Conference—the existence of an Irish legislative body for the transaction of purely Irish affairs, under conditions to be settled by Parliament. This Irish legislature was to meet at Dublin, the questions to be submitted to it to be specified, and its powers defined in the statute. Having thus found a basis for Home Rule, the subsidiary questions of the separate arrangements for Ulster, of the retention of Irish members at Westminster, and of the imperial control of the Irish police and judges, were points of detail which might be arranged by mutual concession. When the conference suspended its sittings on Jan. 14 Sir William Harcourt regarded the question in a fair way of settlement, but Mr. Chamberlain's speech at Birmingham (Jan. 29), referred to elsewhere, irritated the Gladstonian Liberals, who deduced from it that a complete surrender of their position to the Unionists was in process of negotiation. Mr. Chamberlain's own account of the part played by himself was contained in a letter (dated July 27) addressed to Mr. Evelyn Ashley, and read by the latter to the electors of the Bridgeton division of Glasgow. Mr. Chamberlain concurred in what had been stated by Sir William Harcourt up to Feb. 14 as to the subjects of agreement being great and many, and the differences disclosed being secondary and few. He, however, warmly repudiated the suggestion thrown out by Sir William Harcourt, and adopted by Sir George Trevelyan, that his article in the *Baptist* paper was the cause of the breaking off of the conference, although it was subsequently laid hold of as the pretext. In support of this view Mr. Chamberlain appealed to the speech at the Schnadhorst banquet (March 9), at which, twelve days after the publication of the article, Sir William Harcourt spoke of the prospects of the conference in most encouraging terms. The view held by Mr. Chamberlain was that when, in order to bring the matter to a conclusion, it became necessary for the Gladstonians to state clearly whether or how far they were prepared to meet the views of the Unionists, they refused further communications on inadequate grounds. Without pressing to interpret the motives of Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Morley, he could only suppose that, being merely agents in the matter, they had found insuperable difficulties in obtaining the assent of their principals to concessions which were necessary to secure reunion; or else the introduction of the Coercion Bill changed the position, and filled

the Gladstonian Liberals with hope that they would secure the breaking up of the Unionists without being obliged to offer any consideration. Sir William Harcourt replied to this interpretation in a letter (dated July 29) to Sir George Trevelyan, in which, after contradicting the assertion that there had been delay in obtaining Mr. Gladstone's adhesion to the points of agreement, he threw the whole blame upon Mr. Chamberlain. His speech at Birmingham (Jan. 29), no less than his letter to the *Baptist* newspaper, had, Sir William Harcourt averred, produced great irritation in the Gladstonian party; but these difficulties were smoothed over at the dinner (Feb. 14). The details of the discussion were placed before Mr. Gladstone immediately on his return to town (Feb. 25), and, after having heard what had passed from Lord Herschell, Mr. Morley, and Sir William Harcourt, he drew up a memorandum of his views on the following day. The purport of that document remained undisclosed. By a curious coincidence it was on that day that Mr. Chamberlain's letter to the *Baptist* appeared, and consequently it was as easy for the Gladstonians to point to that as the cause of the breakdown of the negotiations as it was for the Unionists to throw the responsibility on the advice given by Mr. Gladstone. In any case it was clear that on that day the fatal blow was dealt to the conference. Although it lingered on a week or two longer, even bystanders felt that its vitality had ceased.

Although by so doing chronological sequence is slightly violated, it is convenient to refer at once to the more important speeches of party leaders outside the House of Commons. A few days after the meeting of Parliament Mr. Chamberlain addressed his constituents (Jan. 29) at Birmingham, and acute critics pretended to discover in his speech evidence that the Liverpool election had raised the hopes of the Gladstonian representatives at the Round Table Conference, and rendered the chances of an understanding more than ever doubtful. It is true that Mr. Chamberlain told his hearers that the reunion of the Liberal party and the settlement of the Irish question were still possible, but only "if all concerned, Irish as well as English, would bring to the discussion a spirit of moderation and mutual consideration." He maintained also, as a certainty, that the Unionist Liberals were increasing in numbers, and that they formed a body sufficiently powerful to resist the efforts of those suspected of tampering with the integrity of the kingdom. With regard to the settlement of the land question, he had worked out a more practical and consistent scheme than that he had sketched out on a former occasion. "My idea is that the true principle of a fair rent is that it could only accrue after the tenant has received a reasonable return for his labour; but when this condition has been fulfilled, then comes in the right of the landlord to a fair rent; and after the fair rent has been established upon this basis, then I say it would not be

right to ask the landowner to accept anything less than that fair rent unless you can gradually improve the character of his security. I believe that there are ways, that there are means, of greatly improving the security of the landlord without laying a risk on the British taxpayer."

More on this point Mr. Chamberlain declined to say. With regard to the form which Irish Home Rule should take he was more explicit. "I am asked," he said, "whether I am prepared to admit the idea of a legislative authority or authorities in Ireland — whether I am willing to concede to them a dependent executive. Now I think there is some confusion of ideas upon this subject. At all events, I am not clever enough to define what people mean by a 'dependent executive.' If it means that these legislative authorities—these subordinate authorities—should have a military or a *quasi*-military force at their disposal, or that they should have the control and the administration of justice, then I say emphatically, 'No.' I believe that such a proceeding, I know that such a proceeding, would be entirely contrary to the precedent of the Canadian constitution to which I refer, and I believe it would be dangerous to the security of the United Kingdom. But there is possibly another meaning attached to the phrase 'dependent executive.' If you take the case of any subordinate local authority—the case, for instance, of the town council of Birmingham—you will find that they have the power to appoint and maintain an executive in connection with their administration. Is that what is meant by a dependent executive? If so, I say you cannot deny it to any legislative authority which you may establish in Ireland. If you were to establish to-morrow a legislative authority in Belfast—a legislative authority in Dublin; if you were to give to them the power of dealing with certain domestic business—with education, with local government, with public works, and similar matters—if you were to transfer to them the administration of Dublin Castle and those Dublin boards which deal with similar subjects, you would have as a matter of course to allow them to appoint an executive to carry out the details of their business, to appoint them, to select them, and to pay them; and if that is what is meant there is certainly no difference upon the matter." With regard to the form of government to be established in Dublin Mr. Chamberlain was willing to leave the matter to the Irish themselves. If they desired to have a Cabinet with a Prime Minister and Ministry of Agriculture, Public Works, and Education, he would not interfere; and that whilst the control of the Imperial Parliament should in all matters be reserved, he thought that the exercise of that control should be as infrequent as possible. And he added, "What is really important, and I beg you to dwell upon this idea—what is really important is that the Imperial Parliament should be able, in case its interference becomes necessary in order to prevent abuse, to count upon

some authority, some force—not the military force—in order to carry out its decrees. One of the greatest objections to the Home Rule Bill of Mr. Gladstone was that if any of the statutory conditions of that Bill were violated, whether they were of the most trifling character, or whether they were of the greatest importance, there was no means of securing their observance except by the employment of the imperial army and by the reconquest of Ireland. Therefore it is a cardinal point that the Imperial Government should have always at its disposal in case of need some civil force which will enable it to execute its own decrees, to secure itself against abuse, to maintain the statutory provisions which it may impose, and to secure respect to the decrees of any court which may have to decide upon such questions.”

Mr. Chamberlain went on to express his conviction that if the agrarian question were settled, and all the complications arising from the dual ownership of land removed, civil rights and property would be as safe in Ireland as in other parts of the United Kingdom. Nevertheless he considered that the restoration of law and order in Ireland must accompany, if it did not precede, any concession of extended rights in that country. “What is the state of things in Ireland?” he asked, amid considerable interruptions from the audience. “In Ireland the law is violently resisted and openly abused; it is not the law of rent or the law of evictions which is in question; those are the laws which may be, which I think ought to be, amended—in order that they may be made less stringent and more merciful; but it is the laws against assassination, against intimidation, against theft, which are habitually violated. For this violation there is no excuse. I am not prepared, even in this state of things, to support what can properly be described as coercive legislation—that is to say, such measures as the establishment of martial law or the suspension of Habeas Corpus, or any legislation generally restricting the liberty of the subject; but if it be necessary, in order that the law should be respected, to amend and strengthen the ordinary law of the country, I am prepared to give fair and full consideration to any proposals which may be made to that effect. . . . I am ready to support in Parliament in the present session all efforts to restore order in Parliament and to maintain the law in Ireland. But that is not enough. We have a right to expect from the Government a constructive as well as a negative policy in Great Britain and in Ireland alike. If their legislation for Great Britain is conceived in a liberal spirit, I shall thankfully accept it without reference to the quarter from which it comes; but if it is reactionary, or totally inadequate, the Government must take the responsibility of breaking up the Unionist party, for they know perfectly well that they cannot expect and have not obtained any pledge of unconditional support from any Liberal.”

The attitude which the Unionists proposed to maintain during

the session was further defined by their chief leader, Lord Hartington. In a speech delivered at Newcastle-on-Tyne (Feb. 2), the stronghold of the Gladstonian position in the north of England, he surveyed the political horizon with calm satisfaction. He was far from thinking the Irish struggle was over—on the contrary, he thought we were at the beginning of a very protracted contest; but he and his friends had, before entering into union with the Conservatives, counted its cost, and would not now desert their partners. His chief object was not to make an alliance, but to establish a coalition; and he had resisted the overtures made to him to take part in a Coalition Ministry on the ground that it was by maintaining an independent position that the Liberal Unionists could best make their influence felt. With regard to Mr. Goschen, his position in the Liberal party differed somewhat from that of many of his colleagues. On one or two points he had found himself in opposition to the policy of his former chief, but he had in no way abandoned his strong Liberal opinions. “Mr. Goschen’s great abilities in the contest in which he was standing the other day were being lost and wasted to the country; and exercising his own judgment, he, with the advice of many of his friends, looking at the question from the same point of view that we did—namely, of what was best for the maintenance of the Union—arrived at the conclusion, in which I entirely concurred, that he could best serve that cause by giving to the Government the support of his great abilities, his high character, and his acknowledged genius for finance.”

Before turning to the more absorbing question of the hour, the treatment of Ireland and the Irish question, Lord Hartington referred to the Round Table Conference as evidence that conciliation was in the air. Lord Herschell and Mr. Chamberlain had suggested the bases of a conference which might examine the points of agreement existing among various shades of Liberals, might define the points of difference, and might, if possible, eliminate and remove such points of difference. “Mr. Chamberlain,” Lord Hartington added, “has gone even further, and he has hinted at the possibility of arriving at a national, as opposed to a party settlement of this great question. I need not say how thankful and happy I should be if it were possible to arrive at a national settlement of this great question. I think that I have said as much as any man in favour of treating this not as a party, but as a national question. But I am afraid that the time has hardly yet come. There has been scarcely a sufficiently clear definition of the views of parties upon this subject to admit of such a settlement as that which I should gladly see. I wish well to these well-meant endeavours which are being made to arrive at a settlement and a reunion of the Liberal party, if that settlement can be made without sacrifice to principles on either side. I do not conceal from myself that there are some dangers in any such attempt as is now being



made. These dangers would be great if the negotiations were conducted by men less able, less clear in their opinions, less firm in upholding them, than my friends Mr. Chamberlain and Sir George Trevelyan. There would be danger if these negotiations were entered into with any disposition to exaggerate points of agreement, to put into the background or to slide over points of difference. There would be danger if they were approached from the point of view of detail and not of general principles, if both parties did not clearly understand the point of view from which this subject was to be approached; but I believe that in the hands in which they are these negotiations are without danger. For myself, I have taken no part in them. I wish them well; I wish them every measure of success, and I will be the first, if success should crown their efforts, to acknowledge the glory and the merit which will attach to everyone who has been concerned in them. But I have thought that at present my duty lies elsewhere. While negotiation is going on it is necessary that there should be some one who will stay at home and guard the position which we occupy—who will keep a watch upon the movements of the enemy; and I have thought that my place was rather there. If agreement can be arrived at, it will be arrived at without my assistance. I believe that I may discharge best my duty to the Union cause by remaining clear of any negotiation, and by remaining in a position where I can take and ask my friends to take such action as may be deemed most desirable."

Towards a solution of the difficult question Lord Hartington contributed a few suggestions. "I have always," he said, "while opposing the Nationalists' demands for an Irish Parliament, admitted that there was ground, which was a strong one, upon which some change should be urged and recommended. That ground is the growing incapacity of Parliament to deal with the wants and requirements not only of Ireland, but of the whole of the United Kingdom. I believe that the idea of Mr. Chamberlain is to extend to Ireland, and not only to Ireland, but to other parts of the United Kingdom if they desire it, on a larger scale, and over larger areas, something in the nature of the municipal government which our great cities already enjoy. It may be a question of what powers should be conferred upon these extended municipalities; it may be a question in what way the control of the Imperial Government and of the Imperial Parliament has to be exercised over them. But I believe if this question is approached from this point of view, from this side the examination may be conducted without danger to the imperial interests. But if, on the other hand, it be approached from the point of view of satisfying the so-called national aspirations of the Irish people, I believe we shall be encountering a problem that we cannot solve, and we shall be involving ourselves in difficulties from which we cannot escape. And, again, if we are going to plunge into a mass of detail, if we are going to collect together

and compare various schemes of self-government, founded either upon the government of Canada or any colony, then I believe if we do not know how much one side is willing to concede, what are the exact objects the other side is aiming at, we shall only be getting into greater confusion, and making the difficulties of the problem more insoluble than ever."

With regard to the immediate future in Ireland, he held with Lord Selborne and Sir M. Hicks-Beach that it would be better, evil as they thought it, to grant Ireland a measure of Home Rule than to permit anarchy and contempt of the law to exist in that country. Anarchy under Home Rule would be bad enough, but anarchy in Ireland under the name of the British Government would be something worse. "We have not only to uphold the Union, not only to call upon the Government and to assist the Government to enforce the law, but we have also to apply ourselves, and to encourage the Government to apply themselves to the task of doing justice to Ireland, and to seek to remove those economical causes in which the real secret of her unhappiness is to be found. I do not believe that an Irish, any more than an English Parliament, could pass a measure of compulsory migration or emigration applicable to any part of Ireland. But I do believe that the British Government might with local co-operation, with local assistance, and through local agencies, do much in the way of assisting the migration or the emigration from some of these districts. But in order that these measures may be undertaken, in order that such a policy be embarked upon with any prospect of success, it is necessary that, first of all, the law and the supremacy of the law should be established."

Lord Hartington having thus clearly defined his attitude towards the Government, the other leaders of the Unionist party declared with equal plainness the attitude they proposed to adopt towards the Home Rule question. At a conference of the party held at Manchester (Feb. 5), presided over by Sir Henry James, a letter was read from the Earl of Derby, which put the issue in plain terms. "If once," he wrote, "an Irish representative body is brought together, no matter under what restrictions or limitations, its members will regard themselves, and will be regarded by the Irish people, as the sole authority competent to make laws for Ireland, and will proceed to make good their claim by means of renewed agitation, for which their moral position will give them far greater facilities than they now have. In truth, if the word 'nationality,' using the word in a political sense, does not mean independence, I do not know what it does mean. The States of the American Union enjoy large powers of self-government, but nobody talks of the nationality of Massachusetts or New York. My conviction is that we have, in the long run, only two alternatives to choose between—either to maintain the Union, or to let Ireland go."

In the course of his inaugural address Sir Henry James made a vigorous onslaught on the supporters of Home Rule on both sides of St. George's Channel. He described the "Plan of Campaign" as a plan by which one party to a contract was urged not to fulfil it, and to dispose of the rights which the law had given to the other party to the contract. Of the excuse that Parliament had rejected Mr. Parnell's proposal in the autumn, Sir Henry made very light. If, he argued, you permitted people to justify themselves for breaking the law by urging provocation, you made the law of no effect. There was a judge who, when told by the prisoner that his wife had so aggravated him that he could not help half-murdering her, replied, "Just so, those are the very wives I have to protect; it is only the aggravating wife who gets attacked; the wives who do not aggravate their husbands stand in no danger at all." The silence of the Liberal leaders on this "Plan of Campaign," he added, was most significant. It was as full of meaning towards law-abiding Irishmen as the action of the Quaker who once said, "Friend, I will not, because I must not, strike thee, but I will shove thee very hard." It was impossible to hand over Ireland to the mercy of men who had initiated this "Plan of Campaign." There was no trace of new powers arising in Ireland, no proof that when the agitation was over the power of the agitators would pass away. The minority in Ireland demanded protection, not only in Ulster, where the minority was united, but all over Ireland, where it was scattered and helpless. What would an Irish Government actuated by anti-English sympathies do to facilitate the extradition to France or America of an Irish criminal, or to prevent the ships of a naval Power with which the Irish people were in sympathy from coaling in Irish ports? Yet we should be responsible to foreign Governments for acts which we should find it by no means easy to prevent. And as for Home Rule, it did not improve your control over a somewhat unruly horse to take the bit out of his mouth, and sit on the box with only the reins in your hand; yet that was what we were asked to do as regarded Irish obedience to the central authority.

This survey of the position of the Unionist party would not be complete without reference to the subsequent speeches of Messrs. Chamberlain and Courtney, coupled with the more enigmatic utterances of their colleague, Sir George Trevelyan. By referring to them at this moment the course of events is somewhat anticipated, but the action of the party in Parliament and elsewhere is thereby rendered the more intelligible. Mr. Chamberlain's second speech at Birmingham (March 12) was expressly addressed to that section of the Radical party which had declined to endorse Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule proposals; and it was Mr. Chamberlain's object to show that he and his supporters, whilst insisting upon certain safeguards and conditions, were not opposed to the principle of Home Rule. These conditions were—

1. Ireland to be represented in the Imperial Parliament.
2. Irish Parliament to be subordinate, not co-ordinate.
3. The subordinate powers to be "strictly defined and limited."
4. Maintenance of law and order to remain under control of imperial authority.
5. Ulster to be treated separately.
6. British credit not to be pledged for the benefit of Irish landlords.
7. Mr. Gladstone's financial proposals to be given up.
8. The two orders and plurality of voting to be abandoned.

Of these the first five had already been adopted by the Unionists at the London Conference, and those now added were scarcely more than concessions consequential upon the adoption of the original terms. Mr. Chamberlain, whilst declaring without these concessions the reunion of the Liberal party to be impossible, admitted that it would nevertheless be impossible to get the Tories to vote for Liberal candidates, with whom they were agreed only upon one point. He therefore strongly urged the Radical Unionists to organise themselves throughout Great Britain, and to be prepared with candidates of their own in every constituency where it might appear desirable to fight a triangular duel, and to undertake that in all such cases no Unionist was prevented from polling by the fact that he had not a candidate with whom he could agree upon all points as well as upon one. With regard to his own and his colleagues' attitude towards the Government of the day, Mr. Chamberlain was prepared to do anything which would secure to the law the power of punishing crimes of outrage and intimidation. But in return he looked to the Government to give an assurance that they would endeavour to put a stop to the abuse of their rights by landlords. And he added, "I hope that they will go further than that. I hope that they will be prepared to make one more great effort to deal with the land question, which is at the root of all the evil with which we have to deal in Ireland. I have read the report of Lord Cowper's Commission, and I confess that while I receive with respect its statements as to facts I am not inclined myself to agree with the recommendations which the Commissioners make. I do not believe in perpetually tinkering with the Land Act of 1881. I think it very dangerous to be continually tampering with judicial rents which have all the sanctity of statutory enactment. What I would prefer, and what I hope the Government will do, is to put this aside for a still greater measure—for a measure which would have some chance of finality, a measure which would do away for ever with the perpetual conflict between the rights of tenants and the rights of landlords by making the tenants practically owners of the lands they cultivate. If they take this course I am quite certain that Liberal Unionists will give to them a sufficient and a loyal sup-

port, and in that case there will be no early appeal to the country.' Although tacitly or explicitly the majority of the points demanded in this programme had been already conceded, to most observers Mr. Chamberlain's speech seemed little likely to bring about the reconciliation for which he was supposed to be less eager than some of those who had joined in his secession. It was therefore with more than usual interest that men's eyes were turned towards Liskeard, where Mr. Courtney and Sir George Trevelyan were to speak. Both had separated themselves from the Gladstonian Liberals, and at the time of their withdrawal were agreed upon most essential points. At the last General Election, however, a different fate had befallen them. Sir George Trevelyan had lost his seat, whilst Mr. Courtney had retained his. The former had subsequently resisted various overtures at bye-elections to stand either as a Gladstonian or as a Unionist with the support of the Tory vote, and had been earnest in his endeavours to compose the differences which existed in the Liberal party. In reply to an invitation from the Aberdeen Unionist Liberal Committee, Sir George Trevelyan had written (March 1) to say that his own view of the situation was that "the Irish question must be dealt with promptly and thoroughly—thoroughly, radically, and remedially; and it could only be so dealt with by a reunited Liberal party. The events of the last eight or nine months in Parliament and Ireland had conclusively shown that such was the case. For that reunion on terms honourable to all concerned he believed the moment to be ripe. The opinions on the practical points of the problem held by leading Liberals with whom he was acquainted were such as, he was satisfied, admit of their working together without any of them losing their respect for each other or themselves." On the following day (March 2), in an after-dinner speech at the Devonshire Club, Sir George Trevelyan gave still further proof of his personal desire to be reconciled to the Liberal party. "The point on which we are agreed," he said—"the point on which, as far as I can see, we are in diametric opposition to the Conservatives—is that the condition of Ireland is past correctives and palliatives, and that it should be treated radically and remedially. The points upon which we are disagreed were contained within the two great Bills of last Parliament; and, to use the words of their author, those Bills are now dead; and dead and buried with them are, or should be, all bitter words that were spoken with regard to them, and every regrettable action to which the election gave rise. With regard to the further scheme for future relations between Great Britain and Ireland we have a clean sheet, and those of us who have been endeavouring to write upon that sheet have at any rate discovered this, that in the mind in which the so-called sections of the Liberal party are, if we cannot agree on our Irish policy as a united party, and support it as a united party, and carry it out as a united party, the leaders and prominent men in the

Liberal ranks will indeed be deeply responsible. If the public spirit and personal magnanimity which we have a right to ask from British public men do not fail, if those to whom the destinies of our great empire are entrusted look to facts and substance instead of to old worn-out war-cries of a General Election which is now over, and which never should have taken place, the breach in our ranks might be healed to-morrow, and it is high time that it should. If I am asked what I mean by saying that the Liberal party is essentially united in principle, I answer first and foremost that they are united in the belief that before any other question can be satisfactorily settled the condition of Ireland must be dealt with. The Irish question must remain unsettled, and the peace and happiness of everyone in Ireland must remain unsettled too, until we have the outward and visible sign of the agreement which I am satisfied already exists in the minds of our leading Liberals, in the shape of a carefully matured scheme for the government of Ireland, and the settlement of the land question on very different lines from Lord Ashbourne's Act."

These utterances raised the hopes of the Gladstonian Liberals—at least, so far as the return of Sir George Trevelyan to their fold was concerned. It was, therefore, with some surprise, as well as interest, that they watched his visit to Liskeard, in company with Mr. W. S. Caine, to take part in the well-deserved compliments paid to Mr. Leonard Courtney by his constituents. A more distinctly Unionist gathering (March 16) could scarcely have been imagined; for, although in the division represented by Mr. Courtney the Home Rule Liberals mustered strongly, the meeting was composed of all shades of Liberals, who met together to honour their member for his unswerving consistency. To the surprise of all, Sir George Trevelyan, on whom devolved the principal speech of the evening, seemed more anxious to show his agreement with Mr. Courtney than to follow up the line he had indicated on the previous evening. He commenced by declaring emphatically that he should never care to sit in Parliament again if it did not represent in equal proportions all parts of the United Kingdom, and if it did not control every other body and authority, and to which every citizen could look for the safety of his life and for the maintenance of his personal rights. He held that "the greatest misfortune which could befall either the country or the party is that the great number of the brave, honest, full-spirited, and responsible-minded politicians should be permanently excluded from the Liberal ranks. It is difficult to conceive how anybody who has watched the proceedings in Parliament during the last session and this session can doubt that the non-recognition by the Liberal party of Lord Hartington, Sir Henry James, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Courtney, as leaders to whom they look for guidance in the lobby and for advice in debate, is not only a great misfortune to the Liberal

party, but it is a great national danger. It is better, far better, that these men should stay outside the majority of the party unless they can re-enter on honourable terms; and if the Liberal party can be reunited on these terms, it is a result at which every good Liberal and every good patriot will rejoice."

With regard to his own attitude towards Home Rule, Sir George Trevelyan declared that he did not differ from the whole body of Liberals in the principles, but in the details of the Bills, which were already dead.

"My own position about Home Rule is still sufficiently unmistakable. I advocated very extensive changes in the relations between Great Britain and Ireland, and when the Bills were brought before the House of Commons I indicated great and grave and numerous objections, and these objections not being met as they should have been met, I left the Government and voted against the Bills. But as soon as a scheme is agreed upon by the Liberal leaders of all sections, as I am sanguine there will be, if such a scheme is agreed upon, then I shall vote for it."

Having briefly declared in reply to Lord Salisbury that, in order to settle the Irish question, it would be necessary to reunite the Liberal party, Sir George Trevelyan went on to define the duty of the Unionists.

"The more carefully we scan the horizon the more truly we see that we are at one upon every pressing question except Ireland. And I still venture to repeat the hope that we may be at one on Ireland too. What is the duty of those who as representatives or as electors differed from the Bills of Mr. Gladstone in the June of last year? I think our duty is twofold. First, to be very clear indeed on the points on which we must insist before we come to any agreement whatever. I have never departed by one word from first to last from the points on which I should insist, and I shall insist on them again. But our duty likewise is to try to understand the present position of our adversaries, and to use towards them the most courteous and conciliatory words."

At a later period of the evening Sir George Trevelyan developed still more clearly the duties which he considered incumbent upon the section of the party to which he adhered.

"We must," he said, "be very firm in insisting on these conditions: (1) That the Parliament shall have a real control over the business of the empire; (2) that it shall have the supreme management of the finances of this country, so that in case of any great war the whole of the country—not only England, Scotland, and Wales—shall be made to contribute to it; and (3) above all, the rights of the minority shall not be protected by mere paper guarantees; that the rights of every body of citizens shall be protected; that the men of Ireland shall feel as comfortable as they felt before Home Rule was talked about two years ago. These are the conditions we ought to insist upon. We ought to

insist upon it that the British Treasury shall not be burthened after the manner which Mr. Chamberlain described."

In conclusion, referring to the action of the Government in strengthening the Irish executive, Sir G. Trevelyan said, "I have said as much as I care to say on the Irish question. It is the decided duty of the Liberal Unionists to strengthen the hands of the Government in dealing with order in Ireland. For my own part, I think the greatest political error was made when the Conservatives turned us out in June 1885, and threw over Lord Spencer and myself, and refused to take measures by which law and order could be maintained, and when a Conservative Lord Lieutenant, taking office, did not act with a stern enforcement of authority, which, to my mind, was the honour of Lord Spencer's administration. It is our duty to support the Conservatives in those measures which they may take for the purpose of maintaining law and order."

Mr. Courtney, in both his speeches, took a less personal ground, and addressed himself to those Unionists who seemed to shrink from the consequences of their revolt against their former leader; and he protested earnestly against the use of fine phrases and catch expressions to darken the real issue. Men were asked, he said, why they were afraid of Home Rule when under it, as before, there be one Parliament supreme? But in theory, he pointed out, the Parliament at Westminster was supreme in all the colonies of the Queen. Nevertheless, only a few years previously, when feelings in this country were aroused at the treatment of certain native chiefs by the Colonial Government of New Zealand, it was held, Mr. Gladstone himself being Premier, that having given a parliament and an executive to New Zealand, it was impossible to control the discretion of the Colonial Parliament and the Colonial Ministry.

Mr. Courtney then went on to argue that Home Rule was not inevitable so long as public virtue was held in esteem by our statesmen, and was the mainspring of their political life. He had foreseen the difficulties which would follow Mr. Gladstone's conversion to the Home Rule policy. But these difficulties, however great, did not absolve Liberal Unionists from doing their duty to their consciences, regardless of the immediate consequences. "So, as I say, I did as your member, in a degree, in my humble fashion, take up the great task which Peel, Canning, and Mr. Gladstone himself upheld—that great task of fusing into one the three component parts of this great kingdom, so that in a United Kingdom we should hear no more, except for purposes of geographical designation, of Irishmen, Scotchmen, Englishmen, or Welshmen, when we should all be one—one free, one united, one growing kingdom; and I ask you whether that is not an ideal worthy of your pursuit, whether for any slight or trivial cause you would shrink from making it the object of your lives. I ask you whether we should lightly depart from this great



task—thus undertaken, thus pursued with more or less success—growing success—though I admit in a chequered degree, but with a continually growing success—put forward by all our statesmen. It was my privilege some years before I entered Parliament to have a large acquaintance with one of the greatest thinkers that Ireland has given to this generation. From his lips, from his writings, I learnt much about Ireland. He was an Irishman above all things else, a patriot if ever there was one, a statesman if ever there was one, though he was not called to the exercise of any functions. He told me—and it was a lesson which sank into my heart and remained in my memory—how the influence of the United Kingdom, the organisation of the united Imperial Parliament, the executive and the officers appointed thereby, spread through the whole of Ireland, operating as a great educational machinery, lifting up the Irish people, infusing them with new and correct ideas, reforming the whole course of their lives, and re-creating the nation. And I will call to your memory how I have always held this out to be the thing which we should pursue in connection with Ireland; and even in talking of Land Bills and those other great measures which have been advocated by no one more strongly than myself, I have said of the Land Bill that this Bill, or any other, will fail unless we make Ireland a new nation. It is a new creation we have been attempting to make by association and connection with ourselves.”

As to the prospects of the Unionists, he said they could look forward to the future not without anxiety, but without fear. But whatever the outcome of the next few months or years, it should find them ready to fulfil to the uttermost the obligations they had undertaken. “We would, if we could, recall our brethren again into association with us. We desire reunion, but it is not to be purchased at any price. If we were justified in declining to accompany our friends last year, we are justified now. We cannot, without stultifying our past and without being false to our consciences, consent to that which in our consciences we cannot support. I desire a reunion. I do not scruple in these words, for I think of the words of the Apostle Paul when he spoke of his heart’s desire for his brethren from whom he was separated. But did he on that account in the least degree depart from the cause which he had supported? No; when they became disputatious he would still hold to his views in the midst of great troubles, great trials, and great tribulations. So we desire a reunion, but it must be on the condition that we do not give up for one hour this cause which we support. This brings us to the position that we now have to consider as practical men. We are separated from many with whom we have worked. We have desired to be reunited with them. We hope that they will come back with us. If we can but put the truth plainly before popular audiences throughout the country, how then what has

been our object in the past, what is the policy to be pursued in the future, I will not give up the faith and belief that the popular voice will insist that the Unionist idea must be upheld. Therefore I do not hesitate to believe that those who, under the influence of a great name and under the specious influence of a gifted leader, were seduced into following a great programme will turn back from that mistake and rejoin what was the faith of their fathers, what was their own faith, until suddenly, without time for reflection, they were induced to take a sudden departure. I have faith that they will be recalled. What, then, becomes the duty for us to pursue? To reorganise ourselves into a body to which we can welcome them when they are ready to return to the paths from which they have strayed. I do not desire that we should be simply a protesting body, but that we should take care to point out to the popular intelligence what is the faith we possess."

It has been necessary to dwell at some length on the attitude of the Unionist Liberals in order to show the various feelings which animated the principal leaders of a party small in numbers and unrepresented in office, yet holding the balance of power between the two great parties in Parliament. Had the Unionists been led by men to whom the tenure of office offered any attraction, they might doubtless have obtained a rearrangement of the Cabinet: but for the present they preferred, on the one hand, to submit to the taunts of their former colleagues, who accused them of exercising power whilst shrinking from its responsibilities; and, on the other, to be misinterpreted by those of the electorate who, having been taught to speak of themselves as Liberals, were unable to vote for candidates who adopted the programme and sometimes even the name of Conservatives.

## CHAPTER II.

*The Meeting of Parliament—The Debate on the Address—Prolonged Debates in the Commons—Mr. Parnell's Amendment—Justice of the Opposition—New Rules of Procedure—The Closure Resolution—Charges against the Corporation of the City of London—The Irish Members and the Supplementary Estimates—Resignation of Sir M. Hicks-Beach—The Army and Navy Estimates—The Budget—Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone on the Position of Parties.*

PARLIAMENT, which had been originally summoned to meet three weeks in anticipation of its usual time, assembled (Jan. 27) under somewhat gloomy circumstances for the Ministry. The abrupt secession of Lord R. Churchill had necessitated overtures to the Liberal Unionists, which many of Lord Salisbury's own supporters resented as unnecessary and compromising; and they pointed with some show of reason to Mr. Goschen's unexpected failure at Liverpool as evidence of the powerlessness of the Unionist vote at the polls. At the same time the negotiations

going on between a section of the Unionists and the Gladstonian Liberals suggested the idea that there was a readiness on the part of some at least of the former to hasten the moment of their reconciliation to their former colleagues. There was, moreover, a feeling of disappointment, which found expression on all sides, that the Queen had resisted all efforts to induce her to open in person the session which was to celebrate her fiftieth year of reign. It was nevertheless by Royal Commission that the following programme of Parliamentary work was laid before the two Houses.

“MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“My relations with all foreign Powers continue to be friendly.

“The affairs of South-eastern Europe are still in an unsettled condition; but I do not apprehend that any disturbance of European peace will result from the unadjusted controversies which have arisen in that region. While deploring the events which compelled Prince Alexander of Bulgaria to retire from the government of that principality, I have not judged it expedient to interfere in the proceedings for the election of his successor until they arrive at that stage at which my assent is required by the stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin.

“The task which has been undertaken by my Government in Egypt is not yet accomplished; but substantial advance has been made towards the assurance of external and internal tranquillity.

“In Burmah operations have been conducted by my troops with bravery and skill for the purpose of extirpating the brigandage which has grown up during recent years of misgovernment. The bands of marauders by whom Upper Burmah has been long infested have been dispersed, and many of the leaders have laid down their arms. I entertain a confident hope that the general pacification of the country will be effected during the present season.

“Commercial treaties have been concluded with the kingdoms of Greece and Roumania.

“Papers on these subjects will be laid before you.

“GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

“The Estimates for the coming year will be submitted to you. They have been framed with a careful regard to economy and to the efficiency of the public service.

“MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“The condition of Ireland still requires your anxious attention. Grave crimes have happily been rarer during the last few months than during a similar period in the preceding year. But the relations between the owners and occupiers of land, which in the early part of the autumn exhibited signs of improvement, have since been seriously disturbed in some districts by organised attempts to incite the latter class to combine against the fulfil-

ment of their legal obligations. The efforts of my Government to cope with this evil have been seriously impeded by difficulties incident to the method at present prescribed by statute for dealing with such offences. Your early attention will be called to proposals for reforms in legal procedure which seem necessary to secure the prompt and efficient administration of the criminal law.

" Since I last addressed you the Commissioners directed to inquire into certain subjects of great importance to the material welfare of Ireland have been actively prosecuting their labours. The Report of the Commission on the operation of the recent Acts dealing with the tenure and purchase of land will be shortly laid before you, and will doubtless receive from you the early and careful attention which the serious importance of the subject demands.

" Bills for the Improvement of Local Government in England and Scotland will be laid before you, and, should circumstances render it possible, they will be followed by a measure dealing with the same subject in Ireland.

" A Bill for Improving and Cheapening the process of Private Bill Legislation in England, Scotland, and Ireland will be submitted to you.

" You will be asked to consider measures having for their object to remove hindrances which exist to the cheap and rapid transfer of land, to facilitate the provision of allotments for small householders, and to provide for the readier sale of glebe lands.

" The Commission which I issued in 1885 to inquire into the lamentable depression under which trade and agriculture have been suffering for many years has presented a valuable report, which, together with the important evidence collected by them, will be laid before you.

" A Bill for altering the mode of levying tithes in England and Wales will be submitted to you.

" In regard to Scotland, you will be asked to consider measures for the reform of the Universities, for completing recent legislation as to the powers of the Secretary for Scotland, and for amending the procedure of criminal courts.

" Measures dealing with the regulation of railway rates, and for preventing the fraudulent use of merchandise marks, will also be brought under your consideration.

" In the performance of these and all your other momentous duties I earnestly pray that the blessing of Almighty God may attend your labours."

In the House of Lords, before proceeding to the debate on the address, the leaders of the House and of the Opposition paid a generous and feeling tribute to the memory of the Earl of Iddesleigh. The Marquess of Salisbury, after describing him as one of the shrewdest councillors the Queen had ever had,

added that "as a friend, as a member of society, he was probably more beloved than any statesman we have seen in our time. His gentle temper, his unfailing high spirits and courteousness, his uniform kindness to all, made him universally appreciated and regarded. As a debater, he was known in the other House as one who might not move to passion, but who carried conviction, both by the weight of his arguments and by the force of his character. As a councillor I should say that he was especially shining; and those who sat with him in council can best value the peculiar qualities of his mind. I should note two peculiarities which distinguished him from other men. One was that from the field of his political vision the element of personal antagonism was almost—if not entirely—absent, that he judged of every question by its merits, and it never seemed to occur to him to inquire by whom it had been supported. And another peculiarity was the remarkable caution of the man—remarkable, I say, because it was not mere caution. He was eminently cautious, as cautious as any man with whom I have ever conversed, but the peculiarity of it was this, that the caution had in it no shade of timidity. While his temper was cold and abstract, his counsel always erred, if it erred at all, on the side of caution. When perplexity or real danger arrived, there was no man who was freer from any counsel of fear than Lord Iddesleigh. This made him a man whose influence within the Cabinet, within the councils of the party, were far higher and greater than appeared by his action in the public eye. This House and the country and our party have lost a wise, self-restrained, noble councillor. His soul was never soiled by any mere vulgar ambition. He devoted his life and his strength, without caring for any apparent reward, to the service of his country and of his Queen."

Earl Granville could not forget that some years previously he had spoken of Sir Stafford Northcote as a formidable foe of twenty years, but a dear friend of many more. So far from being, as was sometimes alleged, a feeble opponent, some of Lord Granville's colleagues in the House of Commons had admired and sometimes complained of the sagacity, the skill, and readiness with which Sir Stafford had sustained their attacks, the vigour with which he had returned the blow. Referring to the acceptance of the offer to become a member of the Commission for the Settlement of the Alabama Claims, Lord Granville stated that with his great modesty he declined the high honours which were offered to him. He was willing to co-operate with his political opponents for great public objects, but he declined to receive rewards and honours from them.

Passing to the ordinary business of the evening, the address in answer to the Queen's Speech was formally moved by the Earl of Erne and seconded by Viscount Torrington, both of whom expressed the hope that the Government would propose legislation for restoring law and order in Ireland. Lord Granville then

proceeded to criticise the action of the Ministry during the recess, and to discuss the changes which had taken place in its *personnel*. While giving Lord Salisbury much credit for the readiness which he had shown to make way for Lord Hartington, he contended that this, as well as the taking of Mr. Goschen into his Cabinet, were signs of weakness in the Ministry. Moreover, as Lord Hartington had refused to put on the uniform or livery of the Government, he could not see what advantage Lord Salisbury could have hoped to gain by offering Lord Northbrook and Lord Lansdowne seats in the Cabinet. He suggested that the Government had parted with their most popular member without much regret; and, passing on to the present condition of the Government, he stated that Lord Salisbury, in dissociating the office of First Lord of the Treasury from that of Prime Minister, had taken a course which was in contempt of all official tradition. Next, he expressed the opinion that no man had sufficient physical strength to perform efficiently the duties of Prime Minister and those of Secretary of Foreign Affairs, so onerous were the latter. He had observed that in the autumn, before he had assumed the office of Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Lord Salisbury gave audiences to the Ministers of foreign Powers, and he disapproved such a proceeding, which had been opposed by Lord Palmerston, Lord Russell, and Mr. Gladstone. The business of the Foreign Office ought to be performed by the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, under the general superintendence of the Prime Minister and the Cabinet. As to the policy of the Government at present, it did not seem to be in accord with what some months before leading members of it declared to be the lines on which the Cabinet intended to proceed. Glancing at the paragraphs in the Queen's Speech referring to foreign affairs, he complained that certain topics of interest which might have been expected to find a place in them were not alluded to. That absence of grave crime in Ireland to which allusion was made in the royal speech he attributed, not to the action of the Government, but to a feeling on the part of the Irish people that a wide-spread sympathy with them was shown in Scotland and England. He thought it better not to refer to the proposed amendment in the criminal law in Ireland till the measures were produced. There were a great number of Irish landlords in that House who by moderation to their tenants had entitled themselves to sympathy. Some of those noble lords had expressed their opinion that the late Government did not know how to deal with Ireland. He asked whether any one of them who was not in office would get up in his place and express the opinion that the present Government knew how to deal with it. If not, those noble lords ought to consider whether the time had not arrived when the Irish people should be allowed to manage their own affairs.

In reply Lord Salisbury expressed his fear that the leader of the Opposition was too much inclined to believe all he read in

the newspapers; and he was therefore glad to have an opportunity of relieving his friend's mind as to the condition of the Government. He seemed to have adopted the view that the Government considered itself stronger because it had lost the services of the very distinguished orator who had been leader of the House of Commons, and who had shown remarkable ability for the duties of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord R. Churchill had become much impressed with the grant of the Estimates. His colleagues did not differ from him as to the desirability of keeping down the public expenditure; but it appeared to them that his noble friend's means of doing it would be rough and indiscriminate, and that it would not be conducive to real economy, while it would be injurious to the public service. The Government, however, hoped that the separation would not be permanent. As to Mr. Goschen, he had felt that not only on account of his financial ability, but also because of his views on the Union, his presence in the Cabinet was desirable. He was of opinion that, in the face of this great burning question, all minor differences should for the moment be sunk; and as one could not expect to divide the political world into two halves, he had been as anxious to get into the Cabinet as many distinguished Liberal supporters of the Union as he could induce to join it. To have given the leadership of the House of Commons to Mr. Goschen would not have been desirable, and that rendered it necessary for him to hand over the First Lordship to Mr. Smith. He acknowledged with thanks the concern shown by Lord Granville for his health, but stated that, owing to the more extensive use of the telegraph and other circumstances, the duties of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs were less onerous than they had been.

Turning to the question of Ireland, Lord Salisbury added that he expected some expression of opinion from Lord Granville as to the "Plan of Campaign." They had a right to know whether the inheritors of some of the proudest traditions of English statesmen did or did not falter in their denunciation of a scheme of deliberate robbery. "We have the duty," he added, "of maintaining law and order for the sake not only of the loyal population, but also for the population which break it; and we have the duty of securing the loyal population from such a change in the constitution of the country as shall place their dearest interests in peril. It is idle to talk of leaving the Irish people to govern themselves. You know very well that they will not govern themselves, but that the majority will govern the minority in a manner utterly inconsistent with its rights, and in a manner utterly fatal to all its industrial and commercial hopes." Lord Salisbury further suggested that Lord Granville's challenge to the Irish peers to express their opinions on the governing of Ireland would come better from him when the measures of the Ministry for strengthening the criminal law were before the

House. The enemy which Parliament had now to meet in Ireland was not the same as that which had to be encountered a century ago. Organised dishonesty had there reached a pitch which it never had attained at any former time, and until there was a rapid and sure way of dealing with it there could be no restoration of law and order. The Prime Minister concluded his speech by a pointed reference to two matters pertaining to the state of foreign affairs. He denied emphatically that the Government were engaged in any attempt to bring about the restoration of Prince Alexander as ruler of Bulgaria. They recognised that the re-election of that prince was not within the range of practical politics. As to the rumours of a European war, he said that, though no person could fail to see elements of danger in extensive armaments by great nations, such circumstances had not become more acute since the date at which he entered the Foreign Office; and the opinion of our ambassadors at Berlin and Paris was that the aspect of things was not warlike, but pacific.

The Earl of Selborne, who for some years had been Mr. Gladstone's Lord Chancellor, followed, and in warm terms declared that if there were not a tyranny over the Irish people, the honesty and integrity and good faith between man and man in Ireland were such that there would be no need of extraordinary legislation. What, he asked, had happened to prevent this? "It is the establishment of a tyranny in Ireland, of an organised despotism, of a conspiracy against morality and law, and that it is that has interrupted the favourable prospect that offered itself in the autumn. What interrupted the improvement in the relations between landlord and tenant in Ireland? After the proposals of the late Government, and simultaneously with the effect it is suggested they had on the frequency of crime in Ireland, you have a new declaration—the Plan of Campaign. The name in itself is significant of the nature of the thing. The tenants are now not to pay their landlords; they are to pay one-half, or as much as they please, to the agitators, to be spent by them in continuing their agitation." Passing on next to the repeated intervention of "certain members of Parliament, not Irish members only," between landlords and tenants when the former were ready to accept what the latter could afford to pay, and were on the eve of paying, Lord Selborne declared that such conduct was unscrupulous cruelty. As for the Plan of Campaign, Mr. Gladstone, in 1881, when the No Rent manifesto came out, had said, "This is the first time in the history of Christendom that a body of men has arisen who are not ashamed to parade in Ireland the doctrine of public plunder." And in the previous autumn (1886), just before the Plan of Campaign was produced, Mr. Gladstone, in his pamphlet speaking of the moral forces by which England and Scotland had secured their political triumph, had written, "It is the potent spirit of legality which has done all this, or has enabled it to be done." Another



of his colleagues, Earl Spencer, in one of his speeches had said, "We have to see that law and order are maintained, and we cannot allow anarchy in that country;" and he proceeded to point out how inextricably entwined were English and Irish interests. "Why, then," asked Lord Selborne, "have not these things been denounced? Why do not the late Prime Minister and his colleagues declare, 'If these things are done, we will have nothing to do with people who do such things'?" So long as this denunciation is not forthcoming the inference I draw is that your lordships and every one in the country who thinks that government is necessary, that there cannot be government without the maintenance of law, nor government if persons can impose their own wills against the law of the land upon their fellow-countrymen—those who think this, whether in this House or in the other House, or in the country, must feel it their duty to support this Government or any Government who will perform the primary duty of government, and oppose any Government that will not. If the choice lay between declaring the Imperial Parliament powerless to enforce the first duties of government in Ireland, powerless to maintain the law against those who avowedly set it at defiance, powerless to protect loyal citizens who wish to pay their debts and do their duty against the intimidation that would prevent them—if the choice lay between this and granting the demands of the Separatists, I, for my part, would far rather not give Ireland what is called Home Rule, handing her over to the domination of those who seek to accomplish their ends by means which we condemn. I would far rather give her complete independence, when at least we should be free from the responsibilities of government. To pretend to maintain the Imperial connection while renouncing the performance of the first duty of a Government—the protection of the liberty and property of the loyal—and abandoning the loyal to the tender mercies of those who set law at defiance and trample upon liberty, would, in my opinion, be a worse thing than total separation."

Thus personally challenged, Earl Spencer, in behalf of his former colleagues, replied that as several members of Parliament were going to be put upon their trial in connection with the Plan of Campaign, he did not think it proper that it should be gone into fully, lest, while the important trial was pending, the parties should be prejudiced. But he should not shrink at the proper time from giving his opinion on this or any other subject. At the present he would content himself with denying that Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues were bound to agree with all the views taken by Irish members who might have supported the late Government.

"As to anarchy," he said, "I maintain that no Government can be tolerated which allows anarchy to prevail in this country, whether it appear in the form of crime and outrage, or in that of illegal conspiracy. I denounce all illegal conspiracies, and

I believe that no Government can continue to control the affairs of Ireland for any time which neglects its fundamental duty—that of protecting the property, rights, and liberties of her Majesty's subjects. I confess that I think the correspondence between General Buller and the different agents reflects the highest credit upon the humanity and discretion of that distinguished man. I lament immensely that he was not successful. But is it possible for the Government to be carried on if the energy and skill of our officers are to be employed in settling disputes between landlord and tenant? I have had a long experience of Ireland—eight years is a long time; and though I was for a long time misled by that delusion, I have come gradually and sadly to the conclusion that in many parts of Ireland the people are in thorough sympathy with all the principles of the Nationalists. I fear that this delusion has been going on too long. I despair of governing Ireland by what is called resolute government, as it is opposed to all the feelings and wishes of the people."

After a few words from Lords Ashbourne and Herschell on the legal aspects of the "Plan of Campaign" the address was agreed to.

In the House of Commons many nights had to be spent before a similar result was obtained, but before the ordinary business was entered upon, Lord Randolph Churchill rose to explain the circumstances which had forced him to withdraw from the Chancellorship of the Exchequer.

"I resigned that office on Dec. 20 last because I was altogether unable to become responsible for the Estimates presented by the departments for the support of the army and the navy in the coming year. Of course, sir, it would be idle to deny what has, I fancy, become fairly well known—that there were other matters of grave importance on which it was my misfortune to hold opinions differing from those of Lord Salisbury. Those were matters, in my opinion, perfectly susceptible of accommodation and contraction; but this question of the Estimates was incapable of such accommodation for the reason, sir, that I was deeply and repeatedly pledged by many a speech which I had made in various parts of the country to a policy of retrenchment and economy, because I was convinced from what I had learnt in the Treasury that such a policy was not only necessary but perfectly feasible; and because, viewing those pledges, it was impossible for me usefully to retain the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer in a Government in whose policy effective retrenchment found no prominent place."

He proceeded to say he could not make his explanation of an elaborate character, for it might then tend to degenerate into a kind of indictment of the Government, which, on the whole, would be neither useful nor becoming. But he would state this detail—that the amount of the Estimates presented to him by

the two departments exceeded 31,000,000*l.* for the coming year for the support of the army and navy. Moreover, he had also to give his consent, and he did give a reluctant consent, to unusually large supplementary Estimates for those two services. In the ten years, from 1874 to 1884 the average expenditure on the army and navy amounted to 25,000,000*l.* a year; and that standard was closely adhered to during those ten years. In the three years 1885-6, 1886-7, and the coming year 1887-8, the average expenditure had risen to over 31,000,000*l.*—an increase perfectly sudden, within the lapse of only one year, of about 6,000,000*l.*

In other words, this jump of taxation in time of peace meant an increase of threepence in the income tax. When he urged upon his colleagues the reasonableness of returning to something like a normal rate of expenditure, he did not anticipate any large immediate reduction; but when they resolutely refused to make even a beginning of retrenchment, he felt that he was forced by a power greater than party ties, forced by what he had said in the country, forced by the knowledge he had acquired at the Treasury, to offer his resignation. There was in addition some doubt in his own mind whether the foreign policy of the Government was as thoroughly peaceful as he thought it ought to be. If it were so, there was no need for such extensive armaments. On the other point, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to be satisfied that the money voted by Parliament was properly spent, Lord Randolph could feel no satisfactory assurance; and in support of this he enumerated some of the principal departmental scandals of recent years.

In 1883 there had been the exposure of scandalous defects in the Commissariat department during the first campaign in Egypt. There was subsequently, with respect to the second Egyptian campaign, the exposure of the brittle swords, bent bayonets, and jamming cartridges. Next that came, in connection with the financial management of the Admiralty, that grave scandal attaching to the Government that left office in 1885, that the Admiralty was discovered to have spent a large amount without the knowledge of the Treasury, and apparently without its own knowledge. Then followed the very serious evidence which was given to the House and the public by the total failure of three most expensive ships—the *Ajax*, the *Agamemnon*, and the *Impérieuse*—to fulfil the expectations of their designers, although they had cost no less than a million and a half of money.

After referring to the rumour that he had resigned in haste, Lord R. Churchill read the correspondence which had passed between Lord Salisbury and himself, from which it appeared that the principal increase was in the army estimates for cannons required for the defence of our coaling stations, military and mercantile ports.

Mr. W. H. Smith, in addressing the House for the first time

as its leader, asked for its indulgence and a favourable interpretation of all his acts. In reply to his predecessor's speech, he expressed his profound regret, and that of the Cabinet, at the resignation of Lord R. Churchill. While admitting the importance of retrenchment in naval and military expenditure, and repudiating the suggestion that the Government were actuated by a meddlesome foreign policy, he maintained that the present was an inopportune time to stop an expenditure which, he pointed out, had been sanctioned and commenced by previous Governments. This expenditure on the fortification of commercial ports and coaling stations was undoubtedly necessary, but he promised that every opportunity should be afforded the House of inquiry into its necessity. Mr. Smith then briefly referred to the death of Lord Iddesleigh, and paid a high tribute to his character, his abilities, and his devotion to his duty to the country. No one, he said, could fail to notice the deceased's vast stores of information or his capacity to make use of them; and no one's loss would be more keenly felt.

Mr. Gladstone's tribute to his political opponent but lifelong friend was, even for him, singularly generous and graceful.

"In 1843 I had," he said, "the honour—and it was a great honour—of introducing him into public life, and I had the advantage of profiting largely by his personal services and aid, and of observing that rich and abundant promise of his early life which was so well fulfilled in the after years of his career. We must all, I think, have observed that the sentiment upon the death of Lord Iddesleigh which was expressed by the country was not partial, but universal. No distinction could be traced between party and party in the feelings expressed upon that lamentable event. There were, no doubt, tragic circumstances in so sudden and appalling a removal which would do something to stir in an unusual manner the sympathies of the nation. But there was more in the character and the expression of those sympathies than could be accounted for by a mere reference to those momentary incidental circumstances. It was known that the country had lost a man of very large experience, of great accumulated knowledge, of remarkable power, and accustomed to apply it to render public service to the country. But even that, I think, and the sense of the loss of such a man as I have described, by no means account for the deep feeling that has existed for Lord Iddesleigh. For there was a sentiment that we had lost not only that knowledge and that experience and that ability which are not quite rare in this country, but that we had lost manly qualities not easily to be replaced. The courtesy of Lord Iddesleigh was not only an enduring courtesy, but it was a courtesy immediately connected with the foundation of his character. And the same may be said with respect to his temper. There is no school of temper like the House of Commons. A man not happily gifted in that respect by nature may acquire by

self-discipline that self-control which is necessary in the transaction of the business of the House. The courtesy which flowed out from Lord Iddesleigh on all hands was a delightful courtesy, founded upon his knowledge of society and what is necessary to social intercourse. But the temper and the courtesy of Lord Iddesleigh were based upon a gentleness which was at the very foundation of his character. He seemed to be a man incapable of resenting injury ; a man in whom it was the fixed habit of his life to put himself wholly out of view when he had before him what he deemed to be the attainment of great public objects. And these qualities, sir, are even more valuable than any of the signal intellectual gifts which he expended so freely in the service of his native land."

The House then took up the Queen's Speech, the debate on the address in reply being inaugurated by Lord Weymouth and Mr. Gerald Balfour, both of whom touched at some length on the foreign policy of the Government, and both agreeing in the hope that the conspiracy against law and order would be speedily put down. Mr. Gladstone then rose to arraign the Government for its faults of omission and commission, avoiding, with his accustomed skill, all reference to those phases of home and foreign politics in which his own action had been challenged. He gave a good deal of attention to Bulgaria, and very little to Ireland. He characterised Lord R. Churchill's financial principles and proposals as safe and judicious. He endorsed his desire that the subject of economy should be considered by the Conservative as well as by the Liberal party, and impressed upon the House the extreme importance of checking the expenditure of the great spending departments. To the recent changes in the Government he raised an emphatic objection. It was a grave mistake, he contended, to sever the office of First Lord of the Treasury from the headship of the Government, and he considered it was equally objectionable that the Prime Minister should be at the same time Foreign Secretary, or, in fact, at the head of any great department outside the Treasury. Turning to the subjects dealt with in the Queen's Speech, he was glad to find that the Government did not anticipate any break in the peace of Europe, and asked if further information would be forthcoming with regard to the question of the Balkan peninsula. As to the legislative references of the Government, he was surprised at the absence of any mention of a Bill relating to the local government of Ireland, especially after the declaration of the late Chancellor of the Exchequer last year that the question could only be dealt with in Ireland if it was simultaneously dealt with in England and Scotland. He was glad to learn that grave crimes in Ireland had decreased ; but, having regard to the nature and incidence of the recent evictions he was surprised that no allusion was made to them. In reply to the demand addressed to him to state his views on the Plan of Campaign, he said that it was the

result of the policy of the Government and of the rejection of Mr. Parnell's proposals in the previous autumn. The Chief Secretary, he remarked, had been exercising pressure on the landlords, and Nationalist members had exercised similar pressure in a different direction.

Mr. W. H. Smith, in replying on behalf of the Government, was still more reticent in his references to Ireland, which was uppermost in all men's minds. He dwelt for some time on Mr. Gladstone's financial suggestions, and while justifying the decision of the Government with regard to naval and military expenditure he pointed out that the forthcoming Estimates would be less than those of last year, and denied that the Government had any intention of interfering abroad, except for the protection of British interests. Replying to Mr. Gladstone's inquiries, he said that papers would shortly be presented on the Bulgarian question; and stated further, in answer to an invitation to join in a settlement of the matter, that the Government had expressed their readiness to do so, provided that it was discussed upon the basis of the Treaty of Berlin, that the independence of Bulgaria was secured, and that legitimate Russian wishes were acceded to. As regards the occupation of Egypt, he said that the British army would be reduced to 5,000 men and the Egyptian army to 10,000. He denied that there was any inconvenience in the Prime Minister holding the Foreign Secretaryship; and, as to Ireland, he pointed out that the Glenbeigh evictions would not have been prevented by Mr. Parnell's Bill, and while expressing his pity for Irish tenants he appealed to Mr. Gladstone to use his influence to put an end to the illegal acts which were being perpetrated.

The second night of the debate was devoted exclusively to the discussion of Irish affairs. On behalf of the Irish Nationalists Mr. T. Harrington denied that the Glenbeigh evictions were the work of the National League. The annual rental of the Winn estate, which had at one time been 1,690*l.*, had in 1880 fallen to 275*l.*, and until a year after that there was not a single branch of the Land League in Kerry. He contended that the Chief Secretary had put pressure upon landlords who refused to make abatements, and that every official who wished for his patronage had exercised that pressure by every means at his disposal. In fact, the Government had gone far beyond the Plan of Campaign, for there was no case in which under the Plan a reduction of more than 35 per cent. was asked for. Certainly the Government had exercised pressure on the Irish landlords to reduce rents, and that pressure was enforced by many perfectly illegal means. On the other side the champion of the Ulster Protestants and Unionists, Colonel Saunderson, in giving the "butcher's bill" of the Land League for the period from Jan. 1880 to Sept. 1882, pointed out that facts did not justify the description usually given by the Irish party of these outrages. Out of fifty-seven murdered persons only four were landlords, and out of 145

attempts to murder, only ten were made upon landlords. Murder, he urged, was chiefly practised upon people who did not obey the League with sufficient alacrity; and its object was not to exterminate landlords, but to intimidate those whom native honesty or a desire to mind their own business rendered unfit to be the tools of a lawless conspiracy. Colonel Saunderson commented in a caustic manner upon Mr. Gladstone's amazing changes of opinion. Mr. Parnell and his followers, he maintained, were the same that they had been five years previously. Their policy and aims were unchanged, though they had invented methods, if possible, more flagrantly dishonest than their old ones. But Mr. Gladstone, who had no language strong enough for their condemnation so long as he could get a majority without them, took them to his bosom the instant that their aid became necessary to recruit his wasted battalions. One of Colonel Saunderson's happiest hits was his picture of the "very remarkable structure which the right hon. member for Midlothian had erected on the twin piers of British Radicalism and Irish-American Fenianism, with Mr. Gladstone as corner-stone, and Mr. Labouchere and Mr. Conybeare as ornamental gargoyles." Sir Thomas Esmond, in reply, had the courage to wish that the Plan of Campaign could be laid before the House, as he thought it would be found not only legal, but consistent with the principles of political economy. On behalf of the English Radicals Mr. T. Fry strongly deprecated the apathy of the Chief Secretary in reference to the recent evictions. He had no sympathy with those who could and would not pay rent, and with those connected with crime, agrarian or other; but as a spectator of the Glenbeigh evictions he could bear testimony to the sufferings and poverty of the evicted. He would not say a word for or against the Plan of Campaign; but nothing had given such a strong stimulus to it as the action of Sir R. Buller and the interference of the Government in endeavouring to procure large reductions of rent. It supported the idea that the action of those who endeavoured to get still larger reductions could not be so heinous a crime as was asserted. The Chief Secretary, Sir M. Hicks-Beach, in closing the night's debate on behalf of the Government, expressed the hope that some measures would soon be submitted to Parliament for ameliorating the condition of the unfortunate inhabitants of boycotted districts. It was because he had cared very much for these things, because he had been anxious to go even beyond the ordinary duty of the members of the Government responsible for Irish affairs, in endeavouring to prevent some of the sufferings, that he had been misrepresented and even accused of abetting the Plan of Campaign. Admitting the Glenbeigh tenants were unable to pay anything, was not that all the greater proof of their poverty and the misery of their condition? Did it not afford greater proof of the necessity of removing to some less impoverished district? Sir M. Hicks-Beach then went

on to ridicule the idea that the Plan of Campaign had anything to do with the rejection of Mr. Parnell's Bill of the previous session; and he denied most emphatically that he had ever attempted to exercise a dispensing power, or had ever threatened to refuse police protection to any landlord desiring to enforce his rights. He certainly had directed General Buller and other divisional magistrates to use any influence they might possess where evictions were threatened to promote a settlement between landlord and tenant, and he admitted that he might thus have gone beyond the ordinary duty of a Chief Secretary. Between this action of his and the Plan of Campaign, the object of which was to destroy the landlords, there could be no analogy. As this association was at that moment the subject of a trial, he would not dwell upon its objects; and he concluded, "I will say nothing more about it now than this, that it is not the fact that the Plan of Campaign was to apply only to cases of inability to pay rent. The Plan of Campaign meant a good deal. It meant a combination on the part of tenants to force their landlords either into taking what those tenants choose to offer them, probably to be reduced to a lower point next year, or else to leave the tenant in occupation of the land rent-free, by raising a cry throughout the country as to hardships and sufferings such as has been got up about Glenbeigh. We have done what we could with the tools ready to our hands, but the difficulties and the delays inseparable from the working of the ordinary criminal law as it now exists render it in our judgment insufficient to cope with such proceedings as the Plan of Campaign. We are pledged to maintain the Union; but it is worse than useless to maintain the Union—it would be better, as was said so eloquently in another place last night, to have separation—unless with the Union we maintain the reign of law in Ireland."

Although the Chief Secretary's explanations told upon the House in favour of the Government, it was at the same time clear that he would not shrink from proposing such measures as he considered necessary in order to maintain order in Ireland. A fresh Coercion Bill, it was seen, was imminent, and it was the duty of everyone who sympathised with the Home Rule policy to frustrate, or at least delay to the utmost, the action of the Ministry. It was this idea, suggested by the Irish Parnellites and fostered by the English and Scotch followers of Mr. Gladstone, which prolonged through seventeen weary sittings the purposeless debate on the Address, and only closed by the summary intervention of the Speaker. No useful purpose would be served, no practical insight into political opinion could be conveyed, by any detailed record of the discussions in Parliament at this stage. The members of the House of Commons significantly marked their own estimate of the proceedings by an array of empty benches. Among the few speeches which attracted attention was that of Lord Randolph Churchill (Jan. 31) on the eve of his leaving



England for some weeks. He repeated, in somewhat different terms, the reasons which had led to his resignation, and took the opportunity of complimenting Lord Salisbury as "a master of tactics," who had contrived to make his resignation depend upon his refusal to defend our coaling stations. At the same time Lord R. Churchill expressed in somewhat plain terms his dislike to the alliance between the Conservatives and the Liberal Unionists, and hinted that it would be as well if "the confab" could be thrown aside. He nevertheless expressed the hope that the Tory party would attract to its support the army of the people by means of local government, creditable administration, and wise and progressive legislation. Mr. Chaplin, in reply, asserted that Lord R. Churchill, on his own showing, had admitted it was not his "Dartford speech" which had initiated for the Conservatives the policy of progressive legislation, but Lord Salisbury's Newport speech delivered some months earlier. Incidentally, whilst defending the administration of the navy, Lord George Hamilton in the course of the same evening announced the readiness of the Government to refer the army and navy Estimates to an impartial committee, though he declined to pledge the Government to an acceptance of its recommendations. Mr. Childers seemed to be willing to accept, in lieu of a committee of investigation, a memorandum to be circulated with the Estimates, justifying the grounds on which the expenditure was framed. But this topic and others, like that of our duties towards Egypt, introduced by Mr. Cremer (Feb. 4), were debated in almost a perfunctory spirit. The Irish question absorbed every man's thoughts, and Irish business, to the exclusion of all other, engaged the attention of the House at all hours. The "Round Table Conference," described by Professor Stuart as a compromise which would enable a few men sitting on the fence to salve their consciences at the expense of a country's rights, was looked upon with little favour by the independent Radicals, and its certain collapse was regarded as a foregone conclusion. It may have been the cause of Mr. Winterbotham's return to the Gladstonian party, although his strongly expressed objection (Feb. 3) to any renewal of coercive legislation must have shown the drift of his intentions, long before his secession from his Unionist colleagues was announced. Mr. Parnell was the first to raise a definite issue by an amendment couched in the following terms (Feb. 7): "But humbly to represent to her Majesty that the relations between the owners and occupiers of land in Ireland have not been seriously disturbed in the cases of those owners who have granted to their tenants such abatements of rent as are called for by the state of prices of agricultural and pastoral produce, and that the remedy for the existing crisis in Irish agrarian affairs is not to be found in increased stringency of criminal procedure, or in the pursuit of such novel, doubtful, and unconstitutional measures as have recently been taken by her Majesty's Government in

Ireland, but in such a reform of the law and the system of government as will satisfy the needs and secure the confidence of the Irish people."

In a speech which far exceeded the limits he usually accorded himself, Mr. Parnell began by laying upon the Government the blame for what had occurred and was still going on in the west and south. If the Tenants' Relief Bill, amended in committee, had become law, it would have been found applicable to cases like Glenbeigh, where it would have saved the peasantry from the hardships to which they had been exposed; just as the Plan of Campaign would have saved them had Mr. Dillon known of their needs before the wrecking and burning had commenced.

Mr. Parnell did not blame the Government for initiating a rival Plan of Campaign against the landlords, although it was a very poor attempt at government; but he indicted it for its various short cuts towards the maintenance of law and order, as manifested in its invocation of the "inherent jurisdiction" of the Queen's Bench, in the case of his friend Mr. Dillon, instead of having him tried by a jury; in the proclamation of the Sligo meeting, called to protest against the illegal conduct of the sheriff of the county; in the packing of juries in Connaught; and in the changing of the venue of the trial of the gentlemen charged with the Plan of Campaign conspiracy, under an obsolete statute, from the city to the county of Dublin, where they would be tried by half-pay English officers and retired Government officials, who entertained a great amount of prejudice against men of the political proclivities of the accused. With great animation he denounced the "meanness" of the Government in the matter of changing the venue, pitied the straits of a Government which had been driven to "hit its opponents below the belt" by resort to one of the most miserable tricks which had ever disgraced the administration of British misrule in Ireland, and declared that neither the justice of the verdict nor the validity of the proceedings would ever be recognised by any Irishman worthy of the name.

Whilst avoiding any direct and unqualified approval of the Plan of Campaign, the leader of the Irish party dealt at length with the various aspects of the "No Reduction, No Rent" agitation, chiefly contrasting the "stumbling, shifting, broken-kneed processes" of the Government, as carried out by Sir Redvers Buller and other officials, with the more successful scheme of Mr. Dillon and his colleagues, and hinting that the Government winked at the Nationalist Plan of Campaign—the object of the Government methods and the object of the Nationalist Plan being precisely the same—until jealousy at its superior success prompted the Government to proclaim it and prosecute its managers. While declining to express any opinion upon the legality or illegality of the Plan of Campaign until after the conclusion of the trial at Dublin, he held that the pressure exercised by the Government upon landlords at least excused those disin-

terested Irishmen who had pursued the same purpose by other methods, and expressed his belief that except for the Plan of Campaign many tenants who had still roofs over their heads would have been cast upon the bare hill-sides, and he significantly warned Irish landlords and their friends that they should be the very last persons in the world to declaim against "embezzlement" and "robbery."

Mr. Parnell next depicted the dangers likely to be attendant upon a course of coercion in face of a diminution of crime. The Government would be "hurried from one measure to another"—and the incidents of their most recent history taught them that secret conspiracy, dynamite and dagger, and undying animosity were the natural sequels of such a policy. He concluded by beseeching the Government, even at the eleventh hour, to substitute for processes of pressure—which, he strikingly observed, "demoralise the Irish tenantry" more than the efforts of all the criminal agitators from New York to San Francisco—legislation which would substantially ameliorate the condition of the people and satisfy their sentiment of national self-government.

The Attorney-General for Ireland (Mr. Holmes), replying on behalf of the Government, dissented from every proposition in the amendment. With regard to Mr. Parnell's assertion that the rejection of his Bill had been at the root of all the mischief, he contended that all Mr. Parnell's predictions as to what was about to happen had failed, and that agitation was the cause of all the disturbances. As to the Glenbeigh evictions, Mr. Parnell's Bill would not have met them, nor could they have been prevented by any agrarian legislation of any kind. Commenting on the Plan of Campaign, he described the intimidation by which it was enforced, and pointed out, by numerous extracts from the speeches of Mr. O'Brien and others, that the intention of the Plan was to ruin the landlords and drive them out of the country. With regard to the dispensing power, he showed that not a scintilla of proof had been forthcoming of the charges made against General Buller, Judge Curran, and others, and defended the legal proceedings at Sligo and Dublin.

Mr. Dillon then interposed before the adjournment on the ground of "particular business" which would call him to Dublin, where he had to answer the charges preferred against him. In view of the approaching trial, he characterised the Attorney-General's pleas as an attempt to intimidate the jury before which he was about to appear. He then went on to explain and defend the Plan of Campaign, the origin of which he ascribed to the discovery that a large number of landlords had refused to be coerced by the Chief Secretary; and he maintained that the Plan had prevented evictions on all those estates where it had been put in force. He further justified it by reference to the administration of justice in Irish county courts, quoting numerous instances in which the law had been administered in com-

pliance with the exigencies of the case, and not strictly in accordance with the rights of the parties. Referring to the decrease in the population of Ireland during the last forty years, he maintained that it was solely the result of evil laws and an evil system. He ridiculed the idea of removing the people without altering the system, and he warned the Government against a policy of migration, which the people, he said, would understand to mean a policy of extermination.

On the following night Mr. John Morley, the only prominent speaker on behalf of the Opposition, declared his intention of supporting Mr. Parnell's amendment, because it asserted that Home Rule was the only remedy for the existing crisis. He maintained, moreover, that the Ministry had obtained a clue to the proper mode of governing Ireland; that the reasons which they had given for rejecting Mr. Parnell's Bill in the previous autumn had been abandoned as soon as uttered. With regard to the Plan of Campaign, he said there was no proof of the perpetration of actual injustice, and that such a combination was better than secret associations; but, if he were called on to pronounce judgment, it was not more immoral, unjust, and unpatriotic than the conduct of those landlords who had exacted the rights of property without performing any of its duties. Defining the position of the Opposition, he asserted that it was impossible to deal with the social condition of Ireland solely from the legality point of view, and repudiated the suggestion that he and his friends were responsible for all the utterances of the Irish members, or bound to support every motion they made. Referring to the removal of Sir R. Hamilton, he apprehended that it would make it more difficult for the English Government to obtain accurate information about Ireland, and that to make the office political would be to throw the administration into the hands of the lawyers. Examining the various alternatives—emigration, land purchase, and coercion—he maintained that they would have no remedial effect, and that nothing would avail but reforms of law and a system of government which would secure the confidence of the people.

The Solicitor-General for Ireland declared that the strengthening of the law had been forced upon the Government by an illegal agitation, and on the following day his English colleague (Sir E. Clarke) challenged contradiction when he asserted that the Plan of Campaign was a conspiracy which had been declared illegal by every lawyer of repute and authority who had spoken on the subject. The Marquess of Hartington on the next night (Feb. 10) addressed himself more closely to the question raised by Mr. Parnell than most of the previous speakers had done. He pointed out that the Plan of Campaign was not immediately before the House, it was not even alluded to in the amendment; and he hinted that its introduction into the debate had had the effect of withdrawing the attention of the House from the real

question at issue. This brought him to a consideration of the objection of attempting to import into the Address, by way of amendment, questions which involved no comment upon the policy of the Government as declared in the Speech. Although the amendment was legitimate in its nature, many of the speeches which had been made on it, and that of Mr. J. Morley in particular, went very far beyond its actual scope. If it was desired to consider the question of Home Rule it should be debated by itself, but it was absurd to complain in a debate on the Address that the Government showed no intention of carrying out a policy which the country only six months before had placed them in power expressly to oppose. He then dealt in detail with the charges brought against the Government in the amendment and in the speech of Mr. Parnell. He pointed out that the Eviction Bill of last session had not been rejected for the reasons which had been alleged, not because the allegations as to the fall in prices had not been proved, but because it was considered at the time that the Bill was not required, and this conclusion had been clearly proved by the subsequent action of the great majority of the landlords; moreover, if it had passed it would have provided no remedy for the evils in the particular cases which had been quoted in the course of the debate. Having briefly touched upon the present phase of the agrarian crisis in the west of Ireland, he challenged the Separatists to suggest a remedy other than Home Rule, the abolition of evictions, and the reduction or suspension of rents, which, he observed, it was impossible to accept. Mr. J. Morley had advocated emigration, and even compulsory emigration, provided it was carried out by an Irish local Government; but whilst Lord Hartington chiefly advocated voluntary emigration, he believed it could be carried out by the central Government of the country, with the access it had to colonial Governors and foreign Governments, much more effectively than by a local Government in Ireland. Turning next to the question of pressure by the Chief Secretary, Sir R. Buller, and others, he pointed out the inconsistency of some of Mr. Parnell's statements and complaints, and asked who had been aggrieved. He completely exonerated Sir R. Buller and Captain Plunkett from the charge of having threatened landlords; and, although he did not believe that any means could be devised to render unnecessary the power of eviction, he was quite prepared to give county court judges an increased equitable authority. He fully justified the prohibition of the Sligo meeting, which he showed, by reference to the notice calling the meeting, was called for an entirely different purpose than that which had been alleged; and, while denying that jury-packing in the sense which was suggested had prevailed, he admitted that there were peculiarities connected with the Irish jury system which did not exist in England: but, having regard to the threats, the intimidation, and the boycotting of jurors, he could not blame any Government for

trying to secure impartial juries by the best means in their power. Having expressed his hearty approval of the course adopted by the Government in prosecuting the authors of the Plan of Campaign rather than their victims, he examined the different opinions which had been given on the Plan, and severely criticised the argument of Mr. J. Morley that it was not more illegal or more immoral than the conduct of some of the Irish landlords. If the Plan was legal there was an end to all the legal relations between landlord and tenant, and if it was capable of being applied for a partial reduction of rent it was obviously equally capable of being applied for a total suspension; in fact, it would result in a total destruction of the rights of Irish landlords, and it was the duty of Parliament to support the Government by granting any legislation which might be found necessary to put it down. Finally, he dealt with the subject of coercion, and he argued that the proposal of the Government was very different from coercion as understood in the past. No Government could tolerate a paralysis of the law; and if a reform in criminal procedure were secured it could not be used against political opponents, as in the case of a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, but could only be used in cases where illegal acts had been committed.

The last phase of this debate was opened by Mr. Sexton, who, starting from the Irish Home Rule point of view, argued that the only material point in the Queen's Speech was the threat of coercion, which he considered was definite, and not conditional. He denied, however, that any case for coercion had been made out, either by the existence of crime or by obstacles thrown in the way of the administration of justice. As to the Plan of Campaign—which, he observed, was open, and not secret, like the plan of the Government—if it had not proved a great success, the prosecutions in Dublin would long since have been abandoned. It was a combination which, being necessary, was not immoral, and the influence of its leaders was the influence of moderation. He dwelt at considerable length upon the charges of pressure by the Government officials, and repeated the challenge to the Chief Secretary to frankly state the nature of the influence which had been used.

The debate on the part of the Opposition was then wound up by Sir W. Harcourt, who, in reply to the complaint about the length of the debate, pointed out that long debates on the address were originated by the Opposition of 1880; and, after twitting the Government with the failure of their legal advisers to defend them, congratulated Mr. Goschen, who had just taken his seat as member for St. George's, Hanover Square, on his return to the House. Regarding the Plan of Campaign as a political device, Sir W. Harcourt discussed at length the criteria of good and bad government, and the tests by which they were to be judged, concluding that the government of Ireland by

England was the worst in the world. He contrasted the divergent views of the Tory and Liberal parties with regard to free government, and gave a quotation from Burke, laying down the doctrine that a free government is what the people think to be free. With some sarcastic comments on the position of the Liberal Union, he said the real Liberals, for the reason stated by Burke, would continue to support self-government for Ireland, believing it to be the real remedy for Irish evils. The Plan of Campaign represented not merely agrarian but political discontent; and reminding the House that we had had similar manifestations of illegality in our history—such as Hampden's refusal to pay ship-money, and the throwing overboard of the tea in Boston Harbour—he asserted that the Liberal party had always maintained the same attitude towards these events as on this Irish question. Looking at it simply in its legal aspect, he had no hesitation in saying that a combination to advise people not to discharge their legal obligations was unlawful, and he condemned it as he condemned Hampden's illegality and the transaction in Boston Harbour. After some remarks on the legal prosecutions, in which he deprecated any exceptional action, he discussed the Ministerial proposals of emigration and purchase, contending that the best plan of all was to let Ireland manage her own affairs. He described the Government as a man standing with one foot in the cold bath of coercion. The Liberal party had failed in their coercive policy, and they had made up their minds not to try it again; and he predicted that if the Government attempted to carry out such a policy they too would fail.

The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir M. Hicks-Beach) commenced by rallying Sir W. Harcourt on his recent discovery that the government of Ireland was the worst government in the world, and that he had taken so complete a bath in "Parnellite juice that he had not only thoroughly changed his principles, but had even forgotten those he had formerly held." The Chief Secretary then went on to argue that in the settlement of this question the will of the English people had as much right to be regarded as that of the Irish, and that, as in all such struggles, the will of the majority must have its way. Glancing at Sir W. Harcourt's "apologies" for the Plan of Campaign, he declared that the main object of his speech was not to turn out Ministers, but to embarrass them in as difficult a task as it was possible for them to undertake. The origin and intention of the Plan of Campaign—he declined to go into the question of its legality—were to interfere with the satisfactory feeling which prevailed in the autumn between landlords and tenants, and it was the result of unnecessary agitation by the National League which was not desired by the tenants. With regard to the policy of the Government, he declared that they intended to make provision for the more efficient administration of the criminal law; and, as

soon as the report of Lord Cowper's Commission was received, they would not lose a day in submitting to the House its proposals with reference to the land question, or any others that might seem desirable. They would also submit measures for developing the natural resources of Ireland, as they would much prefer to find employment for the people at home and avoid the necessity of emigration.

The division was not, however, taken until Mr. Healy in ominous language addressed the House. He said the tenants regarded the Plan of Campaign as a "set-off" for the "landlords' Plan of Campaign," the robbery of two millions a year in rack-rents (as proved by the decisions of the Land Courts); and he broadly hinted that if a scheme of land purchase were pressed unfairly upon the tenants the Government would find itself face to face with a general "repudiation." As to the immediate present, Mr. Healy declared that "if you put these men in jail by a packed jury, as you intend to," the Plan of Campaign would be much more extensively applied to the March rents, and the country would be rendered completely ungovernable.

The division list showed that the Unionists (68 in number) of all shades had supported the Government, and Mr. Parnell's amendment was defeated by 352 to 246, and the majority would have been still further increased had not one Conservative voted by mistake with the Opposition. This first division of the session was chiefly interesting as promising that the alliance between the Unionists and the Conservatives would be maintained so long as the latter moved on the lines laid down for them by their copartners; for it was an open secret that in the State prosecutions at Dublin, and in their general Irish policy, the irresponsible Unionists were urging stronger measures than the Conservatives, if left to themselves, would have wished or dared to adopt. The Ministry, moreover, by a happy coincidence found that, whilst the majority of the House of Commons supported their action, the law courts endorsed their views. On the day on which the division on Mr. Parnell's motion was taken, the Irish Court of Appeal decided the "Plan of Campaign" to be illegal, and parties involved in a fraudulent concealment of property, guilty of an act of bankruptcy.

The decisive character of the division momentarily put a stop to further discussion of Irish affairs, and the grievances of the Scotch tenantry were next brought forward. Mr. Esslemont commenced the campaign (Feb. 14) by moving for an inquiry into the exceptional position of agricultural holders in Scotland, bound under nineteen years' leases, entered into prior to the recent serious fall in the prices of all agricultural produce. The Secretary for Scotland, Mr. A. J. Balfour, objected on behalf of the Government that if the facts were known to exist inquiry would be superfluous, and if granted it would only raise hopes which could not be realised. After some hours' debate, the



amendment was negatived by 198 to 96. On the following evening Dr. Cameron followed up the question by demanding a full inquiry into the recent events in Skye and Tiree, or what was known as the "crofters' grievance," where the military had been called in to protect the civil officers. Two nights were spent in debating this amendment, which was ultimately (Feb. 16) negatived by 253 to 196.

The proceedings of the succeeding evening (Feb. 17) were destined to mark more clearly the necessity for some radical alterations in the matter of procedure. Mr. Dillwyn rose to move the adjournment of the debate in order to call attention to the alleged jury-packing in Ireland, when the Speaker stopped him, pointing out that Mr. Sexton having a motion on the same subject fixed for a specified day, it was not competent for Mr. Dillwyn to anticipate the discussion. Mr. W. H. Smith thereupon rose to give the new Rules of Procedure precedence over all new Government business. It was, he said, "with a sense of shame" he asked the House to put some restraint upon its liberties, but the necessities of the case (illustrated by the present debate on the Address) demanded such restraint. The leaders of the Opposition silently acquiesced, Sir W. Harcourt merely remarking that the resolutions were not sufficiently strong. The Welsh Radicals, however, eagerly insisted that a day should be set aside for the discussion of the disestablishment of the Established Church in Wales; but their appeal was supported by only 158 against 261. A similar fate attended Mr. Parnell's proposal to exempt from the general rule those Wednesdays in which Bills relating to Ireland were set down, which was negatived by 242 to 107.

The general debate on the Address was then resumed by Mr. Dillon, who, after a few introductory remarks on the administration of the law in Ireland, went on to call attention to the constitution of the jury panel, by which he was then being tried at Dublin. The Speaker once more intervened with his previous objection, and after a dignified protest by Mr. Dillon at being summarily silenced, an attempt to adjourn the debate was negatived by 261 to 119. Mr. Cox thereupon interposed with an impromptu amendment, representing to her Majesty that the condition of the unemployed demanded immediate attention. After speaking for three minutes Mr. Cox gave way to Mr. Conybeare, who was, however, not allowed to proceed, having spoken at an earlier stage; and after speeches by Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Blake the Speaker rose and said that it appeared to him that the subject had been adequately discussed, that the evident sense of the House was that the question "be now put." Mr. W. H. Smith thereupon made the necessary motion, which was agreed to by 291 to 81; and Mr. Cox's amendment negatived by 283 to 84. The Speaker was then about to read the address, when Dr. Clark rose to propose an amendment (presumably with reference to South Africa), but the Speaker declaring that in his opinion the Address

had been adequately discussed, Mr. W. H. Smith moved that the question "be now put," which was carried by 289 to 74; and the Address itself was agreed to by 283 to 70. The Irish members endeavoured to make a final stand on the committee nominated to prepare the Address, but the Speaker ruled that as it was a formal matter it could not be challenged. With this the struggle practically came to an end, with the sole apparent result that the Liberal minority, which at the outset had stood as high as 158, had dwindled down to less than half that number; and that ultimately only 76 members—that is to say, a lesser number than the Irish Nationalists—alone remained to support what was everywhere regarded as a senseless hindrance to public business.

The report on the Address which was taken on the following day was devoted principally to foreign and colonial affairs. Mr. Labouchere wished to censure the Government for having separated itself from the three signatories to the Treaty of Berlin in endeavouring to prevent the abdication of Prince Alexander of Battenberg. Mr. Bryce and Sir W. Harcourt censured Lord Salisbury's "Guildhall speech" as a distinct inducement to Austria to attack Russia. Dr. Clark condemned the proposed partition of Zululand. These and other amendments having been negatived, the Address was at length agreed to, having been seventeen nights under discussion.

The most important point connected with this protracted debate was the method employed to bring it to a close. In nearly every quarter the Speaker's action was endorsed and approved—even by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which among London daily papers was most strenuous and consistent in its support of extremist views. "He was a trifle precipitate," it wrote, "shutting up Dr. Clark before he was able to explain he did not mean to continue the debate; but, on the whole, his action in that respect will be approved. The discussion on the Address has degenerated into a mere debating society palaver, and the freedom of debate can hardly be said to be interfered with when the Address to the Throne has been debated three weeks."

The *Times* expressed itself somewhat strongly:—"The debate on the Address was brought to an end last night by a repeated and most legitimate exercise of the Speaker's power of applying the closure. After the House of Commons had been worried for hours with dilatory amendments, speeches, and divisions, it became clear that the object was to reduce the proceedings on the Address to an absurdity. It is satisfactory to observe that the closure was carried by a majority of 291 against 81, which shows that only the Parnellites and a handful of reckless free-lances among the Gladstonians were willing to stand up against the authority of the Chair."

The *Standard* wrote: "After three weeks of sterile speech-making, a definite step has at last been taken towards rescuing

the House of Commons from the impotence to which the malevolence of some of its members and the vanity of others had consigned it. From the beginning of last night's sitting it was manifest that the Speaker felt himself called upon to take decisive action. A more signal victory for the Government could not have been desired; and it is not the less valuable because the cause they represented was that of Parliamentary efficiency and legislative progress."

The *Daily Chronicle*, on most questions strongly Radical, said, "In the House of Commons the Government by adroit management won two important advantages yesterday. They evaded an embarrassing debate on the Dublin trials; they succeeded in confiscating the time of private members for the disposal of the new rules, and in virtually pledging the House of Commons to close the debate on the report on the Address before a given day. It is clear from last night's proceedings that the House of Commons is not at present in a mood to tolerate any more obstruction. The majority which supported Mr. Smith in this strong measure was large enough to prove that a firm and vigorous handling of the House will always command respect from its members."

The Liberal provincial papers seemed more disposed to sympathise with those who had lost the chance of bringing their grievances to the front.

For example, the *Leeds Mercury* wrote: "It is impossible not to regret the fact that, owing to a technical objection, the attempt to raise the question of the composition of the Irish juries in the House of Commons last night was not successful. The question is one of such importance and urgency that, alike for the sake of Ireland and of the Government, the sooner it is discussed the better."

The *Birmingham Post*, the organ of Radical Unionists, on the other hand, admitted: "It was, perhaps, hard measure for Mr. Dillwyn, the more so as he had another disappointment in store; but the Speaker was clearly right in his application of the rule. Even if a point could have been justifiably stretched so as to let in Mr. Dillwyn's motion, it is hard to see what good could have come of it."

The debate on the Address having been at length disposed of, the Government at once took up the question of Procedure, which by turns every party leader had declared urgent if the House of Commons were to recover its efficiency. On the first night of the session Mr. Smith laid on the table of the House fifteen new rules, together with two amendments of the standing order relating to offensive language. The present set was practically the fifth draft which had been under consideration since Mr. Gladstone in 1882 first attempted a reform, which he then regarded as one of prime necessity, but was forced to leave incomplete. In 1886 the Conservative Government brought out a

revised set, inspired, it was said, by Lord Randolph Churchill. On the return of the Liberals to office Sir W. Harcourt submitted his proposals to the House, which were at once referred to a select committee présided over by Lord Hartington; and the result of its labours was a series of recommendations laid upon the table of the House just before the Liberals resigned. In one respect all the subsequent proposals differed from Mr. Gladstone's, in being far more stringent, whilst the incidents which marked the last night of the debate on the Address showed the necessity of relieving the Speaker from the invidious responsibility of taking the initiative in applying the closure. Mr. Gladstone's new rule declared that "when it shall appear to Mr. Speaker that it is the evident sense of the House (or of the committee) that the question be now put, he may so inform the House;" and if a motion be made "that the question be now put," Mr. Speaker shall forthwith put such question. Provided that the question, "That the question be now put," shall not be decided in the affirmative, if a division be taken, unless it shall appear to have been supported by more than two hundred members, or unless it shall appear to have been opposed by less than forty members and supported by more than one hundred members."

Mr. W. H. Smith's resolution as originally laid on the table left the initiative to any member, and permitted that at any time after a question had been proposed the motion might be made, if the consent of the Chair had been previously obtained, "That the question be now put." Such motion was to be put forthwith, and decided without amendment or debate. "Provided always that questions for the closure of debate shall not be decided in the affirmative, if a division be taken, unless it shall appear by the numbers declared from the Chair that such motion was supported by more than 200 members, or was opposed by less than 40 members and supported by more than 100 members."

The principal points of difference or development in the various proposals will be gathered from the following summary:

|                            | Lord<br>R. Churchill            | Sir<br>W. Harcourt                | Lord<br>Hartington                              | Mr. W. H. Smith                              |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|--|
| Motion of adjournment      | 100 members necessary           | "General consent"                 | As now—that is, 40 members necessary            | "Previous consent of Speaker"                |
| Division by show of hands  | In all cases if Speaker likes   | In all cases                      | If minority less than 40 (now if less than 20)  | In all cases if Speaker likes                |
| Early meetings and closing | 2 P.M.—12.30                    | 2 P.M.—12.30                      | 3 P.M.—12.30                                    | 2—12.30                                      |
| Closure at midnight        | Not proposed                    | Proposed by absolute majority     | By majority of 2-1                              | By absolute majority                         |
| Debate on address          | —                               | —                                 | Amendments Committee and report to be abolished | Committee and report to be abolished         |
| Standing committees        | All public Bills to be devolved | Estimates included — 5 committees | All public Bills—4 committees                   | Three committees—law, trade, and agriculture |

Of this imposing panoply, however, by which freedom of debate was to be protected, and the progress of public business insured, only one arm was ultimately adopted. Before the final vote on the first rule relating to the closure of debate could be taken, thirteen nights had been spent chiefly in wordy and dilatory criticism, having for its scarcely veiled object the postponing the introduction of the Bill for the reform of the criminal law in Ireland. In introducing the discussion (Feb. 21) Mr. W. H. Smith deprecated treating the subject in a party spirit. He urged that whilst it might be possible to strengthen the new rules at a subsequent period, it would be difficult to relax them. He was unwilling to put restrictions on private members, but unless they were ready to practise self-restraint in the length and number of their speeches, the new rules would avail but little; and that to fix a definite hour (half-past twelve), as the Government proposed to do, for the termination of debates, would, without such co-operation on the part of private members, facilitate obstruction. Mr. Gladstone, who on previous occasions had urged the paramount necessity of improving procedure before attempting legislation, now took a very different view of its importance. He expressed great doubts of the advantages of taking procedure as a mode of expediting the business of the session, considering the great difficulty and delicacy of getting procedure resolutions passed. Then, again, if procedure were to be taken, Mr. Gladstone attached much more importance to "devolution" than to the closure, or to any interference with private members' privileges; and on this he insisted with some emphasis. He also pointed out the inconvenience of the rule that no question could be discussed on a motion for adjournment on which a notice of motion stood for some future day, and remarked that by a little management it would be possible to exclude all discussion on matters deeply interesting to the public by giving notice of Bills dealing with various subjects. He expressed his opinion that to demand the consent of the Speaker to a motion for the closure would involve the Speaker much more directly than to give him the power, conferred by Mr. Gladstone's rule, to declare the obvious sense of the House that the debate ought to be closed; and he dreaded the danger of identifying the Speaker with partisan views under the new proposal.

Mr. Parnell then inquired whether it would be competent for him to discuss the general spirit of the rules, and subsequently to move amendments to the first rule. To this the Speaker replied in the negative, but after a wrangle arising out of a motion of adjournment, it was at length conceded that members might speak on the general question without losing their right to make amendments. Of this concession ample advantage was taken, and three nights were passed in the discussion of the general scope of the new rules, which Mr. Parnell and the rest of the Opposition argued were useless for facilitating the transaction

of business, whilst the supporters of the Government declared themselves in favour of the proposed change. Mr. Whitbread, whilst taking a discouraging view of the proposals, admitted that they might be altered to suit the wishes of all parties. Sir William Harcourt, after an unprovoked attack upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen), declared himself in favour of the closure by the bare majority without asking the consent of the Speaker, in preference to the plan of the Government, which gave the Speaker a veto on any proposal of that kind. Sir L. Playfair (Feb. 22) differed from his former colleagues in preferring an automatic closure, at the end of each sitting, to the idea of converting the rôle of the Speaker from an interpreter into a judge. Lord Hartington, a little later, while approving the general scope of the new rules, expressed his personal preference for the simplest form of closure. He had no fear of unfair action on the part of the Speaker or of the majority, and thought that the Speaker's responsibility was rather lessened than increased by the proposed change. The general discussion was at last brought to a close without any challenge to the Opposition, and Colonel Nolan commenced hostilities against the first rule by moving an amendment after the very first word, limiting the operation of the rule to those times when the Speaker was in the chair. The suggestion was supported by various Irish members, but was at length rejected by 204 to 82 votes. Mr. Parnell then moved to except any criminal legislation for Ireland from the operation of the rule, whilst Mr. J. E. Ellis proposed to extend Mr. Parnell's amendment so as to cover all criminal legislation for England, Scotland, and Ireland; but after a long discussion (Feb. 24) the proposal was negatived by 264 to 155. A subsequent proposition by Mr. Parnell to exclude votes in Committee of Supply from the operation of the closure (Feb. 25), after the promise from Mr. W. H. Smith to ensure separate debate on really separate items of a vote, was negatived by 261 to 92; whilst Mr. Sexton's still stranger suggestion to exempt debate on procedure was negatived by 170 to 80. After a short interval, occupied in discussing the Supplementary Estimate (Feb. 28) and a charge of corruption against the City of London (March 1), the debate on the new rules was resumed; when Mr. Molloy, in the absence of Mr. Parnell, moved an amendment asking for an explicit acknowledgment that "opportunity for debate had been afforded" on the subject of any motion to which the closure could be applied. Mr. W. H. Smith stated that the Government proposed to confer upon the Speaker the right of an absolute veto on the closure if he considered its application would be an abuse of the rule, or an infringement of the rights of the minority. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Childers supported the amendment; but it was, nevertheless, negatived, but by the reduced majority of 55 (241 to 186). Throughout the rest of the evening and following days, amendment followed

amendment without any practical modifications being introduced into the new rule, Mr. Childers being especially anxious to protect succeeding amendments from the penalty of the closure which had been enforced against an original amendment. On one occasion (March 1) the Speaker had to intervene to stop a motion of adjournment by Mr. J. O'Connor, as an abuse of the rules of the House, and on the following day Dr. Tanner was called upon to resume his seat for tedious repetition. The most interesting point was that raised by Mr. Whitbread, who proposed (March 2) to leave out the words "unless it shall appear to the Chair." This suggestion Mr. W. H. Smith declined to accept, for he maintained that the new rule, though leaving the Speaker in a position of great responsibility, would make it much less onerous than before. Mr. Gladstone, on the other hand, thought the responsibilities of the Chair already so serious that that office would not bear any further increase of duties. He contrasted at length the existing and proposed form of closure, and pointed out among other objections that the Speaker, when entrusted with a mere veto on a closure which involved either an abuse of the rules of the House or a violation of the rights of the minority, would be loaded with a heavier responsibility than under the existing rule by which he had only to determine the clear sense of the House.

Lord John Manners contended that the limited veto proposed would diminish rather than augment the responsibilities of the Chair; whilst it was a necessary safeguard for the minority against the arbitrary exercise of the power of the majority. Mr. L. Courtney argued in favour of the power to apply the closure being regulated by a proportionate majority. Its application might be entrusted to a permanent majority, but it would be extremely dangerous, he maintained, to leave it to the majority present on any particular occasion. Mr. Whitbread then asked leave to withdraw his amendment, in order to move the insertion of the words, 'or an infringement of the rights of the minority;' but this having been objected to, his original amendment was first negatived by 177 to 130, and his subordinate proposal by 275 to 200. Three more evenings were then devoted to the discussion of verbal alterations or amendments, none of which materially altered the text of the new rule. Amongst the points of greater interest was Mr. Parnell's proposition to prevent the application of the closure to a clause unless the majority in its favour were in the ratio of two to one, which was negatived (March 15) by 191 to 49 after a comparatively short and lifeless debate. On the following day, however, the question of the necessary majority was resumed, and every conceivable variation of the Government proposal was suggested. According to this it was requisite that the closure could only be enforced when it was supported by more than 200 members, or was opposed by less than 40 and supported by more than 100 members. Mr. Gedge, the Conservative member for Stockport, proposed to allow the closure when

it was supported by not less than 100 members, who should bear to the minority the proportion of three to two. This amendment having been rejected without a division, Mr. T. O'Connor proposed to increase the quorum from 200 to 300. This was in like manner opposed by the Government as inconsistent with the principle of a simple majority which had been accepted as the basis of the rule, and it was ultimately negatived by 222 to 120. Mr. W. H. Smith then, in pursuance of a promise made at an earlier period, proposed to add to the rule, "provided always that this rule shall be put in force only when the Speaker or the Chairman of Ways and Means is in the Chair." Although this limitation had been introduced in deference to the wishes of the Opposition, it was not allowed to pass until after a long debate, which was not concluded when the House rose. At length the dilatory tactics of the Irish Opposition seemed exhausted, and, after a fruitless attempt by Mr. Kenny to introduce the ballot in all cases when the closure was moved, the two remaining amendments were ruled out of order, the new rule, as amended, was agreed to (March 18) by 262 to 41, and, on the motion of Mr. W. H. Smith, was made a standing order of the House, and an effective form of closure was placed in the hands of the majority.

The progress of the discussion of the new rule of procedure had on more than one occasion been interrupted by the exigencies of the public service and by the zeal of fervent reformers. Amongst the latter was Mr. George Howell, who, taking the Bill for the continuance of the Coal and Wine Dues as an excuse, suddenly burst upon the House (March 1) with a charge of general corruption against the City of London. Claiming for his motion for the adjournment that the matter was one of urgent importance, he found himself at once supported by the whole Opposition with the exception of the occupants of the first bench. Mr. Howell, in the course of a long indictment, charged the Corporation of London with corruptly spending public money in order to influence the decisions of the House. He stated that the documents upon which his allegations were based showed that large sums of money, provided by a special Committee, appointed by the Corporation, had been expended through the agency of a so-called Ratepayers' Protection Society in the promotion of a bogus movement for the manufacture of fictitious public opinion, in order to defeat the Municipality of London Bill. Sir R. Fowler, an ex-Lord Mayor, speaking on behalf of the City of London, declined to be drawn into any discussion of Mr. Howell's charges, declaring that the City Corporation would not shrink from a full inquiry if a Committee were moved for. After some remarks from Mr. Bradlaugh and Mr. Labouchere, Lord George Hamilton said the Government would assent to an inquiry if it were extended to the action of other associations of the same kind. He, however, explained that by so



doing it was not to be assumed that the Government had any belief in the allegations made. Mr. Gladstone, who having remained seated when the question of urgency was put, now rose and explained that he and his friends near him had taken no part in promoting the discussion of the subject because, although they had "perceived at once that the motion was one of the gravest importance," they "did not feel satisfied that it was one which ought to be brought forward to the prejudice of all other important motions and the business before the House." He had even insisted that it was the duty of the Government, as a specific charge of corruption had been brought against a public body, to cause an inquiry to be made into its accuracy. After some further discussion the motion was agreed to, and at a later date (March 11) a committee was nominated consisting of Lord Hartington, Sir Joseph Bailey, Mr. Dillwyn, Mr. Houldsworth, and Mr. J. Stevenson. It was also decided that Mr. Bradlaugh (for the prosecution) and Mr. J. C. Lawrance (for the defence) should serve on the committee to propose and examine witnesses, but without the power of voting. The committee met and examined a large number of witnesses on both sides, who attended armed with books and papers to show how far Mr. Howell's indictment could be supported or answered. His charge was that to influence the House of Commons in its decision on the Government of London Bill, the City Corporation had been guilty of a corrupt expenditure of public money. The methods adopted by the Corporation, Mr. Howell asserted, had taken a variety of forms. Bogus meetings had been held and bogus petitions had been got up to induce the House to think that London public opinion was opposed to the Bill. "Chuckers-out" had been hired and had been sent to attend and break up meetings held in favour of the Bill. A bogus agitation had been started to petition for charters of incorporation for certain districts of London, so as to throw obstacles in the way of passing the London Government Bill. Forged tickets had been printed and issued so as to enable the opponents of the Bill to be present at meetings held exclusively by its supporters. A Metropolitan Ratepayers' Association, so called, had been organised, and with a *bonâ fide* income of 26*l.* had managed to expend more than 3,000*l.* in about half a year. The expenses of these and of other like proceedings, and the difference between the *bonâ fide* receipts and the expenditure of the Metropolitan Ratepayers' Association, had been provided out of the City funds.

The Committee lost no time in setting to work, and were able to issue their report at a sufficiently early date (March 21), to permit of its discussion in Parliament, if its inconclusive result should have made that course desirable. They stated that they had had before them the published accounts of the Corporation, divided into two portions—(1) the City cash accounts—being the accounts of the City estate; (2) the Trust accounts. The Trust

estate had been created and was managed under the direction of various Acts of Parliament. The Committee reported that it had not been proved that any sums had been expended out of these Trust funds by the Corporation. The City cash, about 350,000*l.* per annum, was derived from property which had belonged to the City from time immemorial—long before Parliament in any way intervened or created Trust estates. From 1882 to 1885 a special committee appointed by the Corporation to oppose the London Government Bill spent 19,550*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*, of which 14,189*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* was expended in 1884. With regard to the sum of 2,950*l.* paid by Sir T. Nelson to Mr. Johnson, in respect of which the charges principally rested, the Committee observed that the details of the expenditure were on the whole accurately summarised by Mr. Howell in his speech in the House of Commons. The hire of halls and a moderate amount of printing and advertising were, in the opinion of the Committee, among the necessary expenses of large gatherings. There was some conflict of evidence as to the object with which assistants or stewards were employed by Johnson and other agents of the Corporation. On the one side, it was asserted that these persons were hired to disturb by violence the meetings of the opposite party, or to suppress by violence any manifestations of dissent at their own meetings. On the other, it was contended that protection was required for speakers sent to move amendments in packed meetings held by the Municipal Reform League, and also to prevent organised interruptions by the same agency of *bonâ fide* meetings held in opposition to the Bill. The Committee stated that they had found it difficult on the evidence before them to decide accurately as to the truth of these opposite contentions. Both the Municipal Reform League and the various associations packed their own meetings to a greater or less extent, and each side attended the meetings of the other.

The report concluded as follows: "Your Committee have had, therefore, to consider two questions:—(1) Whether the Corporation had any legal right to expend the City cash at all for the purpose of defending its own existence and resisting proposals for its reform or abolition; (2) whether, assuming that it had this right, the expenditure was of an improper character.

"As to the first point, on which the charge of malversation mainly depends, the Corporation allege that from the earliest times they have freely expended the City cash without any control by Parliament or by any other authority, and that Parliament has never required that any account of the expenditure should be rendered. They have, undoubtedly, on many occasions employed their funds for purposes not directly connected with the City of London which they considered to be of public interest and importance. They claim, in fact, as regards the expenditure of the City cash, to be in the position of owners of property, not in that of trustees.

"Your Committee submit that no conclusive judgment on the question of malversation could be arrived at except by a court of law. In their opinion it has not been established by the evidence given before them.

"As to the second question, if the right of the Corporation to spend money in its own defence be admitted, a certain expenditure on public meetings, on books, pamphlets, and other literature intended to instruct the public mind, was legitimate. With reference to petitions, it appears that under the Municipal Corporations Act (45 and 46 Vict., c. 50, s. 210), in cases where municipal charters are desired, petitions by the inhabitant householders of the district so desiring are an essential preliminary to any further action. Expenditure, therefore, on the preparation of such petitions and on the collection of signatures, though, as in the case of all petitions, open to abuse and fraud, was not necessarily corrupt or improper.

"Your Committee are of opinion, however, that the total expenditure on advertisements was extravagant and excessive, though no serious attempt has been made to substantiate the charge that it was deliberately incurred for the purpose of corrupting the Press.

"Your Committee are also of opinion that no proper supervision was maintained over the agents employed by the Corporation, and that much of the money which passed through their hands was used for improper and indefensible purposes.

"Your Committee further consider the system of subsidising so-called political associations, such as the Metropolitan Rate-payers' Protection Association, to have been improper on the part of a public body. The practice of placing Corporate funds at the disposal of irresponsible and unknown persons was calculated to mislead Parliament by the appearance of an active and organised public opinion which might have no existence.

"On a review of the whole circumstances of the case, your Committee have to report that, in their opinion, the charge of malversation has not been sustained, but that improper use of a portion of the funds derived from the City's estate, under the authority of the special committee of the Corporation, has been proved."

As may be supposed, so impotent a conclusion satisfied no one; but although Mr. Bradlaugh attempted to bring the matter before the House of Commons at a subsequent period, he was unable to obtain from it any further power of inquiring into the administration of the City funds.

The Supplementary Estimates, which it was necessary in accordance with constitutional practice to vote before the close of the financial year, offered the opportunity of a prolonged struggle between the Government and a section of the Opposition. Amongst the Civil Service Estimates, an extra vote of 98,400*l.* for the Irish Constabulary opened (March 8) the door to a dis-

cussion of the conduct of the police in dispersing a recent outdoor gathering at Cork. The Chief Secretary (Sir M. Hicks-Beach), who, with great self-command under physical suffering, remained in the House throughout the evening, incautiously hinted that the treatment which Mr. John O'Connor and Dr. Tanner had experienced on the occasion only "served them right." He further warned the Parnellite members that if they persisted in holding meetings contrary to the law the results would be more serious, and that "they might get something more than bâtons." The Irish members at once interpreted this language as a threat, and insisted on its withdrawal, in their excitement bringing themselves frequently under the censure of the Chairman; but after a stormy scene, protracted to a late hour, the vote was ultimately agreed to by 246 to 121. On the following day Sir M. Hicks-Beach's resignation of his office in consequence of an acute affection of the eyes was announced. In spite of the complete accord which was known to exist between the retiring Chief Secretary and his colleagues in the Cabinet, there were not wanting those who professed to see in Sir M. Hicks-Beach's temporary withdrawal from office a further proof of the disintegration of Lord Salisbury's Cabinet. Its speedy collapse was loudly prophesied, and the selection of Mr. Arthur Balfour for the vacant post was interpreted as an act of despair on the part of ruined politicians. The loss of Sir M. Hicks-Beach's services in so difficult a post and at such a moment was undoubtedly serious; but his retention in the Cabinet, although unable to take part in its deliberations, was proof that he had no intention of severing himself from the recognised party chiefs. The selection of Mr. Arthur Balfour for the thankless office was regarded with some misgiving on account of his youth and sensitive nature; but the promptness with which the vacancy had been filled showed that in the ranks of the Conservative party there were men of acknowledged ability ready to step forward at a moment's notice to face the responsibilities of an office which in seven years had been held by no less than eight statesmen of the greatest promise (exclusive of Lord Frederick Cavendish), of whom three at least had broken down under the cares and strain of office.

On the Supplementary Army Estimates (March 10) the whole question of the occupation of Egypt was once more discussed. Mr. Bradlaugh and Mr. Labouchere were the principal critics of the Government policy. According to the latter, the 200,000*l.* which the Egyptian Government was under obligation to pay us for the loan of our army of occupation, which Lord Rosebery had declared could not be remitted, had been forgiven the Egyptians. The Government, Mr. Labouchere declared, put forward as a reason or an excuse for this remission that it was in settlement of some old claim in respect to the occupation of Suakin, in the British interest, by Egyptian troops; but it was, according to Mr. Labouchere, in reality to enable the Egyptian Government

to meet the coupon due this month, which otherwise it could not pay. He would have been satisfied if the Government had said, "We are paying this coupon because its non-payment will entail an investigation on the part of Europe, to which we object," because that course would have been frank and honest. But if we paid this coupon, the probability was we should have to put our hand into our pocket more and more—in fact, we should "turn an Egyptian security into an English consol . . . a very pleasant thing indeed for the holders of Egyptian securities, but a very unpleasant thing for the English taxpayer." The spokesman of the Ministry, in reply, insisted that the reason assigned for the payment to the Egyptian Government was the real reason; and although Mr. Campbell-Bannerman came to its support, the Radical and Parnellite members stuck to their point. Mr. Goschen stated that, as the British Government was not prepared to continue to subsidise the Egyptian army, a recasting of expenditure was going on in Egypt, which might result in a reduction of the Egyptian army—which fact, said Mr. Dillon, was not likely to facilitate our retirement from the country. There was also a good deal of complaint that money voted for English purposes had been, without the knowledge of Parliament, handed to the Egyptian Government. This Mr. T. P. O'Connor described as "organised embezzlement," and the State was depicted as on the rapid road to ruin.

The ordinary Estimates of the year, especially those of the great spending departments, were looked forward to with more than usual interest, in order to see how far they afforded a reasonable explanation of Lord R. Churchill's retirement from the Exchequer. In accordance with his suggestion, and in fulfilment of a promise made by Lord G. Hamilton, an explanatory statement was prefixed to both the Army and Navy Estimates; taking the place of the long verbal introduction by the responsible Ministers. The Army Estimates, which were the first brought forward (March 14), showed an expenditure of 18,393,900*l.*, of which 15,305,700*l.* was for effective and 3,088,200*l.* for non-effective services. As compared with the previous year's original Estimates (without taking into account the supplementary votes), the amount required for the service of the army showed an increase of 160,700*l.* But Mr. Stanhope explained that for 1887–8 the Army Estimates had to provide for an increase, on account of the armaments of the navy, of 292,000*l.* on the previous year. Certain other increases in charge were altogether beyond the control of the Secretary of State, such as:—1. Indian contribution to Vote 1 (the additional strength of the Indian army having been nearly provided in the current year) being reduced by 100,000*l.* 2. Leap-year causing an additional expense over all votes of 30,000*l.* 3. Deferred pay increased by 20,000*l.* 4. Retired pay by 45,000*l.* 5. The army reserve—by the increase of numbers—requiring in addition 25,000*l.* Total, 220,000*l.* These

sums, amounting altogether to no less than 512,000*l.*, showed that instead of an increase the Estimates proposed a reduction of expenditure, even without taking into account the supplementary votes for 1886-7. Increases had also been caused by the rise in the establishments, by the new grants to the volunteer service, and especially by the demands for armaments and military stores. On the other hand, large savings had been accomplished by the withdrawal of half the British forces from Egypt, and in other directions.

The memorandum dealt at great length with the new mobilisation scheme recently adopted at a certain immediate outlay; and this, as well as the army in India, and the cost of colonial defence, Mr. Stanhope held it impossible to reduce below the existing minimum. Assuming, therefore, these to be fixed quantities, the end aimed at was so to organise our forces as to provide for Indian and colonial garrisons, and also to furnish two army corps of regular troops, together with a strong cavalry division, and the necessary guard for the lines of communication. Mr. Stanhope explained the reduction of the artillery and the conversion of four batteries of horse artillery into field artillery by saying that the proportions of the different arms were not correct in accordance with the best views on the subject. While we were said to have too much regular artillery, steps were to be taken to get more volunteer artillery corps. The auxiliary forces were to form an integral part of the new mobilisation scheme, but volunteer riflemen were to be discouraged to some extent in favour of volunteer mining and artillery corps. There was, he admitted, a great deficiency of artillerymen, even including the first class Army Reserve, while coaling stations and military ports called for an increased number. The Secretary for War further recognised a serious deficiency of both field and fortress engineers; in return for the capitation grant being increased from 30*s.* to 35*s.*, volunteers would be required to attain a certain efficiency in shooting.

Mr. Stanhope concluded by stating that satisfactory progress was being made in supplying the artillery with the new field gun, whilst the introduction of the new magazine rifle depended on the selection of the Committee. If either the Lee-Burton or the improved Lee magazine rifle were selected no time would be lost in its construction. Provision, moreover, was made in the Estimates for carrying on the works of defence at our coaling stations and for providing them with guns, besides the amount to be voted for the work of submarine mining. The sum proposed for this service was somewhat in excess of that which had for the previous two years been included in the Estimates, but it would enable the defences of Hong Kong, Sierra Leone, and approximately those of Singapore, to be completed. Some advance would also be made in other places, and Mr. Stanhope admitted that an acceleration of this work beyond the rate of progress laid down in 1884 would be eminently desirable, especially

as it was well known that more than one station of primary importance still remained undefended.

The following is a statement of the principal points of difference between the Estimates of 1887-88 and those for 1886-87 :—

| INCREASES.   | DECREASES.  |
|--|---|
| Reduced Indian Contribution<br>for Effective Services . . £100,000<br>Additional Day for Leap Year . . 30,000<br>Pay and Deferred Pay, Net<br>Increased Charge for . . 22,000<br>Growth of Army Reserve . . 25,000<br>Militia and Volunteers . . 47,000<br>Naval Armaments and Stores . . 292,000<br>Field Guns and Magazine<br>Rifles . . 82,500<br>Rewards to Inventors . . 16,500<br>Decrease in Colonial Contributions . . 13,000<br>Miscellaneous Increases (net) . . 16,800<br>Non-effective Services (gross) . . 46,000 | Extra Expenditure<br>in Egypt . . . £233,000<br>Supplies :—Fall in<br>Prices and Reduction<br>of Establishment . . . 90,000<br>Works :—Reduced<br>Expenditure and<br>Increased Appropriations in Aid<br>(Sale of Lands, &c.) . . . 63,000<br>Native Garrison of<br>Suakin not provided for . . . 58,000<br>Clothing :—Reduction of Men, &c. . . 36,500<br>Increased proportion<br>of Egyptian Contribution appropriated in aid of<br>Army Estimates . . . 15,000<br>Increased Indian<br>Payment for Non-effective Services . . . 34,100 |
| £690,800   | 530,100   |
| Net Increase . . . £160,700  |   |

The discussion which preceded the introduction of the Army Estimates was of the usual kind, the military members of the House explaining at considerable length their special views. Colonel Duncan advocated the adoption of the barbette system on coast fortifications ; and Colonel Hamley proposed a vote of 6,250,000*l.* for a complete system for protecting the country from an enemy's enterprise. There were some, said General Hamley, in allusion to a speech by Lord R. Churchill, who would rely for our national defence on "our undying historic memories"; but it was unfortunate that the only historic reference on this subject was the subjugation of this country by William the Conqueror. He could imagine the perplexity of a hostile army landed on these shores on finding, instead of a storm of shot and shell and a forest of bayonets, only "undying historic memories." Recovered from its pleased surprise, he was inclined to think that army would resume its march upon London. "We wanted," added General Hamley, "something more substantial to rely upon." Believing that our fleet was insufficient to protect our coasts, General Hamley advocated the fortifying of our chief ports—even at our great dockyard ports there was not a single gun mounted capable of piercing the

armour of a first-class ironclad)—with guns powerful enough to keep ironclads at a distance, and light artillery for protecting the submarine defences; and he insisted upon the importance of at once training and equipping our force (including militia and volunteers) for insular defence, which, if so trained and equipped, was quite sufficient for the purpose. Captain Colomb, who followed, urged the imperative necessity of taking immediate steps for the adequate defence of our commercial ports, believing that the main danger to which this country was exposed was the delivery of a variety of small blows on its seaboard; but he would find the necessary money by economies in our present system of administration. Captain Colomb had a more attentive audience than General Hamley; but even while he dwelt upon the momentous subject of the defence of our ports there were only forty members present on the Opposition side of the House, and not many more on the Ministerial benches. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman questioned the wisdom of spending so large a sum as was proposed on magazine rifles. He referred also to the absence from the printed statement of any reference to the subject of the retirement and pensions of officers, which he urged upon the attention of the Government. Their proposal with regard to the volunteer grant met with his full support. In reply to these and other criticisms and suggestions Mr. Stanhope pointed out that the best way to secure economy in military expenditure was for the House to know exactly what it wanted for an army, and vote the money for that purpose liberally. Our force, as General Hamley had urged, ought beforehand to be trained and organised upon some definite and consistent scheme. That was the intention of the memorandum laid before the House and of the organisation scheme prepared. That scheme, for which the War Office was much indebted to the head of the Intelligence Department, General Brackenbury, organised the available forces for definite purposes and in definite ways; and in carrying it out every unit of our forces—the army, militia, and volunteers—had the precise functions pointed out that it would have to fulfil in the event of invasion, and arrangements were made for training them beforehand for the performance of their duties. Spots had, moreover, been settled upon for the concentration and embarkation of our army corps, and he hoped that before long stores would be concentrated also at those points. The defence of the coast by submarine mines had made great progress and was rapidly approaching completion. Ports were in a more efficient state for defence than ever before, but much remained to be done in supplying them with big guns. “Both parties,” said Mr. Stanley, “are to blame for the delay, but both parties are agreed that if the House of Commons would grant the means the necessary plan would be carried out with expedition.” In order to properly equip two army corps for the field, it was necessary to provide them with ammunition, for which no provision had in past times



been made except at the spur of the moment : and the Government proposed to meet these necessities by a reduction in the horse artillery, of which there was a superabundance. Having touched upon the advantage of retaining recruits at the regimental depôts, on the need of deciding upon some system by which horses could be procured in times of pressure, and of coming to a speedy selection of the magazine rifle, Mr. Stanhope concluded and obtained his votes for men and pay without further delay.

The First Lord of the Admiralty followed the example of the Secretary for War by prefixing an explanatory statement to his estimates of the requirements for the year. The total sum demanded was 12,476,800*l.*, as compared with 13,270,000*l.* voted for the year 1886-7. The First Lord showed that this decrease of expenditure (794,300*l.*) had been found compatible with a material increase in the effective strength of the navy. The money required would, he said, provide for the service of 62,500 officers and men, as compared with 61,400 in the preceding year, while the number and power of the ships in the first reserve, and ready for commission at the close of the next financial year (March 31, 1888), would be much in excess of any similar provision for many previous years.

The results thus indicated had been attained partly by policy, partly by improved methods of administration. The construction of vessels of the largest size had been greatly accelerated, and it was anticipated that in the ensuing year there would be finished and passed into the first reserve ten armoured ships, two protected ships, seven torpedo cruisers, three torpedo gunboats, and three composite sloops and gunboats, making twenty-five vessels in all. In 1886-7 the whole addition to the fleet had been three armoured ships, one protected ship, three partially protected ships, and thirteen unprotected ships. The programme of new ships to be laid down amounted to thirteen new vessels, of which two were to be 20-knot steel-bottomed protected cruisers, three to be 19½-knot copper-bottomed protected cruisers capable of remaining afloat for long periods, and the remainder sloops and gunboats of improved design.

A diminution in the amount of liabilities for vessels and engines constructed was another notable feature in this financial statement. Those liabilities stood at 2,680,000*l.* in April 1886, and were estimated to be 1,080,000*l.* in April 1887 ; yet at the end of the financial year 1887-8, including the cost of new ships and engines contracted for during that year, they would be reduced to 481,000*l.* An almost similar reduction of liability for ship-building in the dockyards was also shown. The large augmentation in the fighting strength of the navy effected simultaneously with a reduction of annual expenditure and incurred liabilities was evidence that naval finance, so far as outlay and return were concerned, was at length in a more satisfactory condition, and that it would be possible under a system of

judicious management to associate for some time to come a reduction of expenditure with an increase of efficiency.

Another section of the statement was devoted to the consideration of the "value of the fleet, and estimate of annual expenditure necessary for replacement." It was only on a knowledge of this that a continuous naval policy could be based. Lord George Hamilton estimated the annual depreciation which ought to be replaced by new construction at 1,808,000*l.* As a matter of fact the aggregate expenditure from 1865-6 down to the completion of Lord Northbrook's programme would amount to 89,119,100*l.*, or an average of 1,778,000*l.* per annum on new construction; and we were still bearing the burden of the special programme adopted in 1884 for the purpose of meeting acknowledged deficiencies. It required 997,000*l.* in the ensuing year, and in addition to this the normal cost of new production was fixed for the year at 1,665,000*l.*

Lord George Hamilton then went on to review the naval expenditure of the past six years. He stated that the introduction of slow-burning powder, the alterations in the design of heavy ordnance, the development of the defensive power of armour-clads, and the great increase in speed, largely increased the naval expenditure of Europe. England was the last naval Power to recognise the new conditions. In 1885, under popular pressure, the Government of that day admitted the insufficiency of its previous arrangements, and the whole of the expenditure then voted had fallen upon three instead of five years, and the sum of 3,100,000*l.* voted for building ships in private yards was found to be insufficient to complete the work it began. Dealing with the shipbuilding policy of the present Board, he said that the general character of the work done to new ships in 1886-87 might be described as rapid advancement, the most notable examples of rapid progress being the "*Trafalgar*," the "*Nile*," the "*Immortalité*," and the "*Aurora*." In reference to torpedo-boats, he pointed out that the Board had decided in future to build for sea-going purposes vessels of large dimensions, and to adopt a new type of second-class torpedo-boat capable of being lifted on board ships of a certain displacement.

With regard to the all-important question of armament, Lord G. Hamilton stated that "the only breechloaders in the British service were of the most modern type," and that in April 1888 we should have no less than 1,281 of these guns. Only a few months previously it was officially admitted that the only modern armour-piercing breechloading guns afloat were those of the '*Colossus*,' and those the captain of that vessel had been specially ordered not to fire.

In the discussion (March 17) which preceded the first vote (for men and boys), in which the principal authorities on shipbuilding, ship-commanding, and ship-sailing took part, Mr. Gourley desired the appointment of a committee to report on

designs for war-ships, the need for which, he said, was abundantly proved by the admitted fact that the new belted cruisers, as well as the "Imperieuse" and "Warspite," would carry their armour six inches below instead of eighteen inches above the water-line. He believed that we had got an entirely wrong type of ship. The Channel Squadron could not, he asserted, manoeuvre together at a greater speed than six knots an hour, and if our war-ships succeeded in actual warfare, the success would not be due to the merits of the vessels, but to the ability and pluck of our seamen. Mr. Shaw-Lefevre dwelt upon the fact that the "Nile" and "Trafalgar," which, as Admiral Commerell remarked, would, when completed, be the two greatest war-ships in the world, were undertaken contrary to the advice of both the late and the actual Chief Constructors of the Navy (Sir Nathaniel Barnaby and Mr. W. H. White); and he practically charged Lord George Hamilton with converting into a private paper a document in which Sir Nathaniel Barnaby and Mr. W. H. White repudiated responsibility for the design, which was really forced upon the First Lord by the Naval Lords.

Sir Edward Reed, speaking from the same side of the House as Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, and at all events with more practical knowledge of the subject, having been once Chief Constructor of the Navy, took a very different view. He was full of praise of Lord George Hamilton's administration, which had converted an amateur force plagued by politicians into a real public service. Mr. Forwood on behalf of the Government took a cheerful view of the situation, maintaining that the Admiralty was the best qualified body to judge of the type of ships to be built, that it possessed abundant means for building them, and that the designers had done their best. The hindrance to good results lay in the constant changes of designs after ships had been laid down. Admiral Sir John Commerell, in reply, declared that the Admiralty was always in too great a hurry to lay down ships, too slow to launch them.

The next vote (victuals and clothing) gave rise to a protracted but aimless discussion (March 21), and was at length obtained at 4.30 A.M. by the first application of the new Closure rule. The resistance on this occasion was in some degree the outcome of a misunderstanding between the Government and the Opposition. The former wished to obtain a vote on account of the Civil Service Estimates, and, finding the debate on the Navy Vote wearily prolonged, proposed to defer its further consideration and to take the vote on account of the Civil Service. This proposition was met with general protests from the Opposition, and in spite of the appeals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to allow the vote to be withdrawn the war of words continued to rage. A division taken at 1.30 A.M. on the question to report progress showed that the Government supporters (196) fell short by four of the requisite number to enforce the Closure under the recently passed new

rule. As the necessity of obtaining the Civil Service votes was imperative, it was not within the power of the Government to consent to an adjournment of the House; and the debate wearily progressed until 4.30 A.M., when the whips were able to report the arrival of a sufficient body of supporters. Mr. W. H. Smith thereupon rose and proposed that the vote should "be now put," and this having been agreed to by 207 to 54, the vote was carried without further discussion. It was 5 A.M., however, when Mr. Courtney put a two-months' vote on account of Civil Services, to which Mr. Labouchere at once moved an amendment that a fortnight's vote only should be granted. After a long discussion on the general vote an attack was then commenced upon its various details, the vote for Royal Palaces being chiefly subjected to criticism; and the salaries of Cabinet Ministers were discussed at length. The Irish members based their obstruction on the ground that they were waiting for the Chief Secretary for Ireland in order to learn from him what steps he proposed to take for the security of order in Belfast. Mr. Balfour, who arrived a little before 11 A.M., having been in the House the greater part of the night, at once gave the views of the Government on the Belfast Riots Commission Report, and promised that some of the suggestions would be dealt with in the forthcoming Crimes Bill. A somewhat bitter wrangle ensued, in which Mr. Dillon and Mr. Sexton took the leading parts; and at last, soon after noon, the latter said that, the purpose of his friends having been attained, they would allow the vote to be taken. After a sitting which had lasted continuously 21½ hours, the House was allowed to adjourn, to reassemble three hours later, and to listen to the introduction of the most important measure of the Session.

The Civil Service Estimates, which on many subsequent occasions were destined to raise long and acrimonious discussion—in some instances justifiable but in others merely dilatory—were laid before the House without any explanatory statement, printed or verbal. It was perhaps thought that the close criticism applied to the votes (at least to those which came first in order) was of such a nature as to render any anticipatory defence unnecessary. Their total amount for the year 1887–8 was set down at 17,905,968*l.*, or 110,700*l.* less than the corresponding total of 1886–7. Class 1, comprising works and buildings, was reduced from 1,834,101*l.* in 1886–7 to 1,708,524*l.* for 1887–8. This decrease of 125,577*l.*, however, resulted mainly from the postponement of inevitable expenditure, such as that on the new War Office and Admiralty buildings. Reductions were made of 49,966*l.* under public buildings, 18,837*l.* under Revenue Department buildings, and 27,827*l.* on the surveys of the United Kingdom. In Ireland, a saving was shown of 17,931*l.* on the buildings of the Royal University, and of 12,673*l.* on Irish public buildings. In Class 2 (salaries, &c., of public departments) there was also a decrease, the total being 2,467,908*l.*, or 9,443*l.* less than in the preceding

year. The Land Commission Vote showed an increase of 6,977*l.* in consequence of the passing of the Extraordinary Tithes Bill of 1886.

Under Class 3 (law and justice) there was a large decrease of 50,602*l.*, the total for 1887-8 having been 6,266,585*l.* This decrease was more than covered by the reduction of 54,661*l.* under the Prisons Vote, owing to the operation of a reform whereby convict prisons and ordinary prisons were to be managed by one and the same body. A similar saving was effected in Ireland of 12,886*l.* On the other hand, the Irish Constabulary Vote was increased by 15,382*l.*, with a view to maintaining law and order in Ireland.

Class 4 (education) showed a total raised from 5,447,982*l.* to 5,550,216*l.*, or a net increase of 102,234*l.* augmented by cutting down the Science and Art Department by 5,135*l.* and the British Museum by 14,900*l.* so as to allow for additional expenditure of 55,818*l.* on public education in England and Wales (making 3,478,807*l.* for 1887-8), of 29,129*l.* in Scotland, and 45,978*l.* in Ireland.

Class 5 (diplomatic and consular services) showed a total of 617,350*l.*, or 27,514*l.* less than the current year. This result was attained by the reduction of the South African Vote by 23,457*l.*, and of the vote for grants in aid to colonies by 3,700*l.* Cyprus, too, appeared to be increasing in prosperity, as the Imperial grant to the island was reduced by 2,000*l.* The only increase was one of 2,240*l.* for the purpose of putting down the slave trade and assisting freed slaves.

Class 6 (superannuation, &c.) amounted for 1887-8 to 1,248,116*l.*, or 7,852*l.* more than 1886-7, the chief increase being under pensions. The pauper lunatics of England and Wales were expected to cost 5,000*l.* less during the coming year, while those of Scotland and Ireland were to cost 2,500*l.* and 2,000*l.* more respectively.

It was not until long after the commencement of the new financial year that the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) found an opportunity for explaining the means by which he proposed to provide for the expenditure of the year. In a speech which did not disappoint the most sanguine expectations, Mr. Goschen showed himself (April 21) not only a skilful financier but a lucid exponent of fiscal problems; and having a surplus to distribute, he arranged his Budget in such a manner that all classes and all interests should receive a proportionate benefit.

Dealing first with the revenue of the previous year, and giving details of its principal items, he showed that while the Budget Estimate for 1886-7 had been 89,689,000*l.* the actual payments into the Exchequer had amounted to 90,772,758*l.*, and the expenditure, in like manner estimated at 89,610,000*l.*, had actually been 872,000*l.* less. The surplus calculated by Sir William Harcourt at 259,000*l.* had been turned into a deficit of a

million by supplementary estimates of 1,259,000*l.*, which in turn, by the savings on the expenditure, would be turned into a final surplus on last year's finance of 776,000*l.* Pausing to make some general observations on the expenditure and the revenue, he drew attention first of all to the large extra charge imposed on the Navy Estimates by the 'navy scare' of November 1885, and expressed not only a hope but a belief that it might be possible to make considerable reductions on the Army and Navy Estimates. As to the Civil Service Estimates, he showed that since 1868-9 they had increased by about 88 per cent., and that this was due, not to increased cost of administration, but to new functions being constantly forced on the State by public opinion and Parliament. With regard to the revenue, to illustrate its gradual loss of all elasticity, he gave some interesting statistics, which showed how the increased produce of the taxes had fallen from 10·8 per cent. in the quinquennium 1860-5, and 24 per cent. in the quinquennium 1870-5, to 1 per cent. in the last year. He gave details also as to the considerable falling off in the alcoholic revenue, and as to the progress of the free breakfast-table movement, showing that the pound of tea and sugar which in 1860 cost 2*s.* 6*d.* would now cost only 1*s.* 7½*d.* He illustrated the unsatisfactory character of the revenue raised from the higher classes by reference to the falling off in the yield of the different schedules of the income-tax. From all this he drew the general conclusion that the commercial and agricultural depression, while it had touched the two extremes of the social scale severely, had not affected the profits of the middle-man. Then, passing to the finance of the coming year, he estimated the total revenue for the year at 91,155,500*l.*, and the expenditure at 90,180,000*l.* leaving in round numbers a surplus of 975,000*l.* Having ascertained that there would be this surplus of 975,000*l.*, and answering the usual question "What will he do with it?" he said the first thing he would propose would be to increase it by raising the stamp duty on the transfer of debenture stock from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 10*s.* per cent., but companies would be able to compound or free themselves from the obligation by paying a tax of 1*s.* per cent. He anticipated that the effect of this and other small changes in the Stamp Duties would amount to about 100,000*l.* Digressing next into the question of local loans, which, he said, had amounted to over a hundred millions since the beginning of the century, he explained a plan of dealing with them by which he would take them out of the Budget and would establish a separate account for them, putting an end to the system of borrowing on Treasury Bills for what he considered were temporary loans. He proposed to create a local stock of 37,000,000*l.*, and to cancel all those portions of the Public Debt which might be said to be earmarked as local loans. The new Local Budget, he explained, would be subject to an annual charge of 150,000*l.*, to recoup some 4,000,000*l.* of local loans which had been wiped off, and

the general cost of the operation would cause an apparent annual loss of some 330,000*l.* Next he discussed the circumstances under which the charge for the debt had been fixed at 28,000,000*l.*, pointing out that the Sinking Fund was kept up by the income-tax payers; and, if it were to be permanently maintained, it must be at an endurable point; and concluding finally to reduce the fixed charge to 26,000,000*l.*, the net result of which would be to give a relief of about 1,700,000*l.* annually. Out of the surplus thus created he proposed, first of all, to reduce the income-tax by a penny, which would cost a round sum of 1,560,000*l.* Under this head the farmers would be allowed the option of paying on their profits instead of on their rents. Next he explained the relief proposed to be given in assistance of local taxation, premising that the Government still hoped to bring in a measure for the establishment of a system of local government. But in the interim a sum equal to the total amount of the carriage-tax was to be handed over to the local authorities, 245,000*l.* for England and 35,000*l.* for Scotland; and in addition to this 50,000*l.* would be given to Ireland for the promotion of arterial drainage. For the special benefit of the working-classes, he proposed to reduce the tobacco duty from 3*s.* 6*d.* per lb. to 3*s.* 2*d.*, at a cost to the revenue of 600,000*l.*, whilst a slight modification of the duties on marine insurance would remove some restrictions on the rich trading classes. The general result showed a balance of revenue over expenditure of 975,000*l.*, further increased by 100,000*l.* from stamps and 1,704,000*l.* from the reduction of debt charges, making the sum 2,779,000*l.* This surplus Mr. Goschen disposed of by a reduction of 600,000*l.* on the tobacco duty, 1,560,000*l.* of income-tax, 280,000*l.* in aid of local taxation in England and Scotland, and 50,000*l.* in aid of arterial drainage in Ireland—in all a relief of 2,490,000*l.*; leaving an estimated surplus of 289,000*l.*

In the conversation rather than discussion which followed, Sir William Harcourt thought the financial condition of the country to be healthy, and that it suffered more from increase of expenditure than from diminution of revenue. He repudiated, however, the notion that any reduction was to be expected in the cost of the Civil Service, but insisted that it was in naval and military expenditure great savings could be effected. With regard to the application of the surplus, his chief regret was that none of it had been applied to improve the condition of the old coinage.

Lord R. Churchill, touching upon the currency question, which he also regretted had not been dealt with by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, suggested that the only way to deal with light gold, without throwing a burden on the taxpayer or penalising the last holder, was to abolish the half-sovereign and re-arrange the bank-note issue. Turning to the Chancellor of the

Exchequer's statement, he complimented him on his action in regard to the Egyptian expenditure, to which he attributed the surplus of last year, but maintained that the estimated surplus for the coming year was due to reductions which he had made or had recommended. He regretted that Mr. Goschen had said nothing on the subject of economy, and, canvassing his suggestion as to the retrenchment in the Civil Service, admitted that a small saving might be effected, especially in the votes for the Education and Science and Art Departments, but insisted that it was in the great spending departments of the army and navy that more economy was required. He enlarged upon the immense gross annual increase in naval and military expenditure which had been incurred since 1883, and argued that if that expenditure were maintained it should be thrown upon the general body of the taxpayers. He strongly objected to the proposed interference with the National Debt, which, he contended, was out of accord with all sound financial principles; and he protested against the contribution to the local rates, which he considered altogether destructive to economy.

On a subsequent evening (April 25) Mr. Gladstone resumed the debate by observing that, so far from this being the "humdrum Budget" premised, it would be a very memorable one as far as the principles involved were concerned. Proceeding to review the main features, he referred first of all to the local subventions, to which he repeated his well-known objections—their extravagance, their tendency to weaken the momentum in favour of local government reform, and the transfer of charges borne now by property to taxes contributed in a great measure by labour. As to the local debt, he objected to the creation of a new debt, and recommended that it should be added to one of the old debts. He did not object to the reduction of a penny in the income-tax, but he maintained that it ought to be done by reduction of expenditure and not by taking two millions from the Sinking Fund. This proposal, he said, was contrary to all sound financial principles, and, as he argued in an elaborate review of the various Sinking Funds from the time of Sir R. Walpole to Sir S. Northcote, was wanting in courage and consistency, and reduced the provision for the debt to a lower point than it had ever stood at before.

Lord R. Churchill, in supplementing his former remarks, greatly doubted the policy of making a large reduction on indirect taxation, and, in view of the promised local government measure, deprecated the proposed grant in aid of the local rate. Enlarging on the necessity of economy, he challenged the Chancellor of the Exchequer to say that retrenchment was impossible, having regard to the increase in the Army and Navy Estimates during the last three or four years, and much regretted that the Government had fallen a victim to the temptation—which every previous Chancellor of the Exchequer had resisted—of laying



hands on the Sinking Fund in order to propose a popular reduction of taxation.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in reply to the various criticisms, pointed out that the reduction of the tobacco duty was proposed because the imposition of the additional 4*d.* had not only failed to increase the revenue, but had resulted in the production of an inferior article. As regarded the relief of the local rates, no new principle had been started, and as the Government were prepared to introduce a measure of local government the proposal was only in the nature of temporary relief, and no harm would result from the grant of it. As to the reduction of the income-tax, he denied that it would encourage extravagance, and maintained that it was from penury rather than from wealth that the tax was principally derived. This he illustrated by showing that no fewer than 438,000 persons paid income-tax on incomes under 400*l.* a year, and those persons, he thought, would scarcely approve of the tax being kept at 8*d.* simply for the purpose of maintaining the financial morality of the country. The reduction of the National Debt depended mainly on this tax, and though the reduction of the debt in 1874 was at the rate of only three millions a year, Mr. Gladstone, he reminded the House, had proposed to get rid of the income-tax altogether. On the subject of economy he endorsed the views of Lord R. Churchill, but, in reply to his suggestion that naval and military expenditure should be reduced, he was convinced that the country would not be satisfied unless the army and navy were maintained in a thorough state of efficiency.

After a desultory conversation, prolonged throughout the evening, the Budget resolutions were agreed to without amendment.

Whilst the House of Commons had spent nearly the whole of the time between its meeting and the Easter Recess in discussing the Address and the new Closure rule, the House of Lords had been dealing with various questions for which legislation was pressing. The range of such questions had year by year become more restricted in view of the unwillingness of the Commons to consider measures which had not originated in their own House. Even in bills, such as those relating to legal reform, on which the Peers were eminently qualified to speak with authority, the Commons on more than one occasion had rendered the labours of the Upper House fruitless by a refusal to discuss measures sent down from it. The present session formed no exception to the general rule. The Lunacy Acts Amendment Bill, for which the pressing need had been admitted for some years, shared the fate which had attended all similar efforts. Introduced by the Lord Chancellor (January 31) at the beginning of the session, its general scope was discussed and approved on its second reading (February 7), and after three nights' careful debate in Com-

mittee it was read a third time (March 17) and sent to the Commons, where after remaining for some months on the orders for its second reading it was discharged (August 1) without a word of discussion. A like fate attended the Appellate Jurisdiction Bill presented by the Lord Chancellor (February 4), the Church Patronage Bill of the Archbishop of Canterbury (February 18), the Glebe Lands Bill of Viscount Cross (February 8), the Tithe Rent Charge Bill of Lord Salisbury (March 25) and the Copyhold Enfranchisement Bill of Lord Hobhouse (February 3), as well as the Railway and Canal Traffic Bill introduced by Lord Stanley of Preston (February 28) and the Electric Lighting Act Amendment Bill introduced by Lord Thurlow (January 31). Scarcely any of these presented considerations of a party nature, whilst all dealt with matters in urgent need of treatment, but not one of them was even explained to or seriously urged upon the attention of the House of Commons, and of the proceedings of the Lords before Easter, scarcely a vestige was to be traced on the Statute Book at the close of the session.

The speeches outside Parliament in so far as they relate to the attitude of the Liberal Unionists—the most important question of the moment—have been already noticed in the preceding chapter. In spite of the zeal and ability with which their leaders defended their position, the results of the by-elections showed that it was either not understood or not appreciated by the constituencies. The fortunes of the Gladstonian Liberals which, in England at least, had fallen very low at the close of the previous year had recovered in a marked way before Easter. Their successes at Liverpool, Burnley, and in Derbyshire had shown how strong was the attachment of the Liberals to their party in districts made up of electors of every class. Mr. Gladstone moreover, in view of the prospects of a new Coercion Bill, and the difficulties inherent in an Irish Land Bill, was justified in looking forward with satisfaction to the outcome of the next few months. If the Unionists, disheartened by the defeat of their candidates in urban and provincial constituencies, could be detached from their Conservative allies by their dislike to punitive or coercive legislation, the chances of the overthrow of Lord Salisbury's Ministry were not far from realisation. It was therefore the object of the principal Gladstonian Liberals, both inside and outside Parliament, to address themselves rather to their quondam associates than to the difficulties of the situation which had arisen in Ireland. It was therefore left to the Conservatives to place before the nation the difficulties with which the Ministry had to grapple. Lord Salisbury, in speaking to the members of the National Conservative Club (March 5) at Willis's Rooms, boldly faced the matter. All the politics of the moment, he said, were summarised in the word "Ireland," and the object of their opponents was to make it appear that the position occupied by the Ministry was one they had made for themselves, and from which

they could by their own choice escape. This might be possible in a despotic State, but in a constitutional country it was necessary to walk strictly within the limits of the law, and if that law was not suitable to the circumstances of the case, Ministers of their own authority could not alter it. "The machinery of your social government," Lord Salisbury went on to say, "which would go on well in England, has broken down in Ireland in one essential and vital point. The great object of society is that wrong should be redressed and that crime should be punished. But wrongs can only be redressed and crime can only be punished by the action of the law, and its action in Ireland is paralysed, and has broken down in an essential point, because Irish jurymen, or a sufficient number of them, do not sympathise with the law, and will not give their aid in carrying it out."

Referring to the reasons why Ireland was so discontented, Lord Salisbury denied that the question of nationality had very much to do with it. Directly the Irish Nationalists left Westminster, they dropped the national cry altogether, and spoke only of the land question; and Lord Salisbury maintained that it was really the land question, and not the question of nationality, which made Ireland so unmanageable. In Greece, in Italy, in the Tyrol, in France, in Belgium, during the agitations for national freedom, it would have been impossible to carry the country with the agitators by "preaching a wholesale system of fraudulent bankruptcy." Yet that was the course which the Irish agitators found most effective. Remedial measures of no light importance were possible in Ireland, but they could not be applied till the law had been strengthened and enforced. "Legislative relief, instead of tending to quiet, will only aggravate the disorder, so long as it is believed that more agitation can wring more measures of the same kind out of the legislature of this country."

In Lord Salisbury's eyes what was necessary was "for the country to take to heart that this is no common task on which they are engaged. It is altogether outside their experience of politics. It is not a question of this party or that; it is not a question of the career of statesmen or the fate of parties. These are infinitely small matters compared with the vast issues with which we are engaged. We are engaged upon a struggle on the issue of which depends whether our existence as a great empire is to continue or not, and we must address ourselves to that conflict with the qualities required for a conflict of that kind. There are institutions, there are sentiments, which are fit for a period of repose such as this country has generally enjoyed; there are sentiments and laws which are necessary for a period of struggle. We have entered upon a period of struggle. Our national fault is that too much softness has crept into our counsels; and we imagine that great national dangers can be conjured by a plentiful administration of platitudes and rose-

water. It is a far graver crisis in which we are engaged; the age is not an age for such soft sentiments as that. Great conflicts are dawning upon us; great antagonisms are arising; vast questions, vast controversies which shake society to its centre, are gathering more and more in importance; and, depend upon it, no self-deceiving optimism will extricate you from dangers of this kind. A stern duty will be imposed upon the men, whoever they are, who have to rule in the times that are before us, and from that duty they will not escape except under pain of betraying the most sacred trust that can be reposed in them. Our task, the task in which we are engaged with respect to Ireland, is not a selfish one. It is, indeed, in one sense beneficial to ourselves, because we could not endure, as I have said, a hostile community at our side; but what we are seeking to do is to restore them to the ways of prosperity and peace. We are seeking to restore confidence, without which industry cannot thrive. We are undertaking no enterprise against liberty; on the contrary, we are confronting the most dangerous enemies to liberty. Our object is to restore real freedom to the Irish people. We must not falter in that undertaking; we must not be impatient because success does not immediately reward our efforts. We must not suffer ourselves to be distracted from this great duty by the wretched and petty strifes of parties, or imagine that we can excuse ourselves from the great duty that the circumstances of our time impose upon us by saying that we are following this leader or that. We have much higher duties to fulfil; but, believe me, if only we will bring to them that patience and tenacity which are characteristic of the English character, we shall succeed in conjuring a great danger from ourselves and restoring to our sister country a prosperity which has long been a stranger to her shores."

To this speech Mr. Gladstone made answer at a dinner given to the Liberal members of Yorkshire (March 17) in which he devoted much time to discussing the attitude which austere Liberals should maintain towards those who had receded from the Home Rule Bill. He thought nothing should be done which should wound or embarrass them, but that they should lay to heart Mr. Schnadhorst's remark to the effect that if the leaders did not settle this matter among themselves in the Liberal party the people would. In the next place Mr. Gladstone declared that there could be no greater misfortune than if, by a hasty acceptance of formulæ not thoroughly understood they should profess that an agreement had been arrived at when in point of fact only a form of words had been agreed to, which on examination proved to be without value.

Mr. Gladstone believed that Lord Salisbury and his friends who talked of the nightmare of the Irish Question were themselves more than half convinced that Home Rule must come. He declared that it was no more use trying to touch any other

great question till the Irish Question was out of the way than it would be to move on a train till the débris of a collision had been removed from the line on which the train was placed.

Turning to the Land Question he said: "Of all the points which caused our defeat in the last General Election, and certainly of all the points which constituted—as far as I know—the difficulty amongst our best friends, the most important and the most dangerous was this—that we had to propose to make a very large use of Imperial credit for the purpose of buying out the Irish landlords. I think, gentlemen, you will not differ from me much in the great importance which I assign to that subject as an element in the decision of the last General Election. Well, let me say this as regards the use of Imperial credit on that occasion. I have the firmest conviction that we never proposed to risk a sixpence. But that does not decide the case. The use of Imperial credit upon a large scale is a very large and important question in itself, and besides that it is not to be denied, in my opinion, that the mind of the country was greatly stirred upon that subject, and that the Liberal mind of the country was very adverse for the most part to the proposal. But, gentlemen, my duty is to consider, is that proposal essential to any sound plan of policy for Ireland? I at once tell you this, and make a confession, that in our proposal on behalf of the Irish landlords in the last session of Parliament we went to the furthest point on their behalf that we could strain ourselves to go, and we did that upon two grounds, partly because we knew that they had been the petted children of England, which now, as it were, was turning round upon them in some degree, and partly because we wished to give to our opponents every inducement for a great and a speedy settlement of a national question. I cherish the hope—it is almost a belief in my own mind—that it will be perfectly possible to devise a plan for the safe purchase of estates in Ireland by which the landlord will receive a perfect security in respect of the price of his property, whatever the just price may be, without trenching on Imperial credit. I am not now speaking of minor questions or minor sums. I am speaking of the basis of the general plan, and as regards the basis of the general plan I can conceive it possible to arrange a plan which will provide for the purchase and sale of estates in Ireland without the general use of Imperial credit; but any such plan known to me absolutely and essentially requires, as a vital condition, the institution of a real Irish Government able to speak and to act for Ireland, and without that I do not see how to stir a step towards the adoption of such a plan."

These speeches from the two leaders placed clearly before the public the aims which each had in view; on the one hand the pacification, and on the other the conciliation of Ireland. The rest of the session was to be devoted to showing how each pursued his special object.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE CRIMES AND LAND BILLS (IRELAND).

Introductory Proceedings—Mr. Balfour's Speech on the Crimes Bill—The Land Bill in the Lords—Debates in the two Houses—The *Times* on Parnellism and Crime—Alleged Breach of Privilege—Speeches out of Parliament—Mr. Gladstone at Swansea—Prolonged Debates in Parliament—Obstruction—The Land Bill in the Commons—The Ministerial Change of Front—Both Bills passed.

SHORTLY before the House of Commons adjourned for the Easter recess Mr. W. H. Smith moved (March 22), "That the introduction and several stages of the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Bill have precedence of all orders of the day and notices of motion, including the rules of procedure, whenever the Bill shall be set down for consideration by the Government as the first business of the day." He urged, as the reasons for this motion, that Ireland was in a state of disorganisation, that the law was not being enforced, and that it was the duty of the Government to see that the law should be observed, and that the machinery for enforcing it was in complete and successful operation. The Government, he said, were bound to act upon their sense of public duty, informed by facts which were known to everybody in the House and to the whole world. Those facts amounted to this—that juries were intimidated, and that criminals notoriously guilty of acts inimical to the best interests of society passed scot-free from the dock, against the declaration of the judge, and to the distinct prejudice of the best interests of the community. Mr. Smith alluded to a speech made by Mr. Gladstone in 1881, from which he quoted the following passage:—

"When the Executive Government of the country have arrived at the conclusion that there is sufficient evidence to convince Parliament that a demand for extraordinary powers ought to be made and acceded to, it becomes the duty of the Executive Government—and I would also humbly presume to say the duty of the House of Commons in conjunction with the Executive Government—to use every lawful and proper means for giving due despatch to the consideration of the demand."

That, Mr. Smith stated, was the position taken by the Government. They believed—they knew—that there was evidence which ought to convince Parliament that the demand for extraordinary powers ought to be made and acceded to. Mr. Gladstone's speech was made in Jan. 1881, when the Land League was in existence in Ireland. There was now an association called the National League, which was its apostolic successor—a phrase which the right honourable gentleman borrowed from Sir William Harcourt. Referring to an amendment of which notice had been given by Mr. John Morley—the purport of which

was, "That this House declines to set aside the business of the nation in favour of a measure for increasing the stringency of the criminal law in Ireland while no effectual security has been taken against the abuse of the law by the exaction of excessive rents"—Mr. Smith said that this amendment was almost identical with that moved in 1881 to the resolution then proposed by Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Gladstone's words on the occasion were, "There are some members of Parliament . . . who say that the Government has made a great mistake in giving the first place in the deliberations of Parliament—at least, the first place in the proposals laid before Parliament—to a subject of this kind, and that they ought to have commenced the session by an attempt to deal with the intricate question of a Land Bill in all the manifold points of view from which it has been approached during the last few months. Well, it is impossible for us to accept any proposal of that kind." This, again, Mr. Smith said, was the view of the Government. They had in contemplation an extensive scheme of land reform, but on their own responsibility they declined to take up the land question first, but insisted that the law should be maintained and that life and property should be preserved and protected.

Mr. John Morley traversed the statement that Ireland was in a state of disorganisation. He admitted that the counties of Kerry and Limerick, half of Galway, half of Roscommon, one-third of Clare, one-sixth of Cork, and possibly one-sixth of Mayo were partially disturbed—the agitation being due to excessive rents and the necessities of the tenants—but these districts contained only one-eighth of the whole population of the country. The rest of Ireland, he said, was free from exceptional disorder. He alleged that the Government were aiming, not at putting down rebellion or at quelling sedition, but at suppressing a combination formed to protect the tenants against excessive and exorbitant rents. While declining to say that he would never in any circumstances, or in any emergency or crisis, assent to increased stringency in the criminal procedure, Mr. Morley added: "This I do say; considering the just odium with which exceptional legislation has come to be surrounded in Ireland, I would put it off to the extreme moment." He moved an amendment to the motion in the terms above stated. In the course of his reply to Mr. Morley, the Chief Secretary for Ireland alluded to the remedial measures which the Government intended to propose. One of them, which they thought would make the working of the system established in 1881 more smooth, more equitable, and more beneficial to all engaged in Irish agriculture, would shortly be introduced in the House of Lords; but they believed that the Irish Land Question could only be solved by a large measure dealing with purchase. That measure was too large in its proportions to admit of its being passed immediately. The Government, however, would be ready to bring in that Bill as

soon as they were ready to allow it to be discussed. The first necessity in every society was that the law should be effective, and if the Government, following Mr. Morley's advice, were to put off day after day the measure which they thought necessary to restore respect for the law, the effect of every future remedial measure would be rendered absolutely nugatory, and every hope of a better state of things for the Irish tenantry would be destroyed at its very source and beginning. The debate, which occupied more or less of four sittings, was continued by honourable and right honourable members on both sides of the House. Towards its close (March 24) Mr. Gladstone said that the House was asked to make an absolute surrender of its whole time until a Bill, not yet introduced, but reported to be of an extreme and severe character, had received the attention of the House. He anticipated that he might be told that a revolution was now to be brought about in the modes of procedure by the frequent closure of debate. "Sir," he proceeded to say, "I can conceive no greater calamity to this House than the frequent application of the closure rule. And the very first, perhaps the most formidable, of all the effects I should anticipate from the frequent application of the rule would be that it would sap the foundations of that chair which you so worthily occupy, and the authority so absolutely necessary to be maintained intact and unimpaired." He added that, having seen more of parliamentary practice than anyone who heard him, he had never known such a position of affairs. "I think it grave; I think it menacing. I think it an extreme use of the powers of the majority, and one which, if it is persisted in and driven to the uttermost, will leave behind it a sense of wrong—I may say of intolerable wrong—not favourable to the future conduct of the business of this House." Mr. Gladstone disputed that there was any parallel between the present action of the Government and that taken by his own Government in 1881. In that year Mr. Forster made an official statement, in which the case of the Government was set forth with the utmost fulness before any demand was made for the surrender by the House of its time and privileges. He denied also that there was any resemblance in the present state of Ireland to that with which the late Government had to deal. "What is the character, purpose, and object of crime now—take it at its very worst?"—he asked, answering the question thus: "It is to obtain certain reductions of rent—it is not a movement against rent in general." "I do not deny," he subsequently said, "that there is intimidation; I do not deny that in Ireland, as in other parts of the world, there is a certain amount of crime, though I think . . . that that amount of crime is small and insignificant under the circumstances." On the same evening Mr. Asquith, succeeding Col. Saunderson, supported the amendment in a speech of considerable power, upon which he was complimented by Mr. Chamberlain, by whom the debate was continued. Mr.



Chamberlain made what the House appeared to regard as a happy point by quoting from an article written by Mr. Morley the following passage :—“ On the other hand, if great social disorder has spread over a country from whatever cause, every Government, exactly because it is a Government, is bound to do its utmost to restore order temporarily, even while it is removing the more permanent causes which have made disorder natural and justifiable.” The debate was concluded on the 25th, or, more correctly, on the 26th, for the House held a protracted sitting, and numerous speeches were made on both sides of the House. On a division the motion was carried by 349 votes to 260.

On March 28 Mr. Balfour moved for leave to introduce the Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Bill. Referring to objections urged against the measure in the debate on the motion for precedence, he reminded the Opposition that they refused to touch judicial rents in 1885 or 1886. He contended that were such a measure of relief as that to which the Opposition would give the first place carried out to its fullest extent it would do little to diminish evictions, and it would do nothing whatever to prevent such occurrences as the Glenbeigh evictions, and the events which had occurred on Lord Clanricarde's property. There was an amendment on the paper in the name of Mr. Parnell, which asked the House, before proceeding to consider the present measure, to make further investigation into the state of Ireland. “ I am afraid,” Mr. Balfour said, “ that the House is already but too well acquainted with the state of Ireland, and if anybody entertained doubts as to the condition of that country surely it is not the honourable member for Cork and his friends. They, at all events, if no other members of this House, should know to what an unhappy state that country is reduced. They should know the condition of Ireland as an artificer recognises his own handiwork.” Since 1845, the year in which statistics of agrarian crime were first collected, there had been only seven years in which the present melancholy list of crimes had been exceeded. “ At the present moment,” said Mr. Balfour, “ 498 persons in Munster, 175 in Connaught, 221 in Leinster, and 23 in Ulster are under special police protection. The number of policemen required to carry out the special police protection is 770, and some idea of the additional cost thrown on the ratepayers of the country by the condition of Ireland may be indicated by the fact that each of these policemen costs on an average 70*l.*, and that the total cost therefore for extra police required to give the necessary protection to individuals amounts to no less a sum than 55,000*l.* a year.” The Government had to prove two things before asking the House to assent to the Bill. They had first to prove that the law was not enforced over a large and important part of Ireland, and they had to show, secondly, that the vacuum left by the absence of the ordinary law was filled up by law which was not that of the Crown and of Parliament.

In dealing with the first proposition, Mr. Balfour specially directed attention to the west and south-west of Ireland, the counties of Mayo, Clare, Limerick, Kerry, and Cork—an area of about one-third of the whole of Ireland—and he proceeded to read extracts from the charges of Irish judges delivered at the assizes in those counties. Among these Mr. Justice Lawson had said in Mayo that according to the reports made to him the present state of things “approached as near to rebellion against the authority of the country as anything short of civil war could be.” In a charge by Mr. Justice Murphy to the grand jury of Galway the following passage occurred: “If this return of offences manifested or indicated the condition of your county, there would be presented to me the opportunity of congratulating you. However, I regret to say, from the returns made to me by the Inspector of the Crown and the officers of the county, it appears that any conclusion derived from the list presented for your investigation would be wholly incorrect. They report to me that there is a complete paralysis of law, that it is unable to protect many of the inhabitants in the exercise of their most ordinary rights, and that lawlessness is perfectly triumphant.” Mr. Justice O’Brien had said in Clare that the common rule of obedience necessary in every civilised State had been “abrogated and replaced by an influence fatal to industry, fatal to prosperity, fatal to every interest connected with the welfare of the community.” Strong observations on the prevalence of agrarian crime and of acts of personal violence were also made in other judicial charges delivered in the counties of Limerick and Kerry, and from which the Chief Secretary quoted. These, he said, were testimonies not of partisans or of politicians; they were public statements made by judges of the land in the exercise of their duty. In the counties mentioned the number of offences reported since the previous summer assizes amounted to 755. The number for which there was no clue to the offenders was 536. The number of cases in which the injured persons declined to swear any information was 422.

Mr. Balfour went on to allude to the intimidation practised on juries, in consequence of which verdicts were given in opposition to the evidence and in disregard of the directions of the judges. In one such instance, after a verdict of “not guilty” had been returned, Mr. Justice Murphy addressed these words to the jury: “Gentlemen, your verdict is contrary to the evidence. It is your privilege to disregard the evidence and your oaths.” Mr. Balfour mentioned an instance of a man of seventy who claimed exemption from service on juries, but afterwards said he would rather be on the panel, “for it might give him an opportunity of serving a friend.” In another case some respectable jurors had begged the officer to include them in the list of jurors to stand by. The officer refused, but said that if they did not come up to be balloted for he would not fine them.

The men confessed, however, that they dare not take advantage of this offer, because they had been canvassed and must appear. The terrorism thus practised was supported by a section of the Irish press, some of the papers publishing the names of jurymen who had given verdicts one way, and holding them up to public reprobation. *United Ireland*, while admitting that such a system was "not liberty," added that "it is the way of winning it." Speaking of the National League, Mr. Balfour said: "It was represented by the right hon. member for Newcastle as an innocent trade union, which existed for the sole purpose of protecting weak tenants against strong landlords. If that were its object not a single man in this House would have a word to say against it. . . . I do not deny that there are men connected with that League in Ireland who have at heart simply and solely the good of the tenant; but in the tangled web of Irish politics there are very few white threads. It may be that some members of the National League have only in view this object; but we cannot forget that the League leans in part upon those dark secret societies which work by dynamite and the dagger, whose object is anarchy, and whose means are assassination."

Mr. Balfour quoted passages from speeches by Irish members delivered in various parts of Ireland. Among them was the following from a speech by the member for East Galway: "This is not a question between small reductions and large reductions. It is not a question of what a man is able to pay at present prices, and it is not a question of sympathy for good landlords or bad landlords. . . . The great, mighty question is whether the lands of Ireland shall belong to the people of Ireland, or whether they shall belong to the enemies of the people. I am not going to indulge in a no-rent manifesto. But we put a programme before you that will lead to that result—that will first take one slice, then take a second slice, and we will keep slicing at it till nothing remains."

Another Irish member, in a public speech, had advised his hearers "never to lie calmly under the British yoke, never to relax their efforts until they had the green flag free in their own country." Mr. Balfour argued that the extracts which he had read showed that the leaders of the National League intentionally mixed up "a policy of terrorising the individual with that of the disruption of the Constitution." He then referred to the subject of boycotting, giving particulars of a number of cases in which that practice had been resorted to, and implicating the National League.

On a day named there were 836 boycotted persons in Ireland. One consequence of the system had been the loss to any tenant who elected to leave his holding of the value of his tenant-right. The Land Act of 1881 gave to every tenant in Ireland, out of Ulster, a right of sale in his holding—a goodwill which would amount in the south of Ireland to something between fifteen and

twenty years' purchase of the rent. "But the value of that tenant-right has been absolutely destroyed by the National League. . . . Nobody dares buy it; it is useless to the man who has it to sell; and it is useless to the landlord on whose hands it is thrown." Recapitulating some of the points of his speech, the Chief Secretary said he thought he had shown that crime was uncontrolled and unpunished in parts of Ireland, and that in other parts of the country which were more satisfactory as regarded the open commission of crime the system of secret terrorism reigned absolutely undisturbed. In proving those facts he contended that he had made out an adequate case for the Bill that was proposed. He then proceeded to enumerate the aims and provisions of the Bill.

Mr. Dillon replied in a speech of considerable length. He predicted that the Bill, which he said contained all the more severe provisions of the 86 Coercion Acts that had preceded it, would never pass into law. He did not deny that there was "some crime in Ireland," but the only thing that the Chief Secretary had succeeded in proving was that he knew nothing about the condition of that country. Referring to Mr. Justice Lawson's declaration as to the condition of Mayo, Mr. Dillon remarked that he was proud to say—as representing a division of the county—that he had succeeded in paralysing the law in one respect—the exaction of unjust rents. As to outrages and robbery and crimes of violence, he asserted that they were wholly absent. He justified the acts of the National League, ridiculed the instances of boycotting mentioned by Mr. Balfour, and said that the speeches of Irish members from which passages had been quoted were all, with the exception of a single sentence in one of them, absolutely and entirely innocent. Mr. Dillon concluded by declaring that if the Bill passed he would continue to carry on the Plan of Campaign, and he did not care whether the Government tried him in Dublin or at the Old Bailey. The debate was resumed on the 29th by Mr. Gladstone. He complained of the meagreness of the information furnished by Mr. Balfour, who had referred to no parliamentary papers and given the House no means of testing his allegations. He was himself prepared with some statistics, which showed that there had been no very large change in regard to crime between 1884 and 1885. There had undoubtedly been an increase of threatening letters—from 423 to 512. He also had the figures from 1885 to 1886, for which period the crimes reported by the constabulary were divided into threatening letters on the one side and cases other than threatening letters on the other. "Now, with respect to threatening letters," Mr. Gladstone said, "they are a social inconvenience and a social mischief, but it would be ridiculous to speak of them in connection with such a question as the legislative restraint of the liberties of the people." In 1885 there were 432 threatening letters; in 1886 the number was 507. The

cases reported in 1885, other than threatening letters, were 512; those reported in 1886 were 518. The Chief Secretary had quoted from the charges of Irish judges, but the passages given were not founded upon judicial facts; they were passages soaring into the region of speculation. If he relied on the opinions of the judges, why did not he give the judge's charge at Tipperary? That charge was totally contrary in effect to the apparent bearings of the charges quoted. The Chief Secretary produced some anonymous evidence, which he (Mr. Gladstone) declined to accept. He mentioned a case of horrible outrage on a girl, where her hair had been removed and pitch had been poured upon her head. "It was a very bad and abominable outrage indeed. The right hon. gentleman"—Mr. Gladstone proceeded to say—"speaking in perfect simplicity, appeared to think that the removing of the hair and the pouring of pitch upon the head was a Nationalist invention. [This observation was received with Irish cheers and laughter.] If he turns to his Irish history he will find it was an invention of the governors of Ireland." On the subject of boycotting Mr. Gladstone remarked that in 1885 there were 879 boycotted persons—the present number being 836—but in 1885, "a month before the general election," the Government did not consider there was a case for any change of the law. As to intimidation, that, said Mr. Gladstone, "is a word which requires sifting and scrutinising before you can judge what value attaches to it." "This intimidation which is said to be rampant . . . is an intimidation which is generally separated from outrage. And this is the last ground on which the Government base this extraordinary demand for what they describe as an extreme measure. We have, therefore, this extraordinary state of things, that a demand is now made upon the reformed House of Commons—to do what? In my opinion to commit one of the most formidable breaches of trust that any popular assembly can perpetrate."

Coming to the provisions of the Bill, Mr. Gladstone said he would refer to two points only. The first was, that Irish trials in certain cases should be held in London, as to which he observed: "I did not believe I should live to see the day when a proposal so insulting, so exasperating, so utterly in contrast with the whole lesson which Irish history teaches, would have been submitted to a British House of Commons." The other point was the absence of provision for duration, a feature which Mr. Gladstone said made his blood run cold. He dwelt on the responsibility which English members would incur if they supported the proposals of the Government; he claimed for the Opposition that their support of the national cause in Ireland had diminished outrages; and he declared that in revising the Bill and in serving the cause of Ireland they were "still more essentially and effectually serving the cause of Britain and its world-wide empire."

Mr. Goschen, who followed Mr. Gladstone, invited the House to consider the danger involved in Mr. Gladstone's admission that the regular Opposition were acting in union with the Nationalist party. "Supposing," he said, "that the union between the Liberal party and the members of the Irish Nationalist party should not continue so cordial as at present, and supposing the present Government to be expelled from power and the Liberal party to return to office, and supposing that they could not meet the views of the Nationalist party for Ireland; where then would be the influences of moderation and legality? The right hon. gentleman and his party would then be at the mercy of the National League."

Lord Hartington, speaking at the inaugural dinner of the Liberal Union Club (March 30), said that he had never himself expressed the opinion that no further Coercion Act would be necessary for the government of Ireland, but a hope that the necessity would not appear had been entertained by many Liberal Unionists. Ireland, however, must be governed by a responsible Government, and it was not so governed now. Writing a few days before, he had ventured to prophesy that every attempt would be made to fasten upon Liberal Unionists the stigma of a policy of coercion. They were now told that they would have to bear the responsibility not only of their own votes, but also of every vote given for the Bill. That responsibility he disclaimed, but while the responsibility of supporting the Bill might be great, would no responsibility rest upon them in the other case if by their votes the Bill were rejected? In that case they would have to bear the responsibility of leaving the condition of Ireland as it was at the present time. Presiding on the same day at a meeting of the Liberal Union, Mr. John Morley warmly attacked the Crimes Bill, and condemned the action in support of it of "Coercionist Radicals." He said that the Bill, if it should pass, would be a shame and a disgrace to Ireland, and a still greater disgrace to England. Remarking on the power proposed to be given to resident magistrates, he declared them to be a class of men quite unfit to weigh evidence and deeply prejudiced. He anticipated the immediate proclamation of the National League, and that secret societies would take its place.

The reception of the Crimes Bill by the press was one of firm approval on one hand—in some instances qualified by exceptions to one or two clauses, notably, that for trying in England prisoners accused under the Act—and on the other of strong and bitter denunciation.

The Irish Land Bill was introduced in the House of Lords (March 31) by the Earl of Cadogan. After referring to the various Acts dealing with the tenure of land in Ireland since the year 1860, inclusive of the Act passed in that year, Lord Cadogan said that in the difficulty presented by the state of things in Ireland the Government, before proceeding to further legislation

with regard to the land, had advised the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the subject.<sup>1</sup>

The five members of that Commission produced only three reports, one of them differing only slightly from the report of the majority. They reported first that the operation of the Land Act of 1881 had been affected by combinations, except in the case of Ulster; secondly, that boycotting had largely prevailed; thirdly, that there had been a considerable fall in prices of produce in Ireland; and they made a further report with reference to the maintenance of law and order in Ireland. They recommended in the first place that a shorter period for the revision of judicial rents than 15 years should be fixed, and they proposed five years. They further recommended that this provision should be specially applied to rents fixed prior to 1886. They recommended also that it should be fixed with relation to the price of produce—what is called a “produce rent.” Lord Cadogan said that the Government had found it impossible to give effect to this recommendation. They regarded that period of 15 years, during which the judicial rents were to run, and before which they were not to be revised, as a period which was intended by Parliament to be a permanent settlement, and one with which it would be highly inexpedient to tamper. The Commissioners themselves had said that it is most undesirable to disturb an arrangement which was understood to be a permanent settlement. Lord Milltown had given further reasons why that recommendation should not be adopted. He argued that high prices were very often concurrent with bad years, and that the tenant might have his rent fixed in a time of great distress. He also raised the ingenious point that you ought in this matter to consider the value of the tenant-right which was in the tenant. “That is to say, that if the tenant has the right to sell his interest in his holding, then, if that holding is subject to a revision of the judicial rent within a period shorter than 15 years, you are bound to consider that there is a possibility, if not a probability, that the amount of rent might be increased. It is obvious that the tenant-right which is secured to the tenant would be decreased.” Lord Cadogan also mentioned Lord Hartington as a witness to the undesirability of carrying out this recommendation of the Commission, and he quoted the following passage from

<sup>1</sup> This was the Commission known as Lord Cowper's Commission. The Commissioners were Earl Cowper, the Earl of Milltown, Sir James Caird, Mr. John Chute Nelligan, and Mr. Thomas Knipe. The Commission met in Dublin for the first time on Oct. 6, 1886, commenced taking evidence on Oct. 13, and concluded the sittings on Nov. 19, having visited successively Londonderry, Omagh, Belfast, Armagh, Galway, Limerick, Killarney, and Cork. After a short adjournment they sat in Dublin from Dec. 2 to the 14th, both inclusive, and met again at Westminster on Jan. 7 to consider their report. They held in all 60 sittings, examined 305 witnesses, including Judge Flanagan and the Registrar-General of Ireland, 72 landowners and agents, 170 tenant farmers, besides several Sub-Commissioners and ex-Sub-Commissioners, some of the divisional and resident stipendiary magistrates, clergymen of all denominations, solicitors, and others.

Lord Hartington's speech at the Liberal Union Club on the preceding day :—"It appears to me that in spite of all this it is an absolutely open question whether in the first place rents are excessive in Ireland, and in the second place whether, if excessive, such excessive rents are being exacted. Therefore it may be—probably is—wise and reasonable for Parliament to abstain from any attempt to deal anew with the settlement of rents fixed by the Irish Land Act of 1881." Lord Cadogan urged that to disturb a settlement intended to be permanent by Parliament would be to lead the Irish tenants and people to believe that there was no prospect of any finality in regard to legislation on the question of Irish land. He added that the Royal Commission further recommended that a power should be given to the middleman to make a surrender of his interest, and that in cases of ejectment for non-payment of rent the period of redemption should run from the date of the verdict.

Lord Cadogan then proceeded as follows :—"Now, my lords, with this report before them the Government determined at once to deal with the state of things which was created by the Land Act of 1881. There is, however, one subject which, perhaps, I had better at once deal with and clear out of the way before I proceed further. That, my lords, is the great question of land purchase. I have referred, in passing, very briefly to what are known as the Bright Clauses in the Act of 1870. Those provisions were supplemented by the further clauses enabling advances to be made to tenants in the Act of 1881. The Bright Clauses appear to have been perfectly useless; indeed, they appear to have been used in 200 cases and no more. Under the Act of 1881 more advantage was taken by the tenants of the facilities offered to them; but it was not until the Act of my noble friend the Lord Chancellor of Ireland was passed that any tangible advance was made in assisting the tenants of Ireland to purchase their holdings. My lords, that Act met with a considerable amount of success; but it is the opinion of the Government that this question requires a still greater amount of attention. My lords, I need hardly say that in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government the time has arrived when a further large measure must be formulated dealing with the question of purchase by tenants of their holdings in Ireland. To that we mainly look for the settlement of the great questions which unhappily disturb that country; and in that alone, I believe, will be found a final solution. The question will be dealt with by the Government in two parts—the first in a Bill, which I have now the honour to lay before your lordships, which will deal with questions arising out of the Act of 1881, questions of considerable urgency and great importance. It will be followed by a measure which, as I said before, will accomplish that which will alone permanently settle the difficulties with which we have to contend—in other words, the abolition of the dual ownership created by the Act of 1881." D. L. Cadogan



then went on to explain the provisions of the Bill now introduced. In the first place, all leaseholders—150,000 in number—were to be allowed to go into court and ask for a judicial revision of their rents. In the next place, all middlemen—leaseholders who had sublet their lands—were to be allowed, if the courts reduced the rents of their tenants, to throw up their leases. Next power was given to the landlord who had obtained judgment of eviction to make his tenant a caretaker without first evicting him. (Lord Cadogan expressed his belief that the effect of this provision would be to reduce the number of evictions by one-half.) An equitable jurisdiction was vested in the County Court to hear complaints from tenants, to give them time when that should be necessary, and when they were honestly insolvent to relieve them—in like manner as under the bankruptcy law—from all or part of their debts, including rent, and in proper cases to reinstate them in their holdings at a fair rent. Finally, the Bill would exempt a landlord who could not get his rent from the payment of rates. The noble lord concluded by remarking that the Bill had been drawn in a spirit of fairness and justice. The Bill was read a first time, after some remarks from Lord Cowper upon the recommendations of the Royal Commission over which he had presided.

The proposal to extend the benefit of the measure to leaseholders was almost unanimously approved by the press. The *Dublin Express*, while disapproving of this feature, acknowledged that it was a logical development of the Act of 1881. The *Freeman's Journal* urged that it was inconsistent to grant an immediate revision of rents to leaseholders whilst denying similar relief to the poor tenants. It considered the whole Bill to be devised with the object of compelling the Irish farmers to choose between eviction and picking the pockets of the British tax-payers for the benefit of the landlords. The *Daily News* thought that, inadequate as the Land Bill might be, it entirely dispensed with the necessity for coercion. The *Times* considered the equitable jurisdiction in eviction preferable both in principle and practice to a revision of judicial rents. The *Birmingham Post* thought that the proposals for an equitable jurisdiction in the county courts fairly met the temporary needs of honest but unfortunate tenants.

A meeting of Conservative members of the House of Commons was held at the Foreign Office (March 31), at which the Marquis of Salisbury urged the importance of making unusual sacrifices to secure the early passing of the Crimes Bill. A feeling of readiness to make every sacrifice to that end was generally expressed, and Mr. Goschen undertook to report the unanimous sense of the meeting to Lord Hartington and the Liberal Unionist party. A meeting of Liberal Unionists was at the same time held at Devonshire House. Lord Hartington, who presided, admitted the necessity for the Crimes Bill, and,

speaking for the great majority of Liberal Unionists, said they would be prepared to make any sacrifice necessary for giving effective support to the Government. Mr. Chamberlain, who concurred in Lord Hartington's views, pointed out that the further support of the Liberal Unionists would be conditional upon the sufficiency of the remedial measures to be proposed by the Government.

In the House of Commons (April 1), Mr. Parnell moved the following amendment to the motion for the first reading of the Crimes Bill:—"That this House will immediately resolve itself into a committee to consider the state of Ireland." Referring to the debate of the previous evening in the House of Lords, on the first reading of the Irish Land Bill, he said it was not till that Bill was introduced that the country was "put in possession of the general and complete policy of the Government in all its naked dishonesty." Mr. Parnell went on to say:—"The proceedings last night revealed to us the extent of the plot, the gravity of the conspiracy, by which it is intended by the Tory party and the Liberal Unionists on the one side to coerce, if possible, the tenants of Ireland into the payment of impossible rents, and on the other side to compel the purchase of the landlords' interests at exorbitant prices—at prices which, if this House puts it into the power of the Government to coerce the Irish people under this Bill, will most certainly lead to repudiation on a wholesale scale and a great loss on the part of the English taxpayers." Under the pretext of conferring benefits on the Irish people, the supporters of coercion were stabbing them in the back. Mr. Parnell further said:—"I have myself always thought that the solution of the Irish land question depended upon the purchase of their holdings by the tenants. In 1879 I was called a robber by the then leader of this House for advocating this plan, and again in 1880 we were held up to public odium when we proposed steps directed to the same end. But I have never doubted that in a scheme of land purchase lies your only hope of settling the land question. Of course, I did not believe that the Land Act of the right hon. member for Mid Lothian would prove a final settlement of the difficulty, although if it had been permitted to work by the landlord fraction it would no doubt have approached very much nearer to a solution than it has. Our belief is this—Make the Irish tenant the owner of his holding, and he will turn the sands into gold. We believe that if this were done on a fair basis in the absence of coercion the Irish tenant would fulfil his obligations to the last penny, for he would feel as one who drags a lessening instead of a lengthening chain behind him, and the transaction would therefore be unattended by any risk to the British taxpayer. But the present proposals of the Government want every element of security and satisfaction, for you are going to subject the unfortunate tenants and their

advocates to the most terrible penalties in the event of their daring to say a word against the Ministerial view or the view of the Irish landlords."

In another part of his speech Mr. Parnell dealt with several cases of special outrage in the sense of explaining them away, and treated the allegation of the Government as being wholly unsupported, because there were no comparative returns to show how far the number of unpunished crimes had increased from year to year. He asserted that no one had ever been compelled to join the National League, and that a branch guilty of compelling anyone to join it would have been instantly dissolved; and he declared that the clause in the Crimes Bill permitting the examination of witnesses on oath before anyone had been accused of a crime had been used in the old Crimes Act, and would be used in this, chiefly for discovering beforehand the defence which prisoners intended to make, and for putting the prosecution on the right track to defeat the prisoner's defence. Under this Bill if carried he said: "You will send to the scaffold and the convict-cell many innocent persons, known to be innocent by their neighbours—in some cases known to be innocent by the authorities." Mr. Balfour, in reply to Mr. Parnell, said that neither Mr. Parnell's Bill as proposed in the autumn, nor the proposals of Lord Cowper's Commission which the Government had rejected, "would offer relief in the matter of eviction of tenants in Ireland as extensive as the proposals" in the Land Bill of the Government. He commented on Mr. Parnell's assertion that the last-mentioned Bill would "stab the Irish tenant in the back," and argued that the Crimes Bill was far milder than many of the previous Bills for restoring order in Ireland which had been carried by Liberal Governments.

After several other members had intervened in the debate—a motion for the adjournment of which the Government refused to accept—Mr. W. H. Smith moved "That the question be now put." A scene of great excitement ensued. Mr. Gladstone walked down the House towards the "No" lobby, and the Irish members, leaping to their feet, cheered him vociferously, calling out, "Down with coercion!" "The Rights of Minorities!" "Down with the Speaker!" On a division 361 members voted for the Closure and 258 against it. The Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Bill was then read a first time.

Mr. Balfour, in moving (April 5) the second reading of the Bill, made no speech; but Sir Bernhard Samuelson proposed, and Sir Joseph Pease seconded, an amendment for its rejection on the ground that it would tend to increase disorder in Ireland and to endanger the union between that country and the other parts of the empire. The discussion on the second reading was continued until April 18, when Sir Bernhard Samuelson's amendment was rejected by a majority of 101, and the second reading was carried without a division. Sir Charles Russell,

speaking in the debate on the 5th, admitted that "side by side with the executive power of the Government is a power in many respects more powerful than the power of the Government." "I make that admission to you," he added, "but whence does this power derive its force and its sanction? From the sympathy and the support of the people of Ireland. Surely it is worth trying to win that power to the side of law and order, and to place upon the shoulders of those who represent and who wield that power the responsibility, without which power is always a source of danger." A scene of great excitement occurred in the House on the 15th, consequent upon some remarks by Colonel Saunderson. That honourable member asserted that the Executive Committee of the Land League, of which Mr. Parnell was the head, included Mr. Sexton, Mr. A. O'Connor, and other persons; that they had amongst them both murderers and persons guilty of treason; and that Mr. Parnell and his colleagues must have known that they were associating with murderers. Mr. Healy rose to order, but the Speaker held that the charges were made in connection with the Bill before the House, and not at random. That being so he did not think it his duty to interfere, however grave the charges might be. Thereupon Mr. Sexton said that if he was charged with associating with murderers he should tell Colonel Saunderson what he thought of him, no matter what the consequences, and Mr. Healy called Colonel Saunderson a "liar." Mr. Healy was suspended for this expression. Mr. Sexton subsequently gave Colonel Saunderson the lie direct, and after a very heated altercation Colonel Saunderson, on the Speaker's intervention, withdrew the charge of guilty knowledge against the members named.

The *Times* newspaper published (April 18) a *facsimile* of a letter purporting to have been written by Mr. Parnell to one of his associates in the Land League after the assassinations of 1882. The letter was dated "15/5/82," and ran thus:—

"Dear Sir,—I am not surprised at your friend's anger, but he and you should know that to denounce the murders was the only course open to us. To do that promptly was plainly our best policy. But you can tell him and all others concerned that, though I regret the accident of Lord F. Cavendish's death, I cannot refuse to admit that Burke got no more than his deserts. You are at liberty to show him this, and others whom you can trust; but let not my address be known. He can write to the House of Commons."

The letter (which was written on a small sheet of note paper) was not signed on the same page, but at the top of the fourth page, thus, "Yours very truly, Charles S. Parnell." In the words of the *Spectator*, "the publication of this letter rendered a situation already sufficiently electric still more threatening." Mr. Parnell, in the House of Commons, declared the *Times facsimile*

to be a bare-faced forgery, and protested that he would willingly have placed his own body between Lord Frederick Cavendish and the assassin's knife. After a slight pause, in answer to the challenge of the House, he said that he would have done the same for Mr. Burke. After Mr. Parnell's speech the division was taken on Sir Bernhard Samuelson's amendment to the second reading, and the second reading was agreed to.

Mr. Gladstone, in addressing the Eighty Club (April 19) spoke of the Nationalist party (whom he described as "the constitutional Irish party") as never having been "individually" associated with the commission of crime in Ireland. The speech was chiefly directed against the Liberal Unionists, whose "Grammar of Dissent" Mr. Gladstone examined. First, they had determined on no account to endanger the existence of the present Government. Next, they had rejected his (Mr. Gladstone's) suggestion that they should press the Government to produce their Local Government Bill for Ireland. Next, they had refused to urge on the Government the production of some measure other than Irish that would please both sections of the Liberal party. Again, they resented the suggestion that they should resist an Irish Coercion Bill; and last of all, his endeavour to elicit from the Government that they would stand or fall by their measure of Irish relief, as they were ready to stand or fall by their measure of Irish coercion, had failed for want of Liberal Unionist support.

On the same day Mr. John Morley spoke at Wolverhampton. He declared that the true reason of the breaking down of the "Round Table Conference" was the irreconcilable language used by Mr. Chamberlain outside. He maintained, on the authority of Lord Spencer, that the Irish members were not tainted with crime, and held that till the *Times* newspaper had proved the authenticity of the letter alleged to have been written by Mr. Parnell, his denial was sufficient disproof. He denounced the Crimes Bill as an "infamous" measure. The juries in Ireland, he said, were not intimidated but sympathetic, and though the Irish were not law-abiding, it was because the law had been on the side of the strong against the weak. Finally, Mr. Morley denounced the bankruptcy clauses of the Irish Land Bill, which, he said, would distress honest tenants, encourage bad tenants, and demoralise Ireland in exact proportion to their success.

Lord Salisbury, speaking at a Primrose League meeting (April 20), maintained that Mr. Parnell was bound to bring an action against the *Times*, adding that his language had been marked by callousness, "perhaps even by tolerance of murder." Lord Salisbury further said:—"He belongs to a party a large wing of which has worked by murder, and which has been supported by contributions from those who openly advocate political assassination." "When so grave, so pressing a case of presumption exists against a man, it is not sufficient for him to

take refuge in mere denial." Lord Salisbury criticised in strong terms Mr. Gladstone's alliance with Mr. Parnell. Repudiating the charge that the Crimes Bill was an interference with liberty, he said:—"If you were allowed only to deal with the people whom the League pointed out; if you were not allowed to be true to the oath you took as a jurymen; if you were not allowed to give true evidence in a court of justice, or to speak to any persons who had offended this league, or to deal with them in any of the ordinary transactions of life: if the punishment for any such offences was to be shot in the legs, to have pitch put upon your hair, and to have all your property destroyed—would you say that any persons who interfered with this sort of performance were people who were acting in restraint of liberty?"

Lord Cadogan, in the House of Lords, formally moved the second reading of the Irish Land Bill (April 21), Lord Denman moving an amendment for its being read that day six months. Lord Spencer, while supporting the second reading, expressed regret that the whole land scheme of the Government was not before the House. He suggested that the measure required amendment in some important particulars. There was a manifest objection to State interference with rents, but he believed that the interference with rents provided for by the Land Act of 1881 could not have been avoided. He admitted that the bulk of the Irish landlords were willing to deal justly with their tenants, but there were some of the class whom neither a proper regard for their tenants nor a sensibility as to public opinion would induce to act rightly. He approved the provision in this Bill which would admit leaseholders to the benefits of the Act of 1881, and thought that the tenants of grazing farms might also have been included. He feared that the provision as to the running of the term of redemption in eviction cases, though meant to produce an opposite result, would in reality increase the number of evictions. He granted that in theory it was only reasonable to relieve landlords from the payment of rates of farms for which they received no rent, or which they could not let in consequence of intimidation; but in practice the effect of doing so would be to throw additional rates on impoverished districts. He could not give a hearty approval to that portion of the Bill which provided for a bankruptcy jurisdiction to be exercised by the County Court judges in respect of Irish tenants unable to meet their engagements. He was informed that bankruptcy proceedings in Ireland were so complicated and costly that they would be absolutely ruinous to small tenants; and he quoted an organ of the Irish landlords to show that in the opinion of many of the latter this part of the Bill would bring about a complete demoralisation of the Irish tenantry. He inquired whether, when a County Court judge made a reduction in rent, that reduction was to come to an end in a limited time, on the principle of a process of bankruptcy renewable for ever; and in

conclusion he asked the Government to state whether they regarded this Bill as of vital importance.

Lord Ashbourne announced the readiness of the Government to consider any valid objections to the Bill in Committee. Lord Ripon emphasised the demand, already made by Lord Spencer, that the Government should say whether there was in the Bill any matter of principle by which they intended to stand. The Duke of Argyll (April 22) characterised this demand as a cry of faction. Lord Salisbury, whose remarks concluded the debate, said that, while the Government would consider every amendment as it was proposed, they would not increase the difficulty of those who supported them, and facilitate unscrupulous opposition by any declaration as to the Bill itself. The amendment was then negatived without a division, and the Bill was read a second time.

In the House of Commons (April 21) Mr. Dillon declared that a statement made by Lord Hartington in the debate on the Crimes Bill (April 18), to the effect that two well-known persons who acted under his (Mr. Dillon's) direction, went about Ireland counselling assassination, was absolutely false. He challenged Lord Hartington to substantiate his statement by particulars of dates and authorities. Lord Hartington, in a personal explanation (April 22) in answer to this challenge, quoted language attributed by the *Times* to Mr. Boyton and Mr. Sheridan, who were acting under Mr. Dillon as organisers of the Land League, which, from its character, was held to connect that organisation with the commission of crime. Mr. Boyton had been reported to have said on March 8, 1881:—"We have seen plenty of landlords and agents who deserve to be shot at any man's hands. I have always denounced the commission of outrages by night, but meet him in the broad daylight, and if you must blow out his brains blow them out by broad daylight." Another speech, in 1880, was attributed to Mr. Boyton, in which he boasted of the American contributions to be invested in "lead," which were then said to have amounted to 20,000 dollars (4,000*l.*). There was also a speech of Mr. Sheridan's, advising the Irish, if they could not get their demands constitutionally, to wring them out by Minié rifles. Mr. Dillon explained that the speech of March 5, 1881—the one first referred to—when Mr. Boyton was still one of his subordinates in the Land League, had been "grossly and scandalously" misreported in the official account, and he had Mr. Boyton's assurance that he had never uttered such words. "That," said Mr. Dillon, "is the only charge made against Mr. Boyton, except a vague charge about his telling a story of the man in America who sent five dollars for bread and twenty for lead. He made some joke about this. We all knew what it was he meant. These men were men who belonged to the physical force party in America, as most of our people there did, and it meant that if Mr. Parnell stirred up a conspiracy in

Ireland, there were five dollars to go for bread, and twenty to supply them with arms to overthrow the Government—the meaning of that was thoroughly understood. The question of assassination never entered into the matter at all.” As to the speech of Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Dillon admitted that, under the influence of passion, he had said something of the same kind himself. “I do not say,” he added, “that it was a wise or a sensible thing; but to say that it is an incitement to assassination is the most base calumny that could be uttered.”

On the same day (April 22) Mr. Balfour spoke at Ipswich on the Crimes Bill. He contended that the Government had a much stronger case for their Bill, in the amount of existing agrarian crime, than Mr. Gladstone's Government had either in 1866 or in 1870. In 1866 the agrarian crimes were not much more than half as numerous as they were in 1885 and 1886, while 1886 stood far above 1870 in the unenviable number of its crimes. Commenting on Mr. Gladstone's assertion that the Government wanted to pass the Crimes Bill in order to compel the Irish tenants to buy the land from Irish landlords at prices based on unjust rents, he expressed wonder at the very different measures of charity extended by Mr. Gladstone to Her Majesty's Ministers and to Mr. Parnell and his colleagues. “Party hatred,” said Mr. Balfour, “like charity, believeth all things.”

On the resumption of the debate on the Crimes Bill, which had been interrupted by the discussion of the Budget, Mr. Reid moved (April 26) an amendment declaring the unwillingness of the House to proceed with a measure for strengthening the criminal law against combinations of tenants until it had before it the full measure for their relief against excessive rents in the shape in which it might pass the other House of Parliament. In the course of a brief reply Mr. Balfour pointed out to the opponents of the Bill that the real grievance which in their eyes justified lawlessness and toleration of crime amounted to nothing more than over-rental to the amount of 13 or 14 per cent. After a debate extending over three sittings Mr. Reid's amendment was rejected (April 28) by 341 votes against 240. A motion to go into Committee was then agreed to without a division. The House went into Committee on the following day, and the discussion of the clauses proceeded almost *de die in diem* for a considerable period.

On May 3 Sir Charles Lewis brought before the House an article in the *Times* of May 2 on Mr. Dillon's explanation of his connection with Mr. Sheridan; and after the article had been read in due form by the Clerk at the table, Sir Charles Lewis moved that it constituted a breach of privilege. The debate on the motion—which Mr. Dillon said he welcomed—was adjourned till the next day. Mr. Smith then (May 4) stated that the Government had given serious consideration to Sir Charles Lewis's motion, and had come to the conclusion that the



allegation that the article constituted a breach of privilege was not sustained by precedents or by the facts of the case. He acknowledged the gravity of the circumstances, and, admitting the right of the Irish members to demand an inquiry, the Government were prepared to consent to a prosecution being instituted by the Attorney-General against the *Times*, and that Mr. Dillon should have the conduct of the proceedings. Mr. T. P. O'Connor, speaking for the Irish members, rejected the offer of the Government, which Mr. Dillon also declined for himself. The Solicitor-General moved as an amendment to Sir Charles Lewis's motion that the House declined to treat the *Times* article as a breach of privilege, and Mr. Gladstone gave notice that he would move for a Select Committee to inquire into the charges made by the *Times*. Sir Charles Lewis's motion was defeated (May 5) by 297 votes to 216. Mr. Gladstone then moved, by way of amendment to the now substantive motion of the Solicitor-General, for the appointment of a Select Committee. This amendment was rejected (May 6) by 317 votes to 233, and the motion of the Solicitor-General was agreed to.

At a banquet given to Mr. Goschen at the Criterion (May 6) Lord Salisbury said that he did not wish to pose as a martyr of political self-denial. Heartily as he could co-operate with Mr. Goschen, he was not conscious of having had to make any sacrifice in order to achieve that co-operation, and if Mr. Goschen had had to make any gigantic sacrifice on his part he had concealed it very well. Remarking on a desire expressed by Lord Rosebery, for what he called conciliation to Ireland, Lord Salisbury said that the question was—Who was to be conciliated? A boa constrictor fed with a live rabbit was doubtless conciliated by the rabbit; but was the rabbit conciliated by being given to the boa-constrictor? If the National League was to be conciliated, no doubt its victims must be sacrificed. Mr. Goschen described the contest in regard to Ireland as one between a confederation of revolutionary parties and a phalanx of constitutional politicians. Mr. Gladstone attended a meeting of Nonconformists held (May 11) at the house of Dr. Joseph Parker, a Congregational minister, at which he spoke on the Irish question. Boycotting and exclusive dealing, he said, "may be very bad things, but they are the only weapons of self-defence belonging to a poor and disheartened people." He thought there ought to be inflexible resistance to a Bill which proposed to take from the Irish people, "under the name of crime, methods of action which, though not to be desired in a healthy state of society, may, when society is in an unhealthy state, be the only remedies at the command of the people." In this month (May) Mr. William O'Brien went out to Canada, to promote an agitation against Lord Lansdowne, the Governor-General of Canada, for his refusal to make further reductions to his Irish tenants. The mission was not a prosperous one. Mr.

O'Brien was several times mobbed, and was in some danger from the opposition with which his action against Lord Lansdowne was received.

The House of Commons in Committee had approved the first twelve lines of the Crimes Bill, after an all-night sitting on May 9-10, and when it adjourned (May 23) for the Easter recess it had only got through the second clause. Every section and sub-section was contested by amendments, on which divisions were taken, and progress was repeatedly delayed by personal altercations and "scenes." The Closure was freely applied, and without its aid no appreciable advance would have been possible. While progress in Parliament was thus slow, extra-parliamentary utterances were frequent. Sir George Trevelyan, speaking at the Eighty Club (May 16), complained of the Liberal Unionists having established a separate organisation, by which their feud with the Gladstonians was perpetuated and deepened. He insisted that virtually the whole Liberal party was with the Unionists in refusing to exclude Irish representatives from the Parliament at Westminster, and that they would not be likely to make any difficulty as to the principle of delegating to the new Irish Parliament specially defined provinces of legislation, instead of delegating to it all the provinces of legislation not specially reserved. Speaking two days later (May 18) at Manchester Sir George Trevelyan defended the Irish members against the charge that they were connected with the dynamiters and the party of violence, and attributed the bad manners of the House of Commons to this revival of imputations which rendered calm debate impossible. Lord Salisbury made a brilliant speech at the Merchant Taylors' Hall (May 20), in which he drew a contrast between the present rate of Irish legislation and that of those days "when Bills necessary for maintaining the law in Ireland were introduced in the morning and became law at night." He drew also a picture of the impression which Eastern statesmen would form of the House of Commons when they heard of it as the most powerful body in England, and yet saw it quite paralysed by the obstructive tactics of a minority. They would think, he said, that the House of Commons must be performing "some mysterious penance for some obscure offence, for having neglected to marry its daughter or to bury its grandfather." If things went on as they did, he supposed some substitute for animated beings would be found in the procedure of the House of Commons. "We shall provide a steam Irish party, an electric ministry, and a clockwork Speaker." He believed that they had come to the meeting of the ways, and that from that time they would see either the renewed life and vitality or the rapid decay of the British Constitution. Lord Rosebery spoke on the same day at Plymouth, and also in a humorous vein. He said that the Government's Irish policy reminded him of the complaint of the farmer about his landlord's

claret, that he got "no forrader" in drinking it; while the close connection of the Liberal Unionists and the Tories suggested to him the attitude of gentlemen after a good dinner, who tried to say "Good night!" to each other, but went on shaking hands with inane cordiality, from sheer fear of losing their balance if they once left hold.

At a general meeting of the Eighty Club (May 18) a motion was proposed declaring that it was inexpedient in the interests of the Club that the principal guest at a dinner of the Club should be selected from one section only of the Liberal party. An amendment, leaving the invitation of guests to the discretion of the Committee, and stating that "it is the duty of the Liberal party to oppose the Crimes Bill now before Parliament, and to maintain and enforce the policy of Home Rule," was carried by 148 votes to 55, the original motion being rejected. In consequence of this resolution of the Club eighty members resigned their connection with it, their resignations being conveyed by a letter (May 24) signed on their behalf by three of their number, the Hon. A. D. Elliot, M.P., Mr. A. C. Meysey-Thompson, and Mr. F. W. Maude. The honorary secretary of the Eighty Club, Mr. J. A. B. Bruce, in acknowledging the resignations of the eighty withdrawing members, wrote that the meeting of the 18th was called at the request of the Unionist members, expressly to consider the future position of the Club with reference to Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy. He added: "When a crowded meeting was assembled in consequence, it was not possible for the majority to avoid taking up so pointed a challenge."

Mr. Gladstone visited South Wales in the first week of June. An immense procession, which was said to number 50,000 persons, marched before him (June 4) in the grounds of Singleton Abbey, the residence of Sir Hussey Vivian, with whom Mr. Gladstone was staying. When the demonstration had concluded, amid loud cheers of "Home Rule for Ireland!" and "Home Rule for Wales!" Mr. Gladstone delivered an address on the event, which he termed at once Imperial, Irish, and Welsh in its significance. It was Imperial, because the empire would never be solidly established till an end could be put to the painful relations between England and Ireland; Irish, because the object of the whole demonstration was the solid restoration of order in Ireland; and Welsh, both because Wales as a Protestant country was signalling her Protestantism by taking the lead in demanding justice for Catholic Ireland, and because by claiming, as Wales had done, a separate nationality, and the rights of a separate nationality, she had claimed also that this should not be a ground for disunion with England, but for "closer union." He did not compare the grievances of Wales to the grievances of Ireland, but he thought the Welsh nationality "as great a reality as English nationality," and he encouraged the Welsh to assert strongly the separateness of Wales in the

complex whole of the United Kingdom. In an address in the evening of the same day Mr. Gladstone alleged the restoration of an Irish legislature to Ireland to be at least as much of a Conservative as of a Liberal proposal. He was quite willing, he said, to confer with Lord Hartington on the modification to be given to the Home Rule scheme, if Lord Hartington were willing "to consent to the constitution of any assembly qualified, under however strict conditions, to act for the whole of Ireland." He was not prepared to assert that the grant of a separate local legislature necessarily implied exclusion from the British legislature. Even if Scotland should get Home Rule he would not be willing to admit the reasonableness of excluding Scotchmen from the British Parliament. But the Irish case was somewhat different, and undoubtedly there were difficulties in either excluding or including the Irish representatives in the Imperial Parliament. On the whole, Mr. Gladstone indicated his preference for what he called an "inversion" of a proposal by Mr. Whitbread to exclude Irish members for a time, and subsequently to reconsider the relation of the Irish members to the British Parliament. In a speech at Cardiff (June 7) Mr. Gladstone alleged that the civilised world—England alone excepted—was practically unanimous in its approbation of the general tenor of his proposals for Ireland. Mr. Bright in a letter to a correspondent (June 6), on the subject of Mr. Gladstone's speeches in South Wales, wrote:—

"He seems ignorant or unconscious of the fact that the whole of Wales had a population in 1881 of only 1,860,000, which is, I think, less than that of Ulster by something more than 300,000. Ulster may be a nationality differing from the rest of Ireland, at least as much as Wales differs from England, but Wales is treated to a flattery which, if not insincere, seems to me childish, and Ulster is forgotten in the discussion of the Irish question. Is it not wonderful how one-sided Mr. Gladstone can be, and how his great intellect can be subjected to one idea, and how he can banish from his mind everything, however important, which does not suit the purpose or object he has before him? He speaks, too, as if it were a good thing to make Wales almost as un-English as he assumes all Ireland to be. He conceals the fact that there are more loyal men and women in Ireland than the whole population of men and women in Wales. It is sad that a great Minister should descend to artifices so transparent, and that crowds of his countrymen should be thus imposed upon." Lord Derby, addressing a meeting of Liberal Unionists at Liverpool (June 8), said that Mr. Gladstone's scheme would never have satisfied the Irish, though it would have given them an indefinite power of squeezing more out of the British Parliament. He did not believe that the democracy of this island would inaugurate their power "by abdicating functions, abandoning rights, and ignoring claims which their predecessors had

for generations respected," at the dictation of an Irish party which had shown how "grave and high problems of statesmanship may be vulgarised and butchered by the mouths of brawling demagogues."

The Irish Land Bill was considered in Committee of the House of Lords at two sittings (May 16 and 17) before the adjournment for the Whitsuntide recess, and again on June 13, when it passed through Committee. The House of Commons resumed the consideration of the Crimes Bill in Committee on June 7, when Sir William Harcourt recommended the Irish members to concentrate their opposition to the Bill on points of real importance; advice which was endorsed by Mr. Parnell as being sound and judicious. On the 10th Mr. Smith moved, as an instruction to the Committee, that if the Bill were not reported at 10 p.m. on the following Friday (June 17) the Chairman should put the remaining clauses without debate. He pointed out that the Bill had occupied thirty-five working days of Parliament, and though that might not seem unreasonable to its opponents, it was the duty of the Government, who were responsible for the business of the country and the character of Parliament, to make this demand. They made it, he said, with reluctance; they had hoped that the advice given by Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Parnell would have had an effect in curtailing discussion on insignificant amendments, but what had passed since showed that they were totally unable to influence their followers. The only alternative was that the majority should yield their sense of duty to the obstruction of the minority, and acquiesce in the complete paralysis of business. Mr. Gladstone agreed that the paralysis of Parliament had created a widespread dissatisfaction, but he believed that the Government had brought it about by pursuing a false policy of coercion, and especially by the attempt to put down legitimate combination. Although he thought it the duty of the Opposition to endeavour to make the Bill temporary, and to secure for the Irish tenant the same right of combination as was possessed by the English artisan, he desired that the Bill should be got out of the way in order that other business, especially the Irish Land Bill, might come on; and having himself only one remedy, which had been rejected, he would not oppose the resolution, but would throw the responsibility of the whole proceeding on the Government. Mr. Parnell, who asserted that the Bill had not occupied more time than was just and reasonable, moved an amendment expressing the refusal of the House to deprive the Chair of its power to protect the rights of the minority for the sake of passing a Bill permanently depriving the Irish people of their constitutional rights. After the Closure had been put in force, Mr. Parnell's amendment was rejected by 301 votes against 181. Other amendments were also negatived, and, the Closure being applied in respect of the main question, Mr. Smith's motion was carried by 245 votes to 98.

The Committee stage of the Crimes Bill was interrupted (June 16) by a discussion on the Bodyke evictions. Mr. Dillon asked whether the Government would grant an inquiry into the conduct of the police at Bodyke, to which Colonel King-Harman replied that the Government were not aware of any circumstance that would justify the appointment of a Committee on that subject. Mr. Dillon thereupon, leave being given, moved the adjournment of the House in order to call attention to the evictions going on at Bodyke and elsewhere in Ireland. He denounced the system of rack-renting, and charged the police on duty at Bodyke with committing acts of cruelty and brutality. The charges were refuted by Mr. Balfour, who remarked that Colonel O'Callaghan's rents had been judicially fixed in 1882. He regretted the course adopted by Colonel O'Callaghan, but he believed that the recent events had been brought about solely for political purposes. Mr. Lawson and Mr. A. Pease, who were present at the evictions, bore testimony to the exemplary conduct of the police, and Mr. Redmond said that the police did not act in the manner complained of until after the English members had left the scene. Ultimately the motion was negatived by 246 votes to 165. On the consideration of the Crimes Bill in Committee being again resumed (June 17) some hours were occupied in the discussion of amendments to the sixth clause. At half-past nine o'clock, on the motion that the clause stand part of the Bill, Sir Charles Russell rose and proceeded to speak against the motion. He was still speaking at 10 o'clock, when the Chairman, in accordance with the resolution passed on the 10th, called him to order, and at once put the question that the clause be added to the Bill. The Irish members rose in a body, and when called on to resume their seats filed slowly out of the House. On a division the clause was carried by 332 votes against 163. The remaining clauses were then agreed to *seriatim* without a division, and the Bill was reported to the House. The members of the Opposition left the House without waiting for the announcement of the result of the division on clause 6.

Mr. Gladstone wrote to Mr. Bright (June 8) in reply to his letter of the 6th, from which an extract has been given, pointing out that he had inadvertently fallen into an error of fact in saying that he (Mr. Gladstone) spoke as though there was no province of Ulster. Mr. Bright answered, admitting that his remark was not strictly accurate, but adding, "I may observe that you deal with the Ulster question in a way not calculated to give any comfort or hope to the loyal population of that province." Mr. Bright continued:—

"You say, 'If there be a desire, a well-considered desire, on the part of the Protestant population in the portion of Ulster capable of being dealt with separately, we were perfectly agreed to consider any plan for the purpose.' But can anything be more unsatisfactory than this sentence? You ask for a 'well-

considered desire' on the part of the 'Protestant population.' Has it not been known to all men that the desire has been 'well considered,' and that it has been expressed in the loudest tones by those who are entitled to speak for the Protestant inhabitants of the province? You speak of the Protestants 'in the portion of Ulster capable of being dealt with separately,' and for these you are prepared 'to consider any plan for the purpose'; but you must know that any plan for dealing only with the Protestants of Ulster by themselves, and not associated with the rest of the population of the province, is an impossible plan, and not worth one moment's consideration."

The concluding words of Mr. Bright's reply were: "I grieve that I cannot act with you as in years past, but my judgment and my conscience forbid it. If I have said a word that seems harsh or unfriendly, I will ask you to forgive it."

Mr. Chamberlain, addressing a meeting of Liberal Unionists at Willis's Rooms (June 14) said he regarded the signs of the times as favourable. Proof that they were so was seen in the increasing violence of Mr. Gladstone's allies, and it was seen also in the strained relations which had become apparent between the Gladstonian Liberals and their Irish auxiliaries. "One by one," Mr. Chamberlain said, "the leaders of the Gladstonian section and all that is respectable in that party have slipped away behind the Speaker's chair, afraid of sanctioning by their votes the policy to which they have given the support of their speeches. . . . They are becoming tired of marching through Coventry at the heels of Dr. Tanner and Mr. Labouchere." Mr. Chamberlain said that he had not abandoned the hope that the bulk of the Gladstonian Liberals would "before long return to the fold." There was nothing that held them together except the temporary exceptional influence of a great personality. He denied that the Liberal Unionists had "abated one jot or tittle of the professions or opinions" they had ever expressed, and he contended that the Government, under their influence, had put forward a Liberal programme. Lord Hartington was the principal speaker at a Liberal Unionist demonstration in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, on June 24. After referring generally to the question of Ireland, he said: "I am told that it is expected and desired that I should say something with regard to the prospects of the reunion and reconciliation of the Liberal party, and especially in reference to the suggestions lately made by Mr. Gladstone himself that there might be advantage in renewed confidential and personal communication between him and myself or others upon the subject of the Irish question. On the question of reunion of the Liberal party generally, let me say one or two words. I need hardly tell you it has been to me and many of my friends a matter of deep and painful regret to be separated on this question from many of my old and respected colleagues in office and in Parliament with whom I have been long con-

nected, with whom I am in agreement on the greater number of subjects, and with whom up to a comparatively recent period I never knew that I was in disagreement on the question of Ireland. It is little more than a year ago since I was acting, or thought I was acting, in complete harmony with those friends upon all Irish questions. We were supporting the same measures, we were pursuing the same policy, we were fighting the same battle, we were contending with the same opponents. We started from the same point, and although a little more than a year ago our ways diverged—although it is quite possible that from that moment we have upon this subject of Ireland been diverging more and more—yet I am unwilling to believe that even upon the Irish question any absolute impossibility exists for reconciliation between the members of the Liberal Unionist party and many of the moderate and reasonable Liberal members of the present House of Commons. Gentlemen, in the course of this conflict new differences have arisen which undoubtedly have increased the difficulty of immediate reunion or reconciliation. Much as I differed from many of my friends upon the question of Home Rule, it would have been hard to persuade me a short time ago that any considerable section of the Liberal party would have been found supporting such proceedings as the Plan of Campaign in Ireland or of obstruction in Parliament, and I should have been equally surprised to learn that a still larger section of Liberals could have been found to extend and give a passive acquiescence, if not active support, to such doctrines and proceedings. Gentlemen, we speak of the possibility of the reunion of the Liberal party. I am bound to say this, that if by that term is intended the reunion which is to include the Irish party which follows the lead of Mr. Parnell, holding the doctrines which it does with regard to the law, the authority of the law, and the resistance to laws which are unpopular—holding the doctrines which it does relating to the validity and sanctity of contracts deliberately entered into—if it is intended to include that section of the English and Scotch party which has extended an active support to these doctrines and proceedings, then I am bound to say that I do not believe that such reunion of the Liberal party is possible, or that, if possible, it would be desirable. The Liberal party which I have known, and which I hope to know again, is as much the party of order as any party in this country."

Lord Hartington spoke on the next day (June 25) at Blackburn, where, in criticising the Plan of Campaign he used the following illustration: "Supposing," he said, "that in this district the manufacturers, instead of paying labourers a weekly or fortnightly wage, were to enter into an agreement to pay weekly or fortnightly a certain proportion of their wages; that the final adjustment should take place at the end of six months. Supposing at the expiration of six months the manufacturers



were to say to their hands, 'It is quite true that we owe you, according to contract, such and such a balance, but times have been very bad; we have been working at a loss and cannot afford to pay you what we agreed, and you must accept 25 per cent. less.' Supposing they were to enter into combination to make this declaration that they would employ no workman who refused to accept these terms, and further, if they entered into combination, that unless every workman accepted these terms, not only for the past, but also for the future, he should be excluded from the employ of the combination, I wonder what would be said of such a proceeding on the part of the employers of this country? Why, it would be said, and it would be said truly, that it was downright robbery, and that the combination which the employers had thus entered into was nothing but a conspiracy to rob their workmen and to defraud them of that which was their due. But it would be extremely difficult to draw any valid distinction between the proceedings which I have attempted to describe to you and the practices which are advocated in Ireland under the name of the Plan of Campaign."

On the report stage of the Crimes Bill (June 27) Mr. E. Robertson moved a new clause, providing that the Act might be repealed at any time by an Order in Council, made on an address from either House of Parliament. The clause was negatived, and Mr. John Morley next moved to add a clause limiting the duration of the Bill to three years. Mr. Gladstone, speaking in support of the motion, said that the Bill would leave the people of Ireland to be governed at the discretion of the Executive, and insisted that the continuance of such a power ought to be limited. Commenting at some length on the stringency of its provisions, he protested against the notion of branding the people of Ireland for all time with an everlasting stigma as a means of promoting conciliation between the two countries. After a reply from Mr. Balfour and some further discussion the motion was rejected by 180 votes to 119. Other new clauses, moved by Mr. Chance, providing for an appeal, for the reporting of trials by shorthand writers, enacting penalties for jury-packing, and defining procedure on intimidation prosecutions, were also negatived. Mr. Smith gave notice (June 28) that on the 30th he would move that the report stage of the Bill be concluded at seven o'clock on July 4. When (June 30) Mr. Smith formally moved this resolution Mr. Dillon complained of the course adopted, and especially of the unfairness of preventing any discussion on the 8th clause (re-enacting the Peace Preservation Act of 1881). He said that his party in Ireland would resist the administration of the measure by every means in their power. As long as the Irish people continued to be represented in the House of Commons the subject of that Coercion Bill would be brought forward night after night, and he might warn the Government that it would prove a torment and a torture to them. Mr. Smith's motion was

carried on a division by 220 votes to 120. After the division the Irish members and their supporters among the Opposition did not re-enter the House. The consideration of the Bill was then resumed, and numerous amendments, moved by Mr. Balfour, were agreed to without opposition. The report stage was completed at this sitting, and the third reading of the Bill was ordered to stand for July 5.

On the report of amendments (on recommitment) of the Irish Land Bill in the House of Lords (July 1) a general discussion on the measure ensued. Lord Spencer repeated various criticisms which he had already made upon the Bill, and expressed the fear that the Government would meet with considerable difficulty in attempting to pass their promised measure for abolishing dual ownership of land in Ireland. He regarded it as a very serious omission that the Bill made no provision for the case of tenants with judicial rents which had become too high, but which landlords refused to reduce. He believed that such a provision would have put out of court those who advocated the Plan of Campaign. Other noble lords took exception to the bankruptcy and leaseholders' clauses. Lord Cowper remarked that none of their lordships liked the Bill, but they did not oppose it because they did not want to embarrass the Government. Some unopposed amendments having been made in several clauses of the Bill, the report was received and the third reading was fixed for July 4, on which day, after a short discussion, the Bill was read a third time and passed. It was on the same day read a first time in the House of Commons.

On the motion (July 7), in the House of Commons, for the third reading of the Crimes Bill, Mr. Gladstone moved its rejection. It had been introduced, he said, as an alternative to the policy of Home Rule, and having regard to the state of crime in Ireland it was altogether unwarranted. But it was coercion of a new kind, for which there was no precedent, and while pretending to aim at the suppression of crime it was in reality aimed at the freedom of political associations. He pointed out that in the last five months of 1885, when the Conservative party repudiated coercion, there were 474 agrarian offences, but in the first five months of the present year, when they considered coercion indispensable, there had been only 389. He next compared the present state of crime with that which prevailed before 1870, remarking that while only 767 outrages were committed in 1869 the increase was unusually rapid; and in justification of the measure of 1870 he stated that there were only 87 agrarian offences in 1866, but the number had increased nearly ninefold in 1869, the outrages having risen from 101 in the first quarter of that year to 540 in the last quarter. Dealing with clauses 2 and 6, he remarked that the Bill would not have been so strenuously opposed had it been simply directed against crime, but the provision which placed political associations at the mercy of the

Chief Secretary was altogether novel and an outrage on public liberty; and as to the attempt to prevent exclusive dealing, he challenged the Government to propose a similar law for England. Mr. Balfour, in his reply, contended that, whether Home Rule were granted or not, the Bill was required to preserve the rights and liberties of the minority, and was a necessary step to remedial measures. He denied that any new offence had been created, except, perhaps, technically by clause 6. In the course of his reply Mr. Balfour said:—"The right hon. gentleman has thought it right entirely to alter his policy on the Irish question. Of that I make no complaint; let him do that if he pleases, and let him also drag the whole of his party with him in that remarkably sharp curve which he has described. That is a matter to be settled between him and his followers. But what I complain of is that when he thinks fit to change his opinion the whole system of morality under which we live is to be changed also, and that what was wrong, immoral, and illegal in 1882 is to become legal, moral, and right, and to be sedulously and religiously preserved by the Parliament of the United Kingdom." Lord Hartington (July 8), while admitting the responsibility of his party for the course they took, declared that after all the discussion on the Bill they were as fully convinced of its expediency and its necessity as when it was introduced. He did not admit that the state of Ireland was so discreditable to this country as Mr. Gladstone asserted; but, believing that Mr. Gladstone's policy led straight to separation, he supported the Bill as a protection against the organised terrorism by which that policy was prosecuted. Mr. Gladstone's amendment was negatived (July 8) by 349 votes to 262, and the Bill was then read a third time and passed.

A vacancy occurred in the representation of Spalding in Lincolnshire, caused by the succession of Mr. Finch-Hatton (in June) to the earldom of Winchilsea. The candidates for the seat were Admiral Tryon, Conservative, and Mr. Halley-Stewart, Gladstonian Liberal. Mr. Halley-Stewart was returned (July 1) by 5,110 votes, against 4,363 polled for Admiral Tryon. As, at the election of 1886, Mr. Finch-Hatton (Conservative) obtained a majority of 288, the result was a conspicuous victory for the Home Rule party. The contest was the occasion for a considerable amount of party demonstration. Sir George Trevelyan wrote to Mr. Halley-Stewart (June 27) in furtherance of his candidature, and expressed his satisfaction with the offer of reconciliation which he considered had been made by Mr. Gladstone in his Swansea speech. In the same letter he criticised adversely Mr. Chamberlain's attitude to his late colleagues, and insisted that Mr. Chamberlain's demands had been satisfied as well as his own. Mr. Chamberlain replied in the *Times* (June 30). He remarked, as to Mr. Gladstone's offer to make changes in the details of his Irish policy, that "there is all the difference in the world between a confession of failure and a promise of amend-

ment. We have secured from Mr. Gladstone the admission that his original proposals must be altered, but we have failed, and failed utterly, to extract from him the nature of the remedial proposals which he is prepared to substitute for them, or any assurance that the alterations will meet the conditions that we have repeatedly and clearly laid down." Mr. Chamberlain concluded thus:—"The simple fact is that Sir George Trevelyan has unconditionally surrendered his position, and he is now vainly striving to prove that he has secured valuable concessions beforehand."

Mr. Gladstone was entertained at dinner (July 2) by Sir Joseph and Lady Pease, to meet the Liberal members for Northumberland and Durham, and after dinner delivered a speech. First congratulating the Liberal party on the result of the Spalding election, he went on to traverse Lord Hartington's statement that, till little more than a year ago he had no reason to think that he was in disagreement with his party on the subject of Ireland. Mr. Gladstone mentioned that in September 1885 (when Lord Salisbury had just formed a Government, and had refused to renew the Crimes Act) there were grave differences between himself and Lord Hartington on Irish policy, he having addressed to Lord Hartington a letter of "the strongest remonstrance" on an Irish speech of Lord Hartington's; that four months previously the Liberal Cabinet had been divided on the subject of Irish policy, he (Mr. Gladstone) and Lord Hartington taking different sides; and that even as early as the spring of 1883, when Mr. Gladstone was at Cannes, Lord Hartington made a speech against giving a generous system of local government to Ireland till the Irish Members had repented of their evil ways, which excited in him (Mr. Gladstone), and he believed in the bulk of the friends with whom Lord Hartington usually acted, "little less than horror." Further, Mr. Gladstone maintained that Lord Hartington had been utterly inaccurate in saying that it was impossible to adapt the Home Rule Bill of last year to any plan under which Ulster would have had a separate representative constitution, since the Government had declared its willingness, if any practicable plan could be produced, to incorporate that plan in its scheme. Lastly, Mr. Gladstone emphatically denied that the exclusion of Irish members from Westminster would in any degree affect the power of the Imperial Parliament to overrule the legislation of the Irish Parliament. That power, he insisted, would remain, just as it is at present in the power of the Imperial Parliament to overrule the legislature of New South Wales or of any other colony having parliamentary institutions of its own. In receiving a Liberal Unionist deputation from Oxford and Cambridge Universities (July 5) Lord Hartington took the opportunity of replying to Mr. Gladstone. He admitted that his phrase, that it was "little more than a year ago" since he believed himself to be in perfect

general accord with the Liberal party on the subject of Ireland, was not very accurate. He was referring to a time nearly two years ago, when Mr. Gladstone's Government gave way to the Tories; but at that time he believed himself to be in full accord with men like Lord Spencer and Sir William Harcourt, and with the great majority of the Liberal party who supported them, though he knew that from time to time Mr. Gladstone and he had diverged in their views of Irish questions. So far as the question of Home Rule was concerned, he had not at that time the slightest suspicion that he differed from the great majority of the Liberal leaders and Liberal members. As for Mr. Gladstone's letter in 1885—a letter marked "private"—Lord Hartington denied altogether that it could be properly represented as a letter of "the strongest remonstrance," and he challenged its publication. Mr. Gladstone did not protest at all against his (Lord Hartington's) principle. What he called in question was the policy of making any public declaration on the subject at all at that time. With regard to the differences in the Cabinet four months previously to September, if Mr. Gladstone had obtained the Queen's permission for making them public, Lord Hartington held that it would be very desirable to let the public know what the differences were, and who took respectively the conflicting views to which Mr. Gladstone refers. As to the difference of opinion in the spring of 1883, Mr. Gladstone was then at Cannes, and Lord Hartington was the leader of the Liberal party in his absence. The speech which was now said to have caused Mr. Gladstone "little less than horror" was made before the opening of Parliament; but it did not interfere with Mr. Gladstone's prolonged absence, "and neither from Mr. Gladstone himself," Lord Hartington said, "nor from the rest of his horrified colleagues, did I ever receive the slightest intimation that any doubt or mistrust was felt of my capacity properly, adequately, and faithfully to represent the opinions of the Cabinet." Mr. Gladstone rejoined, in a letter published in the *Times* (July 7), that, as regarded the feeling of "little less than horror" with which he read Lord Hartington's speech in the spring of 1883, he could not qualify what he had said; but that at that time his power of sleep had broken down, and he could not return to England; but he did not doubt for a moment that Lord Hartington would express accurately and circumspectly the view of the Government. Indeed, he did not think Lord Hartington's view likely to be of importance until the question of local government in relation to Ireland should be taken up by the Government. Mr. Gladstone expressed his readiness to accede to the publication of any part of the correspondence in 1885 which Lord Hartington thought should be made known; and he reminded Lord Hartington that "any remonstrance from a Prime Minister and the leader of a party to a colleague on a public subject is a serious and very rare occurrence." But in September

1885 Mr. Gladstone was not Prime Minister. He was then out of office.

Mr. Balfour, in moving the second reading of the Irish Land Bill in the House of Commons (July 11), pointed out the difficulties in connection with the question of land in Ireland, which he attributed to the cross-currents of political and economic revolution which it had met with. Explaining the provisions of the Bill and their effect upon the Act of 1881, he proceeded to deal with the clauses relating to leaseholders, in which, he said, the principle of Mr. Parnell's Bill had been adopted; and as to the purchase clauses, they would materially facilitate the furnishing of the deposit in the case of sales under the Act of 1881. In order to meet grievances of purchasers under the Bright clauses and the purchasers of glebe lands under the Act of 1869 the Government, he said, would introduce clauses in committee to place both these classes of purchasers in the same position as purchasers under Lord Ashbourne's Act. Passing to the subject of evictions, he quoted statistics to show that not more than one-fourth of the tenants evicted were permanently turned out of their holdings, and under the Bill he believed that the number would be very greatly reduced. The bankruptcy clauses, he maintained, would have the effect of putting pressure on the landlords to come to reasonable arrangements with their tenants, and they could not fail to have the effect of stopping harsh evictions. He said the Government were opposed to any interference with judicial rents. Although the Bill would not be a final one, it would afford temporary relief and pave the way for a more sweeping measure; but he insisted that even this relief was a substantial advantage to the tenants, while it would do no injustice to any class. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman moved an amendment asserting that, having regard to the report of Lord Cowper's Commission, no Bill could be satisfactory which did not provide, not only for giving to leaseholders the benefits of the Land Act of 1881, but also for revising the judicial rents under that Act, so as to meet the exigencies created by the subsequent fall in agricultural values. Criticising in much detail the main provisions of the Bill, he condemned the clauses relating to leaseholders as unsatisfactory, and denied, with much emphasis, that the eviction and bankruptcy clauses would bring about a decrease in the number of evictions. On the contrary, he predicted that immediately the Bill passed shoals of eviction notices would be given, and that at the end of the subsequent six months a tumult of evictions would burst upon the country. These clauses were unjust as between tenant and tenant; they were demoralising, degrading, and insulting to the tenants, and were unworkable and ludicrous. Moreover, even assuming that they were just and practicable, they would be ineffectual, because they could easily be avoided, and whatever might be done eviction must in the end ensue. Mr. Chamberlain, who said he should support

the second reading with reservations, described the Bill as an honest attempt to redeem the pledges given by the Government when they brought in their Coercion Bill, as generous to a degree, and going further than any previous Government had attempted to go. He contended that the amendment was an error in tactics, inasmuch as it would cause the loss of clauses which had been approved in the other House by Lord Spencer, Lord Herschell, and other Liberal peers, and which everybody admitted to be boons to the tenant. He pointed out, too, that the amendment would not provide any means of stopping evictions; but while he supported the second reading, he reserved his opinion as to the revision of rents. Admitting that the legislation of 1881 had failed, he contended that the unexpected fall in prices was chiefly responsible for the failure; but, examining the facts and the opinions of the chief authorities, he held that no case had been made out for a general revision of judicial rents all round. But he pressed on the Government two points for their consideration—the case of the tenants whose landlords had made them no abatement, and the expediency of giving some relief to landlords who were suffering under family charges and utterly unable to make abatements. He also urged the Government to consider the case of the perpetuity leaseholders. As to the clauses dealing with equitable jurisdiction, while he thought they would afford ample protection to the tenants, he advised the Government to extend their operation so as to include attempts to recover rent by writ of *fieri facias*. He disclaimed any connection with the authorship of the bankruptcy clauses, and, although in his opinion they were generous and far-reaching, he advocated their withdrawal, in view of the strong opposition which he understood would be offered to them by the Irish members.

Mr. Dillon (July 12), replying to an appeal from Mr. Chamberlain, avowed that with the exception of the first clause he regarded the Bill with contempt, and that the grace of whatever concession it attempted to make was destroyed by the manner of making it. But he insisted that after Mr. Chamberlain's speech the Government should say whether the House was discussing their Bill or Mr. Chamberlain's. And the right hon. member was also bound to say whether he was merely talking for effect or whether he would take steps to compel the Government to accept his amendments. Discussing Mr. Chamberlain's conclusions, he accused him of extraordinary ignorance of agricultural conditions in assuming that a reduction of 20 per cent. of rent would meet the difficulty; and, quoting from the Cowper Commission Report, he asserted that the Bill did nothing whatever for the tenant outside one or two clauses. Lord Randolph Churchill (July 14) approved the proposal for the relief of the leaseholders, but thought that it ought not to be marred by the omission of the perpetuity leaseholders. As to clause 4, permitting the service of ejectment notices by post, he thought it would not work except for

the benefit of agents and landlords. The appeal clause, involving a large addition to the judicial staff, he objected to strongly on economical grounds, and he also objected to clauses 20 and 21. Of the equitable jurisdiction clause, however, he warmly approved, regarding it as a foundation on which this Bill might be expanded and made of considerably more benefit than at present. To the bankruptcy clauses he had insurmountable objections, as likely to lead to litigation, fraud, waste of public money, and demoralisation. Nevertheless the bankruptcy clauses "held the field," and unless a more effectual alternative were proposed he should be compelled to vote for them rather than sacrifice the advantages the Bill gave to the tenants. But he suggested that clause 22 should be expanded so as to give county courts equitable power to revise certain judicial rents fixed before a certain date. He would also give power to the land courts to revise the rents in certain districts, with leave to landlords to show cause and appeal. Further, he thought that there ought to be a power somewhere to revise the charges and mortgages on estates, taking into account the reductions to which the rents had been subjected. Mr. Parnell, in view of the improvements in the Bill suggested by Lord Randolph Churchill, deprecated any further attempt to hamper the Government, and Mr. Gladstone supported Mr. Parnell's appeal that the amendment should be withdrawn. The amendment was shortly afterwards negatived without a division and the Bill was read a second time.

The second reading of the Crimes Bill was moved in the House of Lords by Lord Ashbourne (July 14). Lord Granville said that Parliament had been promised two remedial measures for Ireland and one of repression; but there were before Parliament two measures of repression and only one remedial measure for that country. He argued that nothing had occurred, since the time when the Government announced their intention to rule Ireland without coercion, which justified them in their change of policy. He said that there was no case of exceptional crime, and he doubted much whether the Bill would be effective against intimidation. Complicated legal questions of combination were to be decided by stipendiary magistrates without legal training, and power was given to the Lord Lieutenant to create new offences, because clause 6 made him the judge of what was a dangerous association, and when he proclaimed an association as dangerous no tribunal could inquire into its legality or illegality. He would leave to the Government the responsibility of dealing with Ireland by such legislation. After a short further discussion the Bill was read a second time. It passed through committee on the following day and was read a third time and passed on July 18.

Lord Salisbury, addressing a meeting of the Conservative party at the Carlton Club (July 19), explained that the Government was more or less dependent on a thorough understanding



with the Unionist party, and that without give and take the alliance on which the resistance to Home Rule depended must come to an end. The Liberal Unionists pressed for alterations in the Irish Land Bill which were of considerable importance, and, indeed, were alterations without which Ulster would very probably be lost to the Unionist cause. These modifications were the inclusion of all the leaseholders except the perpetuity leaseholders in the right to have their rents revised; the abandonment of the bankruptcy clauses; the restraint of all creditors, whether landlords or others, from the use of the action of *fiery facias* against the tenant-right and the agricultural produce; the extension of the equity clauses; and the revision by the Land Court of judicial rents, the reductions in the rents to be on a sliding scale regulated by cost of produce, to vary with each district and each year, and to operate only for three years, till a Purchase Bill could be passed and acted on. Colonel Saunderson and Lord Kilmorey protested vehemently against this latter concession, as a breach of faith with the landlords, who had been given their judicial rents for fifteen years on the security of a parliamentary title. But the meeting was nearly unanimous in supporting the concessions which the Government proposed to make.

In the debate in committee of the House of Commons on the Land Bill (July 25) amendments were adopted in the clause applying to leaseholders, as were also (July 26) further amendments relating to leaseholders and judicial rents. The bankruptcy clauses were struck out (Aug. 2) and new clauses were added (Aug. 2 and 3), after which (Aug. 3) the Bill passed through Committee. It was read a third time (Aug. 6) after a discussion on arrears of rent which Mr. Dillon proposed to empower the Court to reduce. Mr. Chamberlain suggested that the Court should be authorised to direct a composition of all a tenant's debts, but he was reminded by Mr. Balfour that opposition had been steadily offered by Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Parnell, and others, to any arrangement for placing rent in the same category as other debts. Lord Hartington expressed his belief that the Government had done all they could to settle the question of arrears according to the wishes of the Irish members. On the return of the Bill to the House of Lords for consideration of the Commons' amendments (Aug. 11) several of those amendments were disagreed to and others were varied by new amendments. Among the latter was one providing that the clause authorising the revision of judicial rents should not apply to rents fixed or revised after Jan. 1, 1886. When the House of Commons considered the Lords' amendments (Aug. 12 and 18) Mr. Balfour's motion for the acceptance of that dealing with town parks was opposed with some warmth. By the original Bill town parks were declared to mean land used as accommodation land, and not as farms, but a Commons' amendment

extended the operation of the clause to all land in the neighbourhood of towns of not less than 2,000 inhabitants. This extension was struck out by the House of Lords. Mr. T. W. Russell appealed to the Liberal Unionists to vote against the Lords' amendment, which, he said, if agreed to, would raise a fire of indignation in Ulster not easily quenched. Mr. Chamberlain blamed the action of the Government in regard to this amendment, and deprecated their abandonment of the compromise at the instance of the House of Lords. On a division the House decided not to insist on its amendment, the votes being 206 to 164. Another Lords' amendment somewhat strongly contested was that declaring that the judicial rents should be adjusted according to the rise and fall of agricultural prices. Mr. Parnell said he preferred to lose the Bill rather than accept an illusory concession, and warned the Government that if the amendment were adhered to the tenants would be compelled to have recourse to remedies outside the Constitution. The Lords' amendment was agreed to on a division by 215 votes against 161, and the other amendments being disposed of, the Irish Land Bill became law. Its enactment was speedily followed by the proclamation of the National League as a dangerous association. Mr. Balfour's announcement of the proclamation in the House of Commons (Aug. 19) was received with strongly marked approval on the Ministerial side of the House, and with equally emphatic disapproval on that of the Opposition. Mr. Gladstone (Aug. 25) moved an Address to the Crown, praying that the proclamation should be withdrawn. He reminded the House that the function it was about to discharge was imposed upon it by the Crimes Act, which required that Parliament, by silence or otherwise, should be a party to this proclamation. He contended that the information on which the Lord Lieutenant acted ought to be laid before Parliament to guide it in the formation of its judgment. The want of information, he urged, destroyed all the safeguards for the just exercise of this power; and he argued that the proclamation was directed not against crime but against legitimate combination. Next he dwelt on the objectionable character of the proclamation and the substitution of the arbitrary will of the Lord Lieutenant for the decisions of the courts of law, enforcing this by recalling the numerous instances in which the Imperial Parliament had inflicted gross injustice on Ireland. Then he asked, What is the League? and, dealing first with its weak side and its occasional evils and errors, he discussed the question of "exclusive dealing," which he excused to a great extent when practised by the poor. As to what the League had done for Ireland in bringing about a reduction of rent, he cited Sir Redvers Buller and the testimony of Mr. T. W. Russell. Commenting next on the stringency of the clauses of the Crimes Act dealing with the suppression of dangerous associations, he remarked that it was evidently intended

to carry them out by the aid of summary jurisdiction, thereby doing away with trial by jury, and virtually suspending the Habeas Corpus Act. The proclamation, moreover, of which the House had cognizance, effected nothing; but over the orders which were to follow the House would have no control—they would be left to the unmitigated and arbitrary discretion of the Executive. Mr. Balfour, replying to Mr. Gladstone's allegation of want of information, referred him to the recently published returns as to boycotting and the report of the Cowper Commission, which he contended afforded ample and overflowing evidence, besides the confidential reports, to justify the action of the Government. The League, however, had not been proclaimed until now because the Government thought it would have been inexpedient to proclaim it before the passing of the Land Act; but he argued that the present proclamation was on all fours with that by which the Land League was suppressed in 1881, and quoted from the latter to show that it expressly referred to the control exercised by the League over the relations between landlord and tenant. He denied that the National League was a political organisation in the sense understood in England and Scotland, or that there was any analogy between it and an English trade-union. The difference consisted mainly in the methods used to carry out the object in view, and he ridiculed the notion of a trade-combination in England having recourse to outrage such as that practised by the National League. The debate was continued (Aug. 26) by Sir George Trevelyan—who had shortly before been returned to Parliament as representative of the Bridgeton division of Glasgow—and others. On a division Mr. Gladstone's motion for an address was negatived by 272 votes against 194.

Among the extra-parliamentary functions of the session having reference to Irish legislation was a banquet given to Lord Hartington (Aug. 5) by Liberal Unionist members of the House of Commons, under the presidency of Mr. Bright. Referring, in his speech after the banquet, to the Land Bill, which was then again before the House of Commons for consideration of the Lords' amendments, Lord Hartington said:—"No doubt the Government have been mainly responsible for the land legislation which they have introduced, but I am quite ready to acknowledge that we were consulted with regard to that legislation. We were not, of course, responsible for the details, but as to the principle on which it was founded we were consulted; and I am quite ready to admit that we believed and hoped that it would not be necessary in the present session, pending the introduction of a larger and wider measure, to adopt a principle so full of risk and danger, and so pregnant with possible inconvenience and difficulty in the way of passing a great land purchase scheme for Ireland, as the principle of the revision of judicial rents payable by solvent tenants. I do not admit for a moment that in forming this opinion we were in the slightest

degree unmindful of the case of the solvent tenants who might be paying too high a rent under the Land Act of 1881. We hoped, we believed, that the principle of the equity clauses, and still more of the bankruptcy clauses, of the Land Act would give ample and satisfactory relief in the case of the insolvent tenants, and indirectly we believed that the position of the insolvent tenants, and their incapacity to deal with their landlords and make equitable arrangements with their landlords, would be greatly strengthened by the measure as originally proposed. But, as you know, the bankruptcy clauses of the Land Act met with no support from any considerable section of the Irish people or of the House of Commons, and we must admit that, good and sound as I believe they were in principle, difficulties of no inconsiderable character existed in their working, and as a matter of fact they have had to be abandoned. Well, the Government was bound to introduce some alternative, and although in any change of front or change of policy it is very easy to point to inconsistencies of argument and language, I do not believe it is possible to point to any such inconsistencies as touch either the honour or the good faith of the Government which introduced these principles."

Lord Hartington also made the following important observations on the future action of the two sections of the Unionist party:—"Proposals and suggestions have recently been made for a closer union between the sections of the Unionist party. No doubt such a union would be the most perfect form of its organisation; but I believe now, as I did a year ago, that the time is not yet ripe for such a closer union; and it will not be ripe until we have obtained on both sides some further experience than as yet it has been possible to obtain of the willingness of both sections to co-operate in legislation of this character" [reform of the land laws, the improvement of the condition of the labourers, the extension of local government on a popular basis, the increase of facilities for primary and technical education, the revision of taxation, and the economic administration of the revenue of the country]—"that it is the desire of one section to advance and of the other to accept reasonable terms. Such experience could not be obtained in such a session as the present, which, either from our own fault or from the fault of others, has been practically devoted to one question. But I think progress is being made, and that the time is approaching when subjects such as those to which I have just referred may be jointly taken up and considered by all sections of the Unionist party. In the interval which will elapse between the end of the present session and the assembling of Parliament for another session that progress will be further continued, and we, the leaders of the Unionist party, will be able to place before the country a policy of reform and of progress which shall at the same time tend to consolidate the union of the Unionist party,

to secure and establish the maintenance of the Union, and confer upon our country benefits for which it has long been waiting, and for which, but for some policy of this kind, it may have long to wait."

## CHAPTER IV.

### OTHER LEGISLATION AND INCIDENTS OF THE SESSION.

Lord R. Churchill explains his resignation of office as Chancellor of the Exchequer—The Colonial Conference—Motion for restraining publication of details of Divorce and other cases—Closing of the Accounts of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition—Colonial Delegates received at Windsor—Ministerial Statement as to Defective Cutlasses supplied to the Navy—The Duke of Connaught's Leave of Absence Bill—The People's Palace opened by the Queen—The House of Commons at St. Margaret's, Westminster—Ministerial Statement as to Defective Bayonets—Anti-Tithe Agitation in Wales—The Imperial Institute—The Turkish Convention—Ball at the Reform Club The Queen's Jubilee—Thanksgiving Service at Westminster Abbey—Children's Fête in Hyde Park—Jubilee Honours—The Women's Jubilee Offering—Letter from the Queen—Coal Mines Regulation Bill—Dinner to Professor Tyndall—Volunteer Review at Buckingham Palace—Foundation-stone of Imperial Institute laid by the Queen—Review of Troops at Alderhot—Grand Naval Review at Spithead—The Arrest of Miss Cass—Dinner to Mr. Gladstone by Scotch Members—The Convict Lipski—The Fisheries Commission.

FROM the time of the introduction of the Crimes Bill the session was almost wholly given up to Irish business, and political speeches outside Parliament were chiefly devoted to the pressing question of Irish legislation. An address by Lord Randolph Churchill to his constituents at Paddington (April 2) was an important exception. This was the first occasion on which Lord Randolph had addressed his constituents since his resignation of the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he entered into a full explanation of his reasons for resigning. In the course of his speech he said: "If it had fallen to me to occupy any other office in the Government besides that which I did occupy, I should have been in the Government now. But I was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and I had the honour of being leader of the House of Commons, and as Chancellor of the Exchequer I was almost entirely responsible for the public expenditure of this great empire; as leader of the House of Commons I was largely responsible for the general policy of the Government, which had to be exposed and defended night after night in the House of Commons. As Chancellor of the Exchequer I had to feel an absolute and honourable certainty in my mind that I was not taking one shilling, as it were, from your pockets, or from the pockets of the people of this country, which was not absolutely required by the exigencies of the public service. Now I ask you—Do you think, knowing what you know now, that I could have felt any certainty upon that point? Look at what has taken place since the beginning of the year. Look with regard to the expenditure of public money. Look at the sad discoveries and disclosures—I must really call them shameful—which have been brought

before the public by the committee which has been appointed to inquire into the system of negotiating Admiralty contracts. I go further. I ask you to look at the report of the committee only just lately appointed to inquire into the cutlasses and the bayonets which were supplied to your sailors, and on the excellence of which your sailors in time of war would have to rely. (A voice, 'They are German.') Yes; but is it not extraordinary that you have in the War Office a great department spending  $18\frac{1}{2}$  millions of public money, and that that department since 1871 has allowed your sailors to be armed with weapons which the Commission described as absolutely inefficient, absolutely untrustworthy, and absolutely unfit for service? That department has allowed that state of things to continue since 1871, and would not acknowledge that it was so, denied the statements of the Admiralty, and would not acknowledge it till an independent committee told them that this was the case. That is a department which spends  $18\frac{1}{2}$  millions per annum. I want to ask you this. Look at the speeches which have been made recently in Parliament by the First Lord of the Admiralty and the Secretary to the Admiralty—against whom as individuals I have not a word to say—but in their speeches in Parliament they have pleaded guilty in the past, without qualification, to an expenditure of public money which really would not have discredited the Government of Russia. If you want to go further than this, I invite you all to study a Parliamentary paper which you can easily procure—viz., the report of Sir William Dunbar, the controller and auditor-general of public finance, on the expenditure of that vote of credit of 11 millions which was taken by Mr. Gladstone in 1885. If you study that, you will come to the conclusion that, after all, on that particular matter which I put before you, I could not, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, have the smallest certainty that I was not taking money out of your pockets which would be wasted as much as if it were thrown into the gutter. I daresay some of you will say, 'That is all very well; there have been great scandals, but these would all have been known and dealt with without your taking so strong a step as resigning your office.' I quite admit the apparent plausibility of that position, but I traverse it directly. All these things could not have been known, or if they had been known they would have attracted no attention whatever. Things would have gone on just the same as before. You would have had a plaintive remonstrance here and an indignant letter there; but the great wave-torrent of other public matters would have swept them out of sight. No remedy would have been applied to them." Lord Randolph Churchill further said: "I should like to put before you the exact sum in pounds, shillings, and pence which my action on the question of public expenditure and in resigning my office absolutely saved your pockets and saved the country. I think this will interest you. The immediate cause of my

resignation, the crisis which precipitated it, was the Estimates of the War Office. The Secretary for War placed before me Estimates for the current year which amounted to 18,564,000*l.*, and I said to him that I thought that sum, being 300,000*l.* in excess of the previous year, was an amount I could not consent to. I pressed him hardly during a long conversation to make reductions on that amount. Now, the Secretary of State for War, a gentleman for whom I have the highest possible respect and against whom I will never say one word, told me that there was not a single item which he could conscientiously accept any reduction upon. He wrote that to the Prime Minister at the time when there was this ministerial crisis. Then the resignation came, and all the bother. But is not this a most remarkable thing, that after the resignation the War Estimates underwent a revision, and the War Estimates have been reduced by the very considerable amount of 170,000*l.* odd? More than that, before I left office, so strong was the pressure I put upon the Admiralty—and I am bound to say the Admiralty responded admirably to that pressure—that the Admiralty Estimates showed a total reduction on the expenditure of last year of no less than 700,000*l.* I have got the very decent total of 870,000*l.*—we may practically say 900,000*l.* But there is another matter well worthy your attention, to show the difficulty a Chancellor of the Exchequer is in in taking care of your pockets. I had to deal with an estimate which was presented by the War Office amounting to over half a million of money for expenditure incurred in connection with the defence of the Egyptian frontier. That expenditure had been incurred without the knowledge of the War Office, without the knowledge of the Treasury, without the sanction of Parliament, and I utterly declined to have anything whatever to do with it or to admit it in any way. It was, I thought, a most indefensible expenditure. I fought against that estimate from August to December, until within a few days of my resignation. I knew it would be an estimate that the House of Commons would hardly be persuaded to vote, but so great was the pressure put upon me by the Foreign Office as to the bankruptcy which would ensue in Egypt if we did not repay that sum to the Egyptian Government, and as to the possible issue of an international Commission, and other matters, that at the last moment I gave way. Well, in comes my successor, who the moment this estimate was presented to him took just the same view as I did, exactly. He considered it absolutely unjustifiable expenditure, for which he would not be responsible to Parliament and the Government. And I think he very wisely, owing to the great stir about economy, insisted upon economy somewhere. Consequently the Government have never presented that estimate to the House of Commons. Then I say I practically saved 170,000*l.*, the estimate for the War Office. I practically saved 700,000*l.* in the Navy Estimates, and I practically saved 500,000*l.*

for the Supplemental Estimates; and so I practically saved 1,400,000*l.* to the taxpayers of this country."

An Imperial conference, composed of delegates from all the self-governing Colonies, was held at the Foreign Office under the presidency of Sir Henry Holland, and was addressed at its first sitting (April 4) by Lord Salisbury. The Prime Minister offered to the delegates the hearty welcome of the Government and of the country. He deprecated "all ambitious schemes of constitution-making," though he held the aspiration for federation to be "the nebulous matter which, in the course of ages, would cool down into material and practical results." For the present, however, the task was to form neither a general Union nor a Zollverein, but a *Kriegsverein*—a combination for purposes of self-defence. So great was the advance in the power of making distant combinations, owing to the progress of modern science, that even if the Colonies were independent States, they would not be safe. They occupied some of the fairest and most desirable portions of the earth's surface; the desire for colonies had greatly increased, and, unless defended, they might be menaced with sudden attack. Their permanent interest, therefore, was to organise means of defence, to prepare men as well as money, and to the utmost of their means to strengthen the capacity of the Empire for defending them. "The desire for colonial and foreign possessions," Lord Salisbury remarked, "is increasing among the nations of Europe. The power of concentrating military and naval forces is increasing under the influence of scientific progress. Put all those things together and you will see that the colonies have a very real and genuine interest in the shield which their Imperial connection throws over them, and that they have a ground for joining with us in making the defences of the Empire secure—a ground which is not purely sentimental, and which does not rest merely on their attachment to this country, but which is based on the most solid and reasonable foundations of self-interest and security." Sir Henry Holland, after observing that the assembling together in this country of leading colonial statesmen and representatives of Greater Britain to discuss matters of Imperial interest was the fittest of all the memorials of her Majesty's jubilee, went on to speak of the matters to be brought before the conference. Besides questions of colonial defence, the subjects proposed to be dealt with included postal rates, the marriage laws, the provisions of the Colonial Loans Act, the enlargement of the powers of trustees to invest in colonial stocks, the expediency of taking the census of 1891 on the same day and in the same manner in all parts of the Empire, and the exemption from probate or succession duty in one part of the Empire of property owned by a British subject in another part.

In the House of Commons (April 4), after a discussion on harbour loans, on a motion, afterwards withdrawn, authorising



the Board of Works to decide on the policy of works proposed to be undertaken, Mr. Samuel Smith moved a resolution in favour of relaxing the restrictions hitherto imposed by the Local Government Board on the emigration of pauper children, and suggested that negotiations should be entered into with agencies for the emigration of pauper, orphan, and neglected children to Canada and other colonies. An interesting discussion followed, in the course of which Mr. Ritchie pointed out that the emigration of pauper children was under the control of Boards of Guardians, subject to the supervision of the Local Government Board, and said that the Government were not prepared to initiate any legislation for the emigration of pauper children against the will of their parents. The motion was withdrawn. A discussion on harbours of refuge occurred (April 19) on the following motion by Mr. Yeo: "That, having regard to the recent fearful sacrifice of life in the Bristol Channel, and to the constantly recurring losses of life and property around the coasts of the United Kingdom, it is, in the opinion of this House, urgent that her Majesty's Government should immediately take action to diminish these losses by the construction of harbours of refuge." The resolution was warmly supported, while various suggestions were made, some having reference to the construction and improvement of fishing harbours. On a division the motion was negatived by a majority of 5, the votes being 86 for it, and 81 against. On the same day (April 19) the subject of the Sunday delivery of letters, raised by a motion by Dr. Clark, for the discontinuance of the Sunday delivery throughout the country, was referred to a select committee.

In the Lords (April 19) the Army Annual Bill was passed, and the Supreme Court of Judicature (Ireland) Bill was read a second time. The Police Force Enfranchisement Bill was read a second time in the Commons (April 20) after an assurance by the Home Secretary that, if it were proposed to extend the franchise to the Irish Constabulary, that should be done by a separate Bill. In supply (April 22) Mr. Bradlaugh moved a resolution asking for the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the extent to which market rights were in the hands of public bodies or private persons, and how such rights were exercised, and to report as to the advisability of compelling their transfer to local authorities with the view of making them free and open. The appointment of a Royal Commission, as proposed, was assented to by Mr. Ritchie, on the understanding that the terms of the reference should be settled afterwards. Mr. Samuel Smith (April 22) called attention to the evil done by the unrestricted publication of the details of divorce and other cases of an indecent character, and urged that the publication of indecent details should be entirely prohibited. The Attorney-General, who admitted that something ought to be done to put a stop to the evil, pointed out the difficulties in the way, but said he thought some

rule of Court might be framed to allow the publication of facts without prurient details, although the present law, he added, did not allow privilege to the publication of indecent matter on the ground that it was a report of legal proceedings. The Land Transfer Bill was read a second time in the House of Lords (April 25) after a debate in which the measure received the general approval of the Law Lords. The Tithe Rent-charge Bill was also read a second time (April 28). Lord Salisbury opposed a proposal to refer the Bill to a Select Committee, on the ground that he did not wish to do anything to prevent it from passing this year. The Archbishop of Canterbury denied that there was any general opposition to the Bill on the part of the clergy, and quoted a statement he had just received from the Church Defence Association to the effect that the Association would consider it little short of a disaster if the Bill were dropped. Two colonial subjects were somewhat fully debated in the Lords. Lord Harrowby (April 29) reminded ministers that the Canadian Pacific Railway had brought the Pacific Ocean within fourteen days of England, and had given us a third route to the East entirely through British territory. He urged the payment of a subsidy to maintain a service of large steamers between the terminus of the railway at Vancouver city and China and Japan. Lord Onslow stated that two committees had reported on this subject, and the Government, having considered the reports made by those committees, thought they would not be justified in agreeing to the payment by this country of a subsidy of 100,000*l.* a year for a fortnightly service. A proposal for a monthly service at a subsidy of 60,000*l.* had since been submitted, and the Canadian Government had signified their willingness to make a contribution to such payment. This modified proposal was receiving the careful consideration of the Government. The other colonial debate had reference to the New Hebrides. Lord Harrowby (May 2) called attention to the condition of affairs in those islands, and asked what course was proposed to be taken by the Government. Lord Salisbury, in reply, stated that the French Government had given assurances, which there was no reason to doubt, that they had no intention of permanently occupying the islands, and that they would withdraw their troops from them as soon as they saw that there was no probability of the renewal of the outrages of which France had reason to complain. The Government, he said, would not depart from that international agreement by which both France and England were bound not to occupy those islands.

The Commissioners of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition held a meeting at Marlborough House (April 30) for closing the accounts of that exhibition. The Prince of Wales, who presided, said that the exhibition had been attended by no fewer than 5,550,745 persons. "Of this number," his Royal Highness said, "a large proportion were admitted under schemes in which

I took a deep personal interest, by means of which admission was granted to provincial and metropolitan artisans, with their wives and families, at greatly reduced rates. It may safely be asserted that a vast amount of public good has arisen from the holding of this Exhibition. No one can have failed to notice the earnest attention paid by all classes of the visitors to the contents of the Exhibition; and the instruction which was derived from an examination of the varied objects displayed therein cannot but tend to a better knowledge of the outlying portions of the Empire among the inhabitants of the mother country." The accounts showed a surplus of 35,238*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.* It was resolved to grant 5,964*l.* 11*s.* 5*d.* to the council of the Inventions Exhibition to enable them to close their accounts, and 4,270*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.* to the chairmen of the executive committees of the other exhibitions to meet unforeseen contingencies. It was then decided to transfer the residue of 25,000*l.* to the Imperial Institute.

The Queen received the delegates attending the Colonial Conference (May 4) at Windsor Castle. The following address was read and presented to the Queen by Sir Robert Thorburn, K.C.M.G., Premier of Newfoundland, on behalf of the Colonial Conference, all the representatives being present:—

"May it please your Majesty,

"Your Majesty's subjects from distant provinces of your Empire assembled in London, upon the summons of your Secretary of State for the Colonies, to confer on questions affecting your Imperial possessions throughout the world, desire to avail themselves of the opportunity, which their meeting affords, to approach your Majesty with their humble, united, and earnest congratulations on the approaching completion of the 50th year of your reign.

"Your Majesty has witnessed the number of your colonial subjects of European descent increase from under two millions to nine millions, and of Asiatic race in your Indian Empire from 96 millions to 254 millions, and of other peoples in your colonies and dependencies from two millions to seven millions.

"The area now governed by your Majesty in India is 1,380,000 square miles, and in your colonies 7,000,000 square miles. The increase of trade, of shipping, and of revenue has been in proportion to that of population; and no one in your wide dominions is subject to any other sway than that of even and impartial law.

"Your Majesty's reign has, under Divine providence, endured for half a century; and amidst revolutions and changes of dynasty, and of systems of government in other countries, the principles of the laws of your predecessors for a thousand years still afford your subjects that safety and prosperity, and the Empire that stability, which claim the admiration of the world.

"We beg to assure your Majesty of the continued loyalty

and devotion of your colonial subjects; and we humbly pray that your happy reign may still be prolonged, and that your Majesty's throne may remain established in the land, in justice and righteousness, for generations to come.

"We remain, with the profoundest veneration, your Majesty's most faithful subjects and dutiful servants."

To which her Majesty made the following gracious reply:—

"I accept with much satisfaction the loyal and dutiful address which you have presented to me on behalf of my colonial subjects, and it has given me great pleasure to receive in person here to-day the representatives of so many portions of my dominions.

"I have observed with the liveliest interest the steady advance of my colonies in wealth, population, and good government. This has been a constant and increasing source of gratification to me during the fifty years on the completion of which you now offer me congratulations; and nothing can give me greater pride and pleasure than to know that the loyalty and affection of my subjects in distant lands have developed along with their prosperity and success."

At one of the last sittings of the Colonial Conference (May 6) a resolution was passed recommending an addition to the Royal title, so as to describe her Majesty as "Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Colonies and Dependencies thereof."

In the House of Commons (May 6) Mr. Hanbury asked the Secretary of State for War whether, in view of the fact disclosed before the Committee which recently took evidence on the subject of defective weapons, the Government had come to a decision as to what officials were responsible for the manufacture and issue of defective weapons to the men of her Majesty's Navy; what action it was proposed to take to punish such officials; and what steps the Government intended to take to prevent the recurrence of such scandals at the War Office without the responsibility for them being traced home to any particular official. The hon. member remarked that the question had been altered at the table, and he was not responsible for the somewhat illogical form in which it appeared upon the paper. Mr. Stanhope replied:—"Looking at the very great importance of the questions raised by my hon. friend, I hope the House will grant me its indulgence if I reply at somewhat greater length than is usual. The conclusion which it seems to me is to be drawn from the report of the Cutlass Committee is, that the conversion of the cutlasses was mainly responsible for their becoming inefficient arms. The pattern was got out, tried on board the *Excellent*, and approved in 1871, and the responsibility for the pattern must be shared between Sir John Adye, Director-General of Artillery; Colonel Dixon, Superintendent at Enfield; Captain Hood, Director of Naval Ordnance; and Captain Boyes, captain

of the *Excellent*. But the fault lay also in the mode in which the conversion was carried out in 1874, and the evidence appears to point to the responsibility being shared between Sir John Adye, Director of Artillery; Colonel Fraser and Colonel Close, superintendents at Enfield; and Mr. Terry, foreman of the works. I do not attempt to apportion the responsibility. The Committee appointed to investigate the matter has not done so. And, looking to the fact that all these transactions occurred twelve or thirteen years ago, and all these officers have been changed, I am not inclined to undertake a duty which the committee, with full knowledge of all the circumstances, has not been able to accomplish. But what is much more important is that the system should be put on a proper footing. Everybody admits that the present heads of the Ordnance Department cannot be held responsible for blunders made long before their time, and I personally know that they are doing their best to make a recurrence of them impossible. But, although I have the fullest confidence in General Alderson, the present Director of Artillery and Stores—and I am sure that opinion will be largely shared by others—something more is required. It is to give full confidence to the public that weapons and stores issued to the army and navy are fit for the service for which they are required, and also to give confidence to contractors that the goods supplied by them will be subjected to an impartial trial. And although it would not be proper on my part to propose a detailed scheme until I have before me the reports of the Royal Commission, and of Lord Morley's Committee—both shortly expected—I will state to the House frankly my own conclusion. In my opinion nothing can adequately restore full public confidence except an examination entirely independent of the manufacturing departments of the Government. Independent test appears to me to be the right solution, and I hope I may be supported by the House in establishing it. There is one other point closely connected with this question which the House will, perhaps, allow me to mention. I have been convinced that the financial control at present exercised over one or two of these departments of the War Office is insufficient and not continuous. This is an opinion expressed some time ago in this House by my hon. friend the Surveyor-General of the Ordnance, and I think he is quite right. The departments to which I refer are not, under the constitution of the War Office, subject to the control of the financial department; their heads are appointed for five years, and their Parliamentary chiefs changed with every Government. Let them work as hard as they can—and to their hard work and efficiency I gladly bear testimony—they cannot make this system satisfactory. And I am prepared, as soon as the inquiries now being conducted are concluded, to make proposals to the Treasury for establishing a permanent financial control."

In the House of Lords (May 12) the Market and Fairs Bill

was read a second time, and the Customs Consolidation Act (1876) Amendment Bill was passed. In the Commons (May 12) Sir John Gorst moved the second reading of the Bill for giving leave to the Duke of Connaught to return home for the Jubilee celebration, and explained that the Bill was necessary by reason of the provisions of the statute 3 and 4 William IV., cap. 75, which declare that the departure of a governor-general or governor, member of council, or commander-in-chief from his post shall be deemed to be a resignation of his office. The Bill, he pointed out, would be permissive, and would entail no expense on the Indian Treasury. Mr. Dillwyn moved the rejection of the Bill, maintaining that if a post of this kind were conferred on exalted personages it should be held on the same conditions as those which applied to other people. Sir J. Swinburne seconded the motion, but, attempting to go into the claims of other officers to the posts which had been conferred on Royal personages, he was called to order several times for irrelevance, and ultimately sat down.

Mr. Childers pointed out that all naval and military officers except a commander-in-chief were entitled to leave of absence, and said it would be ungracious to reject the measure, but urged the Government to introduce a general Bill. Mr. W. H. Smith promised that this should be done at a subsequent date, and, having given an undertaking that the Duke would not receive military pay or allowances during his absence from India, appealed to the House to give a unanimous assent to the second reading. Among other criticisms on the Bill it was denounced by Mr. Labouchere as an obsequious and servile measure, to suit the convenience of a Royal prince. A division being taken, the amendment was negatived by 318 votes to 45. The Bill was read a second time. At the same sitting, on the vote in supply for 17,000*l.*, required for preparations in Westminster Abbey for the Jubilee thanksgiving service, Mr. Labouchere moved the reduction of the amount to 2,000*l.* The vote was agreed to after the amendment had been negatived on a division by 208 to 84. In the Lords (May 14) Lord Denman presented a Bill limiting the duration of speeches in Parliament; and in the Commons Sir Henry Holland announced that the Queen's sovereignty would be declared over Zululand.

Her Majesty visited Whitechapel (May 14) for the purpose of opening the People's Palace. Practically, the occasion was the beginning of the Jubilee celebrations, and along the whole route of the procession, extending from the Great Western Railway Station at Paddington to the extreme east of London, there was a remarkable demonstration of loyalty. After the ceremony of opening the palace the Queen visited the Mansion House.

In Supply (May 13), Mr. Dillon criticised the appointment, as Irish Parliamentary Under-Secretary, of Colonel King-Harman, on whom he made a violent personal attack. A general discussion,

of an acrimonious character, followed on a proposal to reduce the vote for the office of Chief Secretary, the motion being negatived on a division by 187 votes to 85. The House of Commons resolved (May 17), that in celebration of the fiftieth year of her Majesty's reign, the House would attend at the church of St. Margaret, Westminster, on Sunday, May 22. Mr. Hanbury asked the Secretary for War (May 19) whether, as all the bayonets in the hands of the regular infantry had now been re-tested, he could state what was the test to which they were submitted, how many were so tested, and how many failed to pass the test. Mr. Stanhope replied :—"The long triangular Martini-Henry bayonets and the sword-bayonets in the United Kingdom have been re-tested. The former were sprung, on all three faces, round a curved block  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. high in the centre, struck twice on each flat, and gauged; also a large percentage were twisted from point to socket through a quarter of a circle. Forty thousand one hundred and eighty in the hands of the troops and 123,400 in store were thus tested. Four and three-quarters per cent. of those with the troops and 3 per cent. of those in store broke;  $4\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. with troops and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in store were under gauge;  $21\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. with the troops and 11 per cent. in store were found to be soft; and 69 per cent. of those with the troops, and  $84\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of those in store passed the re-testing. Of the sword-bayonets 12,800 in the hands of troops and 22,000 in store were re-tested by being sprung round a curved block  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. high or over a bridge giving the same bend, struck on an oak block on back and edge and on each flat, troughed and gauged. Ninety per cent. of those with troops and  $89\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of those in store passed the test. Of the remainder in each case 9 per cent. were soft, and 1 per cent. of those with the troops and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of those in store broke. Of the weapons which were returned as 'soft,' 50 per cent. of the sword-bayonets passed, after being re-hardened and tempered; and of the triangular bayonets 75 per cent. of those from the troops, and 86 per cent. of those from store passed under similar circumstances. As a much larger proportion of the weapons in the hands of troops failed to pass the test than of those in store it is evident that the bayonets have seriously deteriorated since their issue to the troops. Troops at home are, of course, all armed with re-tested bayonets. Supplies have been sent to the Mediterranean, Egypt, and South Africa, and those in the hands of the troops at those stations have been recalled for the purpose of being re-tested. Those only that pass the re-test will be placed in store. As previously stated the bayonets in possession of the Militia will be re-tested during the present year and replaced as necessary. I will now, with the permission of the House, refer to two questions as to imperfect arms which my honourable friend has previously addressed to me. He inquired as to an alleged testing, with very bad results, of the swords of the Royal Horse Guards in October last,

but the officer commanding the regiment reports that no such test took place. Then, as regards the shovels which broke in the hands of men of the East Kent Regiment at Dover, I have to say that they were of a pattern introduced in 1871 from America as reserve intrenching tools. It was soon found that they were too light for ordinary unskilled work, and in 1875 a heavier and stronger pattern was introduced for general service, but the store of the light pattern was retained, to be gradually used up. The tool is really a shovel, and answers fairly well at Chatham in the hands of the sappers, but it is not fit for use as a spade thrust into heavy soil. The central store of these shovels at Woolwich is exhausted. Those at out-stations will be recalled and replaced by proper spades. Steps are in progress to thoroughly overhaul all intrenching tools, and to reject from store all as to the utility of which there can be any serious doubt."

Mr. Smith, in answer to questions from two honourable members, said that the question of extending her Majesty's title so as to include a recognition of her colonial possessions, had been referred to the Colonial Governors. The Duke of Connaught's Leave Bill passed through committee without amendment (May 20), and was read a third time. The Police Enfranchisement Bill was read a third time in the House of Lords (May 20), and passed, as on the following day (May 21) was the Duke of Connaught's Leave Bill. The Crofters' Holdings (Scotland) Bill was read a third time and passed on May 23.

The Speaker and about 400 members of the House of Commons, in accordance with the resolution of the House, attended in state at a service in celebration of the Jubilee year of the Queen's reign, held at St. Margaret's, Westminster, (May 22). The sermon, which was preached by the Bishop of Ripon, contained eloquent allusions to the progress made in science and discovery, and shown by the nobler qualities of humanity, in the present age. The thanks of the House (May 23) were voted to the Bishop of Ripon for his sermon.

A serious resistance was offered in Montgomeryshire and elsewhere in North Wales to distraints for tithes, attempted to be levied in consequence of the refusal of the tenants to pay. The tithe-owners chiefly concerned were the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, Oxford. A force of 250 police was drafted into the Meifod Valley, Montgomeryshire (May 27), to protect the representatives of Christ Church in selling the stock of several farmers which had been seized for unpaid tithe. The farmers had asked for an abatement of 10 per cent., which the college authorities refused. The matter was settled at one farm, where a Calvinistic Methodist minister stood upon a fence and begged the people to be quiet while the negotiations were proceeding. But at the next place, Lower Hall Farm, the crowd numbered 1,500 sympathisers, who had driven to the spot from distant places. Shrieks and yells were set up, which resounded



through the valley for miles. The police marched through the farmyard and towards the house, but the crowd impeded their progress, and would not give way. The force was commanded to charge, and a scene of wild confusion followed. The crowd, being on elevated ground, were heavier than the police, and drove them back, with the result that the ranks were broken and a hand-to-hand scuffle ensued for some minutes. To avoid a serious riot the police were withdrawn and sent back to Welshpool. The auctioneer was caught, and his coat having been turned inside out he was marched in that style through the streets of Corwen, and made to sign a declaration that he would never return there as an auctioneer. The anti-tithe agitation was vigorously kept up for a considerable time, and sales under distrains for tithes were in most places only effected with the aid of a military force.

A scheme was adopted (June), with the sanction of the Prince of Wales, for the government of the Imperial Institute. The following is an abstract of the scheme:—The general council to consist of 100 members, such number to be increased to an extent not exceeding fifty, according to requirements which may arise out of contemplated arrangements with the Royal Colonial Institute and the Royal Asiatic Society, and with respect to the creation of fellows of the Institute. Ten members to be nominated by the Queen. Forty-five members to represent the United Kingdom and the isles in the British seas. Thirty to represent the colonies. Fifteen to represent the Indian Empire.

*Representation of the United Kingdom.*—1. Ex-officio members—The Speaker, the Governor of the Bank of England, the Lord Mayor of London, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, the Lord Mayor of Dublin. 2. Representatives of the commerce and industries to be chosen in each of seventeen districts by the mayors of the municipal corporations in such district at a meeting held for that purpose. 3. Three members to be nominated by the Associated Chambers of Commerce, and one by the London Chamber of Commerce. 4. Four representatives of agriculture, to be nominated by the Royal Agricultural Society, the Central Chamber of Agriculture, the Highland Society, and the Royal Dublin Agricultural Society. 5. One member to be nominated by each of the following:—The Royal Society, the Royal Society of Edinburgh, the Royal Irish Academy, the Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, the Institution of Civil Engineers, the Institution of Mechanical Engineers, the Iron and Steel Institute, the Chemical Societies, the Society of Telegraphic Engineers and Electricians, the City and Guilds Institute of Technical Education, the Royal United Service Institution, the Royal Academy, the Mining Association of Great Britain, the Trades Union Congress, the National Miners' Union.

*The Colonies*—To be nominated as follows:—Canada, Dominion and Provinces, and Newfoundland, 10. Australian Colonies—

viz., New South Wales, 2; Victoria, 2; South Australia, 2; Queensland, 2; Tasmania, 2—10; New Zealand, 2; Cape Colony, 2; Crown Colonies, 6. The mode of nomination of the representatives of the several colonies to be hereafter determined. The mode of nominating the fifteen Indian representatives to be hereafter determined. The management of the institution will be vested in an executive chosen by the general council.

Votes in Supply were discussed (June 7) on the reassembling of the House of Commons after the Whitsuntide recess, but no question of importance arose. A bill to enable the Manchester Ship Canal Company to raise a portion of their capital, by the issue of preference shares, was read a first time (June 8). The Prime Minister, in the House of Lords (June 10), replying to a question by Lord Carnarvon, stated the substance of the Anglo-Turkish Convention for the evacuation of Egypt by the British forces. "We have engaged," said Lord Salisbury, "subject to certain conditions which I shall state, to withdraw our troops from Egypt, at the expiration of three years from the ratification of the convention, and we shall cease to have the right secured to us up to that time at the end of five years to appoint the officers of the Egyptian Army. But, in the first place, that engagement is limited by the condition that if there is any danger, external or internal, to be apprehended at the time when this evacuation is due, it will be adjourned and will not take place until that external or internal danger has passed by. After the evacuation has taken place we shall then have to deal with what may happen during the absence of our troops from Egypt. In three contingencies we retain the right of sending our troops back—viz., if there is danger of external invasion, if there is danger of internal disturbance or disorder, or if there is danger of the Government of Egypt not fulfilling its international obligations. But we are under the obligation, as soon as the danger is dispelled, to withdraw our troops again. The Sultan, it is recognised in the convention—but it is a right not derived from the convention—the Sultan has the same right of sending in his troops for the same causes. No other nation is to have any right to send troops into Egypt, except for the purpose of transport, which is strictly regulated. These are the conditions which have been agreed upon between the Porte and ourselves. It is simply an agreement between the Porte and ourselves; and your lordships will observe that supplementary proceedings will be required to give it full force and effect. The assent of other Powers will be necessary to some of these stipulations; and unless that assent is given our engagements lose their validity, and we remain in the same position as we were in before."

A ball in celebration of the Queen's Jubilee, and of its own, was given by the Reform Club (June 15). At all previous festivities at the Reform Club, the invited guests had been members of the Liberal party, but on this occasion the leaders of the

Conservative Administration were among those who shared the Club's hospitality. Ladies had been within its precincts before, but never until now had they danced in the rooms. Sufficient space for a very numerous company was provided by a convenient arrangement of the spacious rooms and the erection of a tent in the garden behind.

Several bills were advanced a stage in the House of Lords (June 17) and the Land Transfer Bill was considered in Committee (June 18). In the House of Commons (June 20) the report of the Petition Committee on the alleged falsification of signatures to the petition on the Coal and Wine Dues question was presented, and the chairman of the Petitions' Committee moved that Richard Bidmead, in having procured the falsification of signatures, had been guilty of contempt of the House. The motion was agreed to, and Bidmead was ordered to appear at the bar on June 23. The House went into Committee of Supply, and motions were made to reduce the votes for the Royal palaces and the Royal parks, but were negatived by considerable majorities on division.

Jubilee Day (June 21) was a day of perfect sunshine. It was observed as a national holiday: houses and streets were everywhere decorated, and the demonstrations of loyalty and of personal affection for the Queen were universal. Accompanied by members of the Royal family, and by foreign potentates and princes who were her guests, her Majesty went in procession from Buckingham Palace to Westminster Abbey, to attend a thanksgiving service. The interior of the Abbey, had been completely transformed, so as to afford the largest possible amount of sitting accommodation. A writer in the *Guardian* thus described the scene in the Abbey, and the order of the service: "King Henry VII.'s Chapel had been shut off, and not a single monument was to be seen anywhere. The Abbey was more like Cologne Cathedral than the Abbey Englishmen know and love so well. At either end—that is to say, above the altar and at the western end of the choir—were two immense galleries crowded with people. On either side of the nave, too, there were galleries filled with naval and military officers and their wives. On the floor in the nave were the judges, the Lord Mayor, the aldermen and common councillors, and a host of distinguished personages. The Beefeaters kept the line of route here, but they had little to do, for the arrangements were too admirable to make over-crowding possible. The choir was reserved for minor potentates and for the attendants of the kings and princes, who were seated within the rails of the sacarium. Between the sacarium and the choir was the dais, a wide structure covered with red baize, with the coronation chair in the centre. On the right of the chair the princes who accompanied her Majesty were to sit, while the princesses were on the left. On the altar was a splendid gold alms-dish and four large

bouquets of white lilies. On one side of the dais were members of the House of Lords; on the other, members of the House of Commons, while above the peers was a diplomatic gallery, where a most dazzling exhibition of classes and orders could be seen. The Abbey, with the exception of the choir and the sacrarium, was full at ten o'clock. It was a most brilliant sight—one which will never be forgotten by those who saw it. The bright hues of military uniforms and the scarlet and ermine of the judges blended admirably with the white dresses of the ladies. The black lambswool kalpack of Malcom Khan, the Persian envoy, and the fez of Rustem Pasha, the Turkish ambassador, were very conspicuous amid the brilliant throng. The Royal children, who composed the first procession arrived very quietly soon after ten. The Indian princes came about eleven, when Dr. Bridge played the Grand March in B flat by Silas, succeeded by the march from *Lohengrin*. The Indians formed a magnificent group, blazing in rose diamonds. There were the Thakur Sahibs of Gomdal, of Limri, and of Morvi, the Maharajah of Kuch Behar, and the Rao of Kutch. Above all was the Maharajah Holkar of Indore, who seemed to be a mass of emeralds and brilliants. Almost at the same time the Sultaneh of Persia, Prince Komatsu of Japan, and other Eastern princes were conducted to their places in the sacrarium, where also the Queen of Hawaii was allowed to have a place. She wore a large number of Hawaiian orders. Then there was a lull until about twelve, when Dr. Bridge struck up Lemmens's *Marche Pontificale*, to welcome the foreign royalties. The Queen herself had selected this piece. It was a splendid procession. The King of Saxony, who is blind, was led up the aisle by the Crown Prince of Austria and the Grand Duchess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.

"The kings and princes who passed to the sacrarium did so by side passages. Not one of them ascended the steps to the dais where Queen Victoria and her family alone were to tread. Half an hour more of waiting, and then Sir Albert Woods, Garter King, who was watching at the western door, gave a signal. A voice as of many waters was heard outside, and the State trumpeters, perched aloft on the rood-screen, performed a fanfare on their instruments. The vast crowd of all that is great and illustrious in this England of ours rose to their feet. Dr. Bridge played the National Anthem, and afterwards, as the Queen's procession passed up the nave, a march from the *Occasional Oratorio*. The clergy of the Abbey came first, and behind them were the Bishop of London, the Archbishop of York, the Dean of Westminster, and the Archbishop of Canterbury. After them came the Queen, attended by the princes and princesses of her family. The procession having reached the dais the Queen took her seat on the coronation chair, and Lord Lathom and Lord Mount-Edgcumbe placed the robes of state on her shoulders. She bowed low to the altar just before they did so, and then sat

down. At that moment, when the scene was complete, the *mise-en-scène* was a very striking one.

"The Archbishop of Canterbury began the service with some versicles. Then came the Prince Consort's *Te Deum*, performed by a choir of 300 voices. The Archbishop then read three special collects, after which Psalm xx., *Exaudiat te Dominus*, was rendered. It had been set to music by Dr. Bridge, the chant being on the fifth Gregorian, tone second ending. The lesson—1 Peter ii. 6–18—was read by the Dean of Westminster, and then came Dr. Bridge's Jubilee anthem, 'Blessed be the Lord thy God which delighted in thee to set thee on His throne to be king for the Lord thy God: because thy God loved Israel, therefore made He thee king to do judgment and justice.' It opened with a chorus *allegretto*. Then followed a slow movement as chorale, and finally a chorus, which was a kind of second edition of the first. A unison, 'To set thee on His throne,' served as an introduction to the National Anthem, which was rendered with full band and chorus assisting the organ. The slow movement was the chorale Gotha, composed by the late Prince Consort, and written in five flats. The final chorus was given with immense effect, and when its echoes died away the Archbishop read three more collects, and pronounced the Benediction.

"It was exactly half-past one when the Queen rose and gave her hand to Lord Lathom, who assisted her from the coronation chair. The prettiest scene of all followed. The Queen held out her hand to the German Crown Prince, who reverently kissed it. The Prince of Wales came next. To each of the Princes she offered, according to custom, her cheek to be kissed, but every one of them, equally according to custom, kissed her hand. The Princesses curtsied low before the Queen, who kissed each of them, and there was quite a touching scene when three times over the Queen and the German Crown Princess saluted one another. The procession was re-formed. As the Queen passed down the choir she bowed very graciously to every Indian prince present. She then retired for a quarter of an hour, when, amid an immense outburst of enthusiasm, she passed up Parliament Street on her homeward route."

On the night of Jubilee day most of the houses in the principal thoroughfares of London were illuminated, in some instances at great cost and with remarkable effect. Displays of the same kind were more or less general throughout the country. On most of the hills and beacons from north to south, and from east to west, bonfires were lighted and were kept blazing till daylight. A Jubilee treat, initiated by the proprietors of the *Daily Telegraph*, was given (June 22) to about 27,000 of the school children of London in Hyde Park. The Queen, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and some of the Queen's Royal visitors, attended the children's fête, and witnessed the supreme enjoyment which it afforded to the throngs of little ones for whom it

was organised. A list of Jubilee honours was announced in the *London Gazette*. Peerages were granted to Earl Strathmore, Viscount Galway, Sir J. St. Aubyn, M.P., Sir William Armstrong, Sir J. M. Garel-Hogg, M.P., Mr. Selater-Booth, M.P., Mr. E. Fellowes, and Mr. H. Eaton, M.P. Thirteen baronetcies were created, and the dignity of knighthood was conferred upon thirty-three gentlemen, including the mayors of some of the large cities and towns. Numerous appointments and promotions in the Order of the Bath, of the Indian Empire, and in other Orders were also announced. A Royal Proclamation was issued, granting a free pardon to all deserters from military service who should report themselves to their respective commanding officers. The Queen received, at Windsor (June 22), the officers and general committee of the Women's Jubilee Offering Fund—a fund raised by subscriptions varying in amount from a penny to a pound, contributed by 3,000,000 women of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, as a present to her Majesty on her Jubilee. The offering, which amounted to 75,000*l.*, was presented, with a loyal address, and graciously acknowledged by her Majesty. At the same time, a handsome casket, carved out of Irish bog oak, with a representation of the Irish harp on the cover, was presented to the Queen on behalf of Irishwomen by the Marchioness of Londonderry.

The following letter, addressed by the Queen to the Home Secretary, appeared in the *London Gazette* :—

“ Windsor Castle, June 24.

“ I am anxious to express to my people my warm thanks for the kind, and more than kind, reception I met with on going to, and returning from, Westminster Abbey, with all my children and grandchildren.

“ The enthusiastic reception I met with then, as well as on all these eventful days, in London as well as in Windsor, on the occasion of my Jubilee, has touched me most deeply. It has shown that the labour and anxiety of fifty long years, twenty-two of which I spent in unclouded happiness shared and cheered by my beloved husband, while an equal number were full of sorrows and trials, borne without his sheltering arm and wise help, have been appreciated by my people.

“ This feeling and the sense of duty towards my dear country and subjects, who are so inseparably bound up with my life, will encourage me in my task, often a very difficult and arduous one, during the remainder of my life.

“ The wonderful order preserved on this occasion and the good behaviour of the enormous multitudes assembled merits my highest admiration.

“ That God may protect and abundantly bless my country is my fervent prayer.

‘ VICTORIA, R. and I.’

The King of the Belgians laid the foundation stone of the library at the People's Palace (June 25). In reply to the address presented to him his Majesty said :—" I am anxious to say how much I admire the generosity of those who by their liberal donations have made this noble work possible. The wealthy have great duties to fulfil, and in England they know how to fulfil them. Charitable institutions of every description—hospitals, asylums, improved dwellings for the poorer classes, constant efforts to encourage trade and commercial enterprise—all bear witness to their enlightened and fostering care. When nothing is omitted to promote the general prosperity of a country the welfare of everyone must follow. Gentlemen, I thank you for having invited me to lay the first stone of the future library. It is with the utmost pleasure that I perform this ceremony. May the example you give, by the erection of this magnificent palace, be followed by other cities. In this instance, as in many others, your great metropolis has shown what ought to be done, and what can be done."

In the House of Commons the Coal Mines Regulation Bill was debated in Committee (June 20, 22, 23, and 24). Numerous amendments were proposed, some of which were adopted by the Government, others being negatived. On Clause 8, and a proposed amendment to it, prohibiting female labour, Mr. F. S. Powell objected to the prohibition, and defended the "pit-brow women"; whilst Mr. Bradlaugh protested against the growing tendency of Parliament to regulate the private affairs of the community. Mr. Mundella insisted that girls under sixteen ought not to be employed in mining work. Mr. Matthews replied that the Government wished to leave the matter an open question, but having regard to all the circumstances connected with the women employed at the pit-brow, he thought there was nothing to justify interference with them. Mr. Matthews subsequently assented to an amendment raising the age at which both boys and girls could be employed from ten to twelve. Pursuant to the resolution of the House, Bidmead, the person who was reported by the Petitions' Committee as having been guilty of fabricating signatures to petitions on the Coal and Wine Dues question, was brought to the bar (June 23) in the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms, and severely reprimanded by the Speaker. The new coinage recently issued from the Mint—especially the sixpences and half-sovereigns—was severely criticised in questions to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The House also discussed the East India and China Mail contract. The Manchester Ship Canal Bill passed the Commons (June 27) as did also some other unopposed measures. In the House of Lords the Land Transfer Bill was considered in Committee (June 20 and 27) and various measures were advanced.

Professor Tyndall, speaking at a dinner given to him (June 29) on his retirement from the Professorship of Natural Philo-

sophy at the Royal Institution, made the following allusions to the progress of science during the reign of the Queen. It would be a handsome Jubilee present, he said, if it were possible to roll up the career of Faraday into portable form and to offer it to the Queen as the achievement of one of her Majesty's devoted subjects during her own reign. But, passing beyond the limitations of the individual, what was science, as a whole, able to offer on the golden wedding of the Queen with her people? A present of the principle of gravitation—a handing over to her Majesty of the bit and bridle whereby the compelling intellect of Newton brought the solar system under the yoke of physical laws—would surely be a handsome offering. He mentioned this case of known and conspicuous grandeur in order to fix the value of another generalisation which the science of her reign could proudly offer to the Queen. Quite fit to take rank with the principle of gravitation—more momentous if that were possible—was that law of conservation which combined the energies of the material universe into an organic whole—that law which enables the eye of science to follow the flying shuttles of the universal power, as it weaved what the Earth Spirit in *Faust* called “the living garment of God.” This, then, was the largest flower of the garland which the science of the last fifty years was able to offer to the Queen. On the continent of Europe kings had been the nursing fathers, and queens the nursing mothers, of science; while Republican Governments were not a whit behind in the liberality of their subventions to scientific education. In England we had nothing of this kind, and to establish an equivalent state of things we had to appeal, not to the Government, but to the people. They had been roused by making the most recondite discoveries of science the property of the community at large. And as a result of this stirring of the national pulse—this development of self-reliance—we saw schools, colleges, and universities now rising in our midst, which promised by-and-by to rival those of Germany in number and importance.

Four Jubilee functions in which the Queen took part occurred in July. The first was a review of Volunteer corps, numbering 23,672 men, at Buckingham Palace (July 2). The second event was the laying of the foundation-stone of the Imperial Institute at South Kensington by her Majesty (July 4). The Prince of Wales, as President, read an address to her Majesty from the organising committee of the Institute. In her reply the Queen said:—“It is with infinite satisfaction that I receive the address in which you give expression to your loyal attachment to my Throne and person, and develop the views that have led to the creation of the Imperial Institute. I concur with you in thinking that the counsels and exertions of my beloved husband initiated a movement which gave increased vigour to commercial activity, and produced marked and lasting improvements in industrial efforts. One indirect result of that movement has been



to bring more before the minds of men the vast and varied resources of the Empire over which Providence has willed that I should reign during fifty prosperous years. I believe and hope that the Imperial Institute will play a useful part in combining those resources for the common advantage of all my subjects, and in conducing towards the welding of the colonies, India, and the mother country into one harmonious and united community. In laying the foundation-stone of the building devoted to your labours, I heartily wish you God-speed in your undertaking." The third occasion was a review of troops at Aldershot (July 9). Before the march past the Queen received the congratulations of the army on her Jubilee, tendered by the Duke of Cambridge, to whom she expressed her sense of the love and devotion of the army. The Duke returned to his position, and at a given signal the whole mass of troops gave three cheers, the infantry hoisting their helmets into the air on the muzzles of their rifles. The troops then marched past, moving with admirable precision. The ceremony, which was performed by about 58,000 men and 102 guns, occupied two hours and three-quarters. Then the cavalry and horse artillery, who had formed up on the ridge to the east of the Long Valley, advanced towards the Queen in one magnificent line about a mile in length, the flanks being lost in clouds of dust. Gradually increasing the pace till it became a gallop, they were halted after having made a splendid advance, and the Queen with her escort and suite withdrew, passing through an avenue formed by the infantry.

The fourth and chief event was a grand naval review at Spit-head. The fleet was moored so as to form a double line of great ships, the centre of which was nearly opposite Gilkicker Point on the north and Ryde pier on the south. Between it and Portsmouth was a double line of coast-defence ships, gunboats and torpedo-boats. The vessels comprising the squadrons were anchored about a quarter of a mile apart, the space between the two columns being about half as much again. South of these were troopships with visitors, a large number of other steamers, and yachts. The total fleet numbered 135 vessels, including 26 armoured and 9 unarmoured ships, 3 torpedo-cruisers, 1 torpedo-gunboat, 1 gun and torpedo-vessel, 38 first-class torpedo-boats, 38 gunboats, 12 troopships, 1 paddle frigate, and 6 training brigs. The total complement of officers and men was 20,000, and of guns about 500. The Queen embarked on board the "Victoria and Albert" soon after three in the afternoon, the royal yacht being followed by the "Osborne," and by a procession of boats forming a Royal flotilla. The entire fleet saluted, each ship firing twenty-one guns, and, as the procession passed by, the ships were drawn up in line facing to the west, the yards of the masted vessels and the turrets, breastworks, and decks of the unmasted vessels were manned by the crews, the marines stood at attention upon the poop of each ship, the officers, in their blue uniforms, occupied

conspicuous positions, and the men cheered with a will, the total effect being unsurpassably grand. The end of the line having been reached, a wide sweep was made to the east before the Royal flotilla returned. After a little delay, doubtless due to a desire on the part of her Majesty for time to imprint the whole scene upon her memory, the yachts continued their course. Having arrived at the very centre of her fleet, her Majesty ordered the ships in the procession to anchor and directed signals to be hoisted commanding the captains of all her vessels to attend on board her yacht. When the commanders had collected in response to the order, they had the honour of being presented to her Majesty, who expressed the great satisfaction which the display had given her, and her appreciation of the hearty reception of the crews. The Queen and the other members of the Royal family remained with the fleet until a quarter-past seven, when the anchors of the yachts were weighed and directions given for the return to Osborne. As the Queen left the fleet a second salute of twenty-one guns was fired. At night the whole fleet was illuminated.

In the House of Commons (July 1), on going into Committee of Supply, Mr. Bradlaugh moved a resolution setting out the principle that ownership of land carries with it the duty of cultivation, and asserting that where land, capable of being cultivated with profit, is held in a waste condition, the local authority should be empowered compulsorily to acquire it for the purpose of letting it to tenant cultivators. He estimated that there were at least 12,000,000 acres of uncultivated land in the three kingdoms, and he contended that if these lands were handed over to those who were ready to cultivate them, pauperism would be reduced, and the prosperity and contentment of the people increased. The motion was negatived on a division by 173 votes to 97. The Crofters' Holding (Scotland) Bill was read a third time on the same day.

A debate was raised (July 5) on a case which had been before the magistrate at Marlborough Street a few days before. Miss Cass, a young woman employed as a dressmaker, had been arrested by police-constable Endacott in Regent Street on a charge of solicitation. In his evidence before the magistrate on the day after the arrest, Endacott swore that he had seen Miss Cass solicit gentlemen, and that she was familiar to him as a prostitute frequenting the thoroughfares. The charge was indignantly denied by Miss Cass, and rebutting testimony was offered by the person—a respectable tradeswoman—in whose employment she was. The magistrate expressed his belief in the constable's statement, but discharged Miss Cass with a caution. Mr. Atherley Jones now asked the Home Secretary if he would order an inquiry into the facts, and Mr. Matthews having declined to do so, Mr. A. Jones moved the adjournment of the House in order to call attention to the case. Mr. Matthews

explained that it was not in his power to institute the inquiry suggested, which could only be a *quasi-judicial* inquiry, and one in which there would be no power of administering an oath or of cross-examination. Miss Cass, he pointed out, had both a civil and a criminal remedy against the policeman, and the Home Office would give her every assistance in prosecuting either; but to grant such an inquiry as was demanded would prejudice her case. Mr. Chamberlain insisted that an inquiry ought to be made into the conduct of the policeman, and severely commented on the conduct of the magistrate, Mr. Newton. A long discussion ensued, and Mr. Matthews having repeated that it was impossible for him to take any steps in the matter as it now stood, a division was taken on the motion for adjournment, when the motion was carried by 153 votes to 148. When the House again assembled (July 6) Mr. Smith, premising that in the opinion of the Government the House had probably acted under a misapprehension in reference to the case of Miss Cass, announced that they nevertheless clearly understood it to be their duty to institute an inquiry. The Lord Chancellor, he said, would call upon Mr. Newton for an explanation, and such further steps would be taken as might be necessary to ensure a complete and impartial inquiry. (An inquiry was afterwards held by Sir Charles Warren, with the aid of a legal assessor, at which informal evidence was taken. As a result of this inquiry police-constable Endacott was charged with perjury, and tried at the Old Bailey, when he was acquitted on the ground that, though he was mistaken in the statements he made with reference to Miss Cass, those statements did not amount to wilful and corrupt perjury.) Among the votes taken in Supply (July 6) was the sum of 1,700*l.* for a monument to the late General Gordon.

Mr. Smith announced (July 11) that an Agricultural Committee of the Privy Council had been constituted, and that steps were being taken to collect and diffuse information on subjects of agricultural cultivation. Mr. Aird took his seat for Paddington and Mr. Ballantine for Coventry, the election of the last-named gentleman (in the place of Mr. Eaton, who had been raised to the peerage) being a Gladstonian victory. Sir Wilfrid Lawson called attention to a paragraph in the *Times* stating that Lord Salisbury, Lord Rothschild and other peers had lent carriages for the conveyance of Mr. Aird's voters to the poll at Paddington, and moved that the conveyance of voters in peers' carriages was an infringement of the sessional order against the interference of peers in elections. Mr. Smith protested against a motion of this kind being made on inadequate authority and without notice, and Lord Randolph Churchill urged the House not to make a ridiculous spectacle of itself by employing the great weapon of privilege on such trivial grounds. On a division the motion was negatived by 196 votes to 167. Sir Henry Holland (July 14) stated in reference to Sir J. Pope Hennessy, that upon careful considera-

tion of the report of Sir Hercules Robinson, the Government did not find any sufficient cause for removing Sir J. Pope Hennessy from office, and he would return to the Mauritius. Mr. Ritchie (July 18) introduced a Bill for enabling agricultural labourers to acquire allotments.

Mr. Gladstone was entertained by the Scottish Liberal members at dinner at the National Liberal Club (July 16), and in his speech on the occasion made the following remarks on Scotch affairs, apparently raising the question of a separate Parliament for Scotland. He said, "I think you may feel, and that Scotland must feel, a deep anxiety upon the question whether ever again she is to have a place in national deliberations, and what is to be the effect upon her of the great conflict on which we are now engaged. Well, now, I look upon this question with cheerfulness. It is quite evident, I think, and you, as Scotchmen and Scottish members, will agree with me, that the Irish controversy, in the shape which it has taken and for the strong resistance which has been offered to our proposals and our views—the Irish controversy will undoubtedly turn, and even has turned, the mind of Scotchmen and Scotland upon the examination of many points connected with their own history which perhaps in the tumult and pressure of life have been hitherto insufficiently examined, and that the effect will be that even you, and that the people of Scotland generally, will be able, in consequence of the instruction they have received and the suggestions which will be offered to them in the various phases of the Irish controversy—they will be able to form a better judgment upon the important question whether anything is still due to Scotland as to her place in the great Imperial organisation, and what should be the limits and what the conditions under which that want should be supplied. You know, gentlemen, as I know, and have observed in public, that the minds of all Scotchmen have been particularly exercised as to the effect which possible enactments in the Bill for giving autonomy to Ireland might have upon Scottish interests. That question within its own proper limits will hereafter have to be considered on behalf of Scotland. In my opinion it would be utterly absurd and foolish to attempt at this moment to forecast the particular form which this question may hereafter take; but I have the strongest and firmest conviction that in all these discussions Scotland will hold her own. She will hold her own by her own strength, by her own sagacity, by her own patriotism, by her own traditions, by her own sense of what is due to her; but she will also hold her own by the universal and willing acknowledgment of her great and powerful claims on the State. As to what her interests may demand we can hardly now say in detail. It will shape itself in the course of events with the enlargement of our experience; but it is impossible to entertain greater confidence in regard to a question still wrapped in the obscurity of the future. Rely upon it you have before you all

the materials and all the guarantees which will ensure a safe and satisfactory working out of the question, whether its scale should prove to be a large scale, or whether, on the contrary, it should be found to be on a limited measure."

In the House of Lords (July 25) Lord Salisbury stated that an agreement had been arrived at by which the dispute as to certain portions of the Afghan frontier was settled. Lord Morley called attention to portions of the report of the Royal Commissioners on Patterns and Warlike Stores, to show that charges made by Colonel Hope against certain officers and other persons, which had been investigated by that Commission, were unfounded, and that public servants ought to be protected from such accusations. Lord Napier and Ettrick, having gone into some details respecting the military career of his relative, Colonel Hope, expressed his opinion that the gallant officer had not been actuated by any personal or unworthy feelings in making his charges. He thought that Colonel Hope owed an apology for having attributed a want of rectitude or honourable conduct to any officers in the Ordnance Department, and that such an apology was expressed by the gallant colonel in a pamphlet which he had written since the Commission issued its report. He hoped, therefore, that neither the House nor the Government would take any step which might prejudice Colonel Hope in a court of law. Lord Harris thought that Lord Morley was right in having brought this matter forward, and, having read Colonel Hope's pamphlet, he could not concur with Lord Napier that it contained any apology to men who had for months suffered under his unfounded charges of corruption. He was not aware that Colonel Hope had ever expressed any apology either in public or in private. The Commission, in a passage of their report, spoke of his having atoned for his offence. For himself, he did not see where the atonement was; but the Government could take no action against Colonel Hope. That must be left to anyone who still felt himself aggrieved by the gallant officer's charges after the Commission had reported that those charges were unfounded. In the House of Commons (Aug. 1) Mr. Smith announced the abandonment of the Land Transfer Bill and several other measures. Sir E. Watkin's Channel Tunnel Bill was thrown out (Aug. 3) by 153 votes to 107. In the House of Lords (Aug. 4 and 5) in a debate on the Margarine Bill, it was decided, by 52 votes to 14, that butter-substitutes must be sold as "margarine" and not as "butterine."

In the House of Commons (Aug. 11) Mr. Labouchere moved the adjournment of the House in order to call attention to the British position in Egypt, and our relations with the European Powers arising out of the attempted Anglo-Turkish Convention. He strongly condemned the policy of the Government in Egypt, and complained that we were harassing the natives; and he made an attack on Mr. Goschen in connection with Egyptian loans, out of which he insinuated that Mr. Goschen's firm

had made an exorbitant profit. Sir J. Ferguson replied, and Mr. Goschen, in a personal explanation, repudiated the charges against his firm, and said he doubted whether the profit they had made—and which Mr. Labouchere stated to be 11 per cent.—was as much as  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

An amendment to the Early Closing (Scotland) Bill was adopted in the House of Lords (Aug. 12) limiting the operation of the measure to towns under 50,000 inhabitants.

Mr. Graham (Aug. 20) presented a petition praying for a further reprieve of a convict named Lipski, who had been sentenced to death for murdering a young woman at Whitechapel, but whose sentence had been temporarily respited, pending the examination of some alleged fresh evidence. In reply to a request by Mr. Graham that the Government should intervene in the matter, Mr. Smith strongly protested against the attempt to bring Parliamentary pressure to bear on the Home Secretary. (The convict afterwards confessed his guilt, and was executed.) On the Diplomatic Vote in Supply (Aug. 20) a discussion arose on the failure of the Anglo-Turkish Convention and on the British policy in Egypt. Sir J. Ferguson said that it was impossible to name the precise date for our evacuation of Egypt. The Government, he said, were doing all in their power to replace European officials by natives. In regard to the Debt he pointed out that Europeans were now taxed equally with natives, while as to general expenditure, and especially expenditure for military purposes, there had been a large reduction during the last two years. The Allotments Bill passed through Committee (Aug. 27) after a short discussion. The House of Commons assented (Aug. 29) to the Lords' Amendment to the Scotch Early Closing Bill, excluding towns of 50,000 inhabitants from its operation. Sir J. Ferguson announced (Aug. 30) that the United States Government had agreed to a new Fisheries Commission of three on each side, and Mr. Chamberlain had agreed to act as First Commissioner. The remaining sittings of the session were chiefly occupied, in the House of Commons, with Votes in Supply. The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated (Sept. 8) that the new six-pences were no longer being issued, on account of their resemblance to half-sovereigns when gilded. In his statement on the Indian Budget (Sept. 9) Sir John Gorst estimated the deficit for 1887-8 at 59,000 tens of rupees. In Burmah the estimated deficit was 2,170,000 tens of rupees. Mr. Cunninghame-Graham (Sept. 12) took exception to some of the Lords' amendments in the Mines Regulation Bill, and spoke of the Lords as "daring to dictate to the representatives of the people." He declined to withdraw the expression, on the ground that it was a matter of conscience with him, and he was named and suspended from attendance. Mr. E. Harrington was also named and suspended at the same sitting for refusing to regard the bidding of the Speaker, who, he said, had been "on the pounce" for him. Parliament was prorogued by Royal Commission on Sept. 16.

## CHAPTER V.

The Unionists and Home Rulers in the provinces—Mr. Chamberlain at Birmingham—The Liberals in the West of England—Mr. Gladstone on the liberty of the citizen—Liberal Unionist Conference at Bristol—The “unemployed” in London—The Liberal Caucus at Nottingham—Mr. Gladstone’s party programme—Mr. Goschen and Mr. Courtney in reply—Lord R. Churchill in the North—Lord Hartington at Nottingham—Sir George Trevelyan in Wales—Mr. Balfour at Birmingham—The Guildhall Banquet—Lord Salisbury on Foreign Affairs—Trafalgar Square Riots—Mr. Goschen in Lancashire—Conservative gathering at Oxford—Lord Salisbury’s speech—Unionist Conference in London—Mr. Balfour and Lord Salisbury in defence of the Government—Mr. Gladstone’s speech at Dover—Conclusion.

THE close of the session found the divergence between the two sections of the Liberal party more accentuated than ever. The hope entertained by the Gladstonians that, on the attempt to revive a coercion policy, the Unionists would desert their Conservative allies, had not been realised; whilst in the discussion of the Land Bill the balance of evidence had been in favour rather of a development of Lord Ashbourne’s Act than of the adoption of Mr. Parnell’s panacea. The consciousness, therefore, of their strength in Parliament emboldened the Government to put in force the powers with which they had been invested. Within three days of the prorogation of Parliament, proclamations were issued (Sept. 20) suppressing the National League throughout a large portion of the south-west of Ireland, thereby rendering the branches of the League in the district “unlawful associations.” The majority of the English and Scotch papers either openly approved of or silently acquiesced in the practical application of a measure which Parliament had passed in view of the state of Ireland, leaving to the Executive the choice of the moment at which the law should be put in motion. The *Daily News* and a few other ultra-Liberal organs, it is true, denounced the policy of the Government as “a policy of deception and betrayal,” and declared that by it “liberty, free speech, and freedom of political combination were stifled”; but such language awoke but little response among the more moderate organs of the Liberal party.

The truce of tongues, which the well-earned recess might have been hoped to inaugurate, was not destined to be of long continuance. Before the first week of the recess had passed Mr. Chamberlain found an opportunity (Sept. 23) of assuring his friends at Birmingham that it was the paramount duty of the Executive to maintain and enforce the law, and that the Government were rather to be blamed for their extraordinary leniency than for any attempt to strain the powers at their disposal. On the same evening, at Whitby, Lord Randolph Churchill started a wholly original view of the session which had just come to an

end. Instead of having been wasted in sterile discussions, he argued that it was thoroughly and entirely in harmony and in accord with the gratifying and satisfactory character of the Jubilee year. This Parliament had had the special characteristic which caused it to differ from all other Parliaments, that it was the first Parliament in which the whole mass of the people of the United Kingdom had been fully and fairly represented. He found, moreover, in this Parliament a marked, a resolute, and a sustained assertion of the just principles of government, of order, and of law. Men had disdained and become indifferent to the power, the patronage, and what was very stupidly called the sweets of office. They had abandoned many old prejudices and prepossessions, and had, between them, worked the machine of government through a session of unexampled duration with the most complete success. Turning then to his favourite topic of financial reform, Lord R. Churchill expressed his pleasure at the strong disposition manifest on the part of Parliament to initiate and to sustain a vigorous campaign against the extravagant expenditure of public money. He was perfectly certain that if he could have his way, and could see the great departments of the State filled by men who thoroughly believed in the possibility and necessity for economy, he could make more millions for the service of the State, for remission of taxation, or for meeting legitimate expenditure out of economy, retrenchment, and departmental reform than any protectionist, fair trader, bi-metallist, or other magician could extract, no matter how ingenious might be the remedy which he might persuade Parliament to adopt.

On the following day (Sept. 24) at Newcastle Mr. John Morley reviewed his own course of action with regard to the Irish question. Whilst intimating pretty clearly his preference for his original proposal to exclude the Irish members from the English House of Commons, he declared that he would rather "have Home Rule with the Irish members retained at Westminster than not have Home Rule at all." His only proviso was that the retention of the Irish members at Westminster should not be made the excuse for a sham Home Rule, which should give to the Irish legislative body merely mock powers and delusive responsibilities. For the Liberal Unionists the question was whether they were in favour of an arbitrary and violent system of government in Ireland. He asserted that a large majority of the present Parliament (which would be known as the unblessed Parliament) was returned upon the distinct understanding that there was to be an equality of law between England and Ireland. He repeated that no such emergency had arisen in Ireland as would justify the Crimes Act, and that a more wanton, a more gratuitous, a more mischievous provocation had never been offered to a nation. They had got to deal no longer with kid-gloved Conservatism, but with the genuine, old, black, tyrannous Toryism. With regard to the land question, Mr. Morley regarded its settlement by the Imperial



Parliament as indispensable to the good government of Ireland. It touched too many interests, roused too many passions, and had too deep and bitter roots in old historic hatreds to permit of its solution being thrown upon a new legislative body.

An immediate appeal from Mr. Morley's conclusions was lodged by one of his own party. Mr. E. Robertson, M.P. for Dundee, had throughout the session distinguished himself by his consistent support of Irish autonomy, and had voted for Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill without apparent reluctance. In a letter to the *Times* (Sept. 27) Mr. Robertson attributed to Mr. Morley's persistent defence of the Irish Land Bill and of the exclusion of the Irish members a large measure of responsibility for the Liberal disasters of 1886. He argued that it was the Gladstonians rather than the Tories or the Unionists who demanded the retention of the Irish members, in order that when Home Rule was established there should be no pretence for doubting the sovereignty of the Imperial Parliament even in Irish affairs. As for the land question, Mr. Robertson was ready to accept Mr. Morley's settlement, provided that the British taxpayer was not burdened with obligations for the benefit of either landlord or tenant in Ireland. In conclusion Mr. Robertson warned his Liberal colleagues that Mr. Morley's settlement would in its main points be more acceptable to his opponents than to themselves, and bade them beware of the repetition of the Parliamentary tactics by which Mr. Forster carried his Education Act and wrecked his party in 1874.

Mr. Chamberlain was not long in taking up the case on behalf of the Radical Unionists. Addressing his constituents of West Birmingham (Sept. 29), he commenced by denying the report that he had accepted a mission to Washington in order to shirk the struggle at home, declaring that he felt it was not open to him to refuse the opportunity of rendering important service to the three great English-speaking communities. Passing rapidly on to the less personal question, he argued that if any section of the Irish people desired further reforms, or even great constitutional changes, the English people would consider them fairly and favourably, "but they will never yield one jot, they will never bate one hair's-breadth, to the noisy threats of a clamorous and disloyal faction." "History tells us how, in the time of the Spanish Armada, all differences were hushed and all contentions silenced, while all classes and all sects and all opinions of the people united against the common foe. Our danger is greater than theirs, for our enemy is within our gates, and our foes are they of our own household; but all the more it is our duty to join with every honest man and with every loyal citizen to resist to the last the attacks which still threaten the strength and the influence, and even the existence, of our own country."

Upon the two secondary Irish questions, the agrarian revolution and obstruction, Mr. Chamberlain was both hopeful and

resolved. He was still bitterly opposed to casting any responsibility for the purchase of Ireland upon English or Scotch taxpayers, and hinted that they would want all their resources to settle their own land question; but he maintained that a Bill could be introduced next year which would settle the question without drawing on British credit. As to obstruction, he believed that snake was scotched, though not killed, and it would be killed if we only made every suspension for obstruction or insult to the Speaker effective for the session, and accompanied it with a fine. Mr. Chamberlain also touched at some length upon the pressing reforms needed by England and Scotland, which were stopped by the methods of the Irish members and their friends. These reforms included Disestablishment in Scotland and Wales, a general extension of local self-government throughout the United Kingdom, new laws for encouraging temperance, greater economy in public expenditure, and, above all, better measures for the security of life at sea. With reference to this last subject Mr. Chamberlain indifferently contrasted the anger of the humanitarians at the loss of three lives at Mitchelstown, with Mr. Gladstone's refusal to give him, when in office, a few nights to pass a bill, for the want of which hundreds of lives were being sacrificed every year. So bitter was the pill to swallow that he had then tendered his resignation, but at Mr. Gladstone's urgent request had withdrawn it.

The leaders of the Opposition were not slow in replying to Mr. Chamberlain and his Unionist friends. Sir W. Harcourt, at Lewes (Sept. 28), bantered Lord R. Churchill on his ideal "Jubilee services" and argued that what some called "obstruction" was a laudable and stubborn resistance to attempts to curtail popular freedom. He defended himself and his friends from the charge of inconsistency, by the parallel of the wise physician, who was not afraid to change his method of treatment when he found his patient unbenefited by the course originally adopted. He expressed his firm conviction in the ultimate triumph of Home Rule, and the equally inevitable extinction of the Unionist Liberals.

The Liberal demonstration at Templecombe (Oct. 1) was on a more imposing scale, and was intended to bring together the Liberals of Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, and Wiltshire, in such numbers as to show that Mr. Gladstone's policy had as warm supporters in the south as in the north of England. It was suggested, on the other hand, that possibly the assemblage—variously estimated at, from 15,000 to 20,000 persons—would have been less numerous had the attractions been limited to political speeches, or had the enjoyment of the day's holiday been less freely stimulated by Lord Wolverton's liberality. The chief speaker on the occasion was again Mr. John Morley; but the burden of his speech showed conclusively that Mr. Robertson's letter had not been written in vain; and that the fear of further secessions

from the Gladstonian ranks had induced Mr. Morley to throw into the background his views as to Home Rule. Like General Trochu during the siege of Paris, Mr. Morley bade his hearers rest satisfied with the knowledge that Mr. Gladstone had his plan of Home Rule, and had further made it known that he was prepared to assent to certain modifications. But turning away somewhat abruptly from this question, with a passing shot at Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Morley declared that the real question of the moment was "coercion" and the position of England in consequence of the state of Ireland. "The great ship of the State," he said, "is now in a storm, with the tumultuous waves around her, with all the force of the political elements raging, and it is idle to think that it will all abate because it might suit our party convenience. There is only one way of making port, and that is by summoning back the old pilot." Mr. Morley, whilst deploring the loss of Parliamentary time, maintained that it was inevitable so long as the Irish question remained unsettled; and although he did not expect to see the Government Land Bill for Ireland passed, because of the contradictory conditions fixed by Mr. Chamberlain and Lord R. Churchill, yet without it he did not think it would be possible to push forward other legislation. With regard to Mr. O'Brien's arrest, whilst not casting doubt on its legality, he regarded it as impolitic, for it showed that freedom of meeting was gone, freedom of the press was going, and freedom of representation was almost a farce. Dealing with the policy of the present Government, Mr. Morley went on to say: "I do not believe that that policy of force, even if it succeeded, would be assented to, would be acquiesced in by justice-loving people, by law-loving people. But will it succeed? There is no chance of its success. It has never succeeded in the past, and it cannot succeed now; because the people of England are watching—because the people of England have resolved that the people of Ireland shall have the same laws as they have themselves, that that constitutional right and that guarantee which have made England what she is shall also be extended to unhappy Ireland, instead of force—blind, indiscriminate, blundering force."

In reply to Mr. Morley's speech, Professor F. Pollock, in an ingenious letter to the *Times* (Oct. 4), laid bare with considerable cogency the illogical basis of Mr. Morley's argument; and showed that beneath the principle that Englishmen should give to Irishmen the laws they themselves had, lay a demand which was either meaningless or tyrannical, and if applied to the people of Scotland, would bring about the most bitter resistance. If, however, as would seem from the context of Mr. Morley's speech, the demand was only to have a local virtue, then, asked Mr. Pollock, why should it be applied to Ireland at the moment when Irishmen were saying that they were resolved not to have the same laws as the people of England? For what, if not that, did the cry of Home Rule mean? Mr. Pollock further inquired

whether Mr. Morley believed that the Irish desired to see the Land Laws which had been passed in their favour repealed, and that they should be subjected to the laws which governed the people of England. Failing this he suggested that perhaps Mr. Morley wished for the Irish the same guarantee for constitutional liberty; but what greater guarantee could they have, asked Mr. Pollock, than Parliament, to which Irish members were returned under even more favourable conditions than the English? And he concluded: "The cry about the liberty of the subject and the liberty of the Press comes to this—that the very men who openly denounce the law and all its works, turn round and vociferously claim all the advantages of English law, and all the privileges of English usage beyond the law, whenever they find themselves in the law's danger."

On the same day (Oct. 4) Mr. Gladstone, speaking at Hawarden, to a deputation from Kidderminster, charged the Government with a liking for, and a tendency to, absolutist methods, and a wish to prevent combination, to repress free speech, and to interfere with public meetings in England as well as in Ireland. This charge he illustrated by what was taking place in London, where, as had happened more than once on the approach of winter, those who had found work in the fields during the summer, were flocking back to swell the always numerous crowd of the unemployed. At such times the lecturers on Socialism and the professors of revolutionary ethics had always found attentive and sometimes demonstrative audiences. Sir Charles Warren, who, as the chief of police, was responsible for the safety of the metropolis, followed the precedent of having previous inquiries made directly of the chief speakers as to their intentions, movements, and the probable number attending the meetings. The custom had been in vogue during Mr. Gladstone's premiership, and it had never been resented by the lecturers or their friends; but on the present occasion this action on the part of the police seemed to Mr. Gladstone a most tyrannical exercise of authority. A well-known Socialist, named Lyons, had given notice of his intention to hold a meeting, and received, as he had often received before, a visit from a policeman inquiring as to the time and place of the meeting, and the precautions taken not to interrupt public traffic. Not finding Lyons at home on his first visit, the policeman returned at a later hour indicated by the lecturer's own father. This "domiciliary visit" was probably brought to Mr. Gladstone's knowledge, and on the first occasion he expressed himself with great warmth on the conduct of the police in these words:—

"I will still cling to the hope that we are misinformed, that there is a mistake about it—that it cannot be true, for instance, that the other day, in one of the districts of London, at twelve o'clock at night, two policemen called upon a gentleman named Lyons to demand of him whether he was going to attend a public

meeting, to demand of him who were to be the speakers, and what was the object of it. I will not believe these stories until they are made known to me by evidence absolutely demonstrative. There was an old proverb among us when boys, that 'when one had said to you anything impertinent, you said, "There's the door and your name is Walker." In my opinion, these words would be very applicable indeed to any person who acts in that way."

Mr. Gladstone then went on to draw a moral from this incident, of which he had somehow strained the facts:—

"This is a most extraordinary and unexpected result of the proceedings of the last session. We had warned the people of England that the cause of Ireland was their cause, but in giving those warnings we did not expect the prediction to be soon verified. I think it is very desirable that those who have given these extraordinary instructions to the police should not repeat the unfortunate act which they have committed—an act which is so gross an outrage, so odious in the sight of the people, so contradictory to the whole spirit of liberty, and so violently at variance with all the traditions of England. But if I looked upon it from the merely party point of view I should say, 'Let them go on,' for the more of this they do the better and the more rapidly will they bring about the great object, aim, hope, and desire of my life—the satisfactory settlement of the Irish question."

After this utterance from the Liberal leader there was a short cessation from the strife of words with which the country had been filled from end to end. Lord Rosebery, at Ipswich (Oct. 5), was the only statesman of eminence who broke silence among the ranks of the Gladstonians; whilst the Unionists, who felt more strongly than any other party the need of resetting their case before the public, had boldly undertaken a campaign in Ireland itself. Mr. Chamberlain's visit, it is true, was limited to the province of Ulster; but as it was chiefly on behalf of Ulster that many of the Unionists had rejected Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill, it was natural that to Ulster the Unionists should look for a hearty endorsement of their policy. The leading events of Mr. Chamberlain's visit will be found noticed elsewhere, and we content ourselves with noticing here how warmly the speeches of the quondam leader of the ultra-Radicals were greeted and applauded by the organs of the most orthodox Toryism.

This almost feverish energy shown by the Unionist leaders was among the most distinctive features of the recess. That their seats at the next election were imperilled unless they could persuade their supporters to adopt their own ill-defined attitude towards the two historic political parties was a conviction which doubtless acted as a powerful incentive to their activity, but it is only just to credit them at the same time with higher motives and with purely patriotic aims. At a conference held at Bristol

(Oct. 12) the tone of the speakers, it is true, betrayed no lack of confidence in the present, or of hopefulness for the future. Lord Hartington was not present, but he wrote in strong approval of the policy which the meeting had been convened to support, and expressed the hope that the conference would pronounce in a most decided manner its determination to co-operate with Unionists without distinction of party for the purpose of re-establishing and maintaining the supremacy of the law in Ireland. The principal speakers were Mr. L. Courtney and Lord Selborne. In the opinion of the former, the question of Home Rule stood then in all essential characteristics just where it stood when it was submitted by Mr. Gladstone to the House of Commons. As to the statement that those bills were dead, they would not die so long as the policy they embodied was maintained. Mr. Gladstone, said Mr. Courtney, had himself stated the unalterable conditions of the solution of the Irish problem—a Dublin Parliament legislating for Irish affairs, and an Administration responsible to that Parliament. "Concede that Parliament," he continued, "so legislating; concede that Administration, so responsible, and the rest was leather and prunella. Colonial history showed that, once granted, Parliament and the Administration must be practically unfettered and free." After alluding to the prosecution of Mr. O'Brien, who had openly and directly challenged the competency of the Legislature and the justice of the law, Mr. Courtney proceeded to show that the conflict lay between those who had not and those who had. It was because Liberal Unionists wished to see Ireland socially regenerated; it was because they wished to see its industrial condition put on a sound and healthy basis, that they contended for respect for private rights in the maintenance of property and the upholding of the law. They proposed to maintain their warfare against the policy which would paralyse the Executive in its part of preserving order. They might be embarrassed by the desertion of friends, they might sometimes find their agents inapt, there might be mistakes and there might be discouragement, but he believed they had yet vast reserves which might be called into action before the battle could be regarded as hopeless. The last line of reserve was still far in the rear, and not until all their strength was exhausted, not until defeat was absolutely certain, and their forces lost and spent, would they cease fighting for what they believed to be not only the cause of the United Kingdom, but also the cause of the meanest peasant in Kerry or in Clare. At the evening meeting Lord Selborne, after a most clear statement of the Unionist case, made the Gladstonian attack on law his main text. He maintained that a meeting called in order to overawe the Government, magistrates, and witnesses was "plainly an illegal meeting," and that if the police in regard to it were obstructed in the performance of their duty, they might use force. To call the use of State force to support

law dragooning, was simply to say there is to be no law at all. Lord Selborne concluded a weighty speech by pointing out that Mr. Gladstone, if made disinterested by his great age, was also made irresponsible. He might call into action the forces of disorder, but not on him would fall the burden of controlling them. Would he be able to direct the whirlwind, or would that task fall upon us and on our children?

The main object of the Bristol Conference was undoubtedly to bring the Unionist programme before the electors of the western counties, and in this it succeeded to the full extent of the expectation of its promoters; but its importance in the history of politics was speedily overclouded by the meeting of the National Liberal Federation at Nottingham, at which Mr. Gladstone was expected to unfold the programme of the purged and orthodox Liberal party, and, as it was also hoped, would express his views on the grave disorders of which London had recently been the scene.

The conflict between the police and a portion of the populace had arisen in the first place out of meetings, ostensibly called by and on behalf of the "unemployed" artisans and labourers. Finding that their meetings in their own districts attracted little attention, "the unemployed," strongly reinforced by the "Socialists," determined to transfer their platform to Trafalgar Square. For some days their proceedings, limited to vehement denunciation of employers and capitalists, attracted few besides those whose desire to earn an honest livelihood had seldom shown itself in the past. Unfortunately the newspapers, having at this season abundant space at their disposal, gave undue prominence to the utterances of the orators, and strongly exaggerated the numbers and importance of their listeners. With increased publicity the crowds, swelled by the curious and other spectators, threatened seriously to interfere with the ordinary traffic. The police were therefore instructed to put a stop to the primary cause of the obstructions, and took possession of the square, forbidding access to all comers. In face of the outcry to which this proceeding gave rise, Sir Charles Warren withdrew the order as hastily as it had been given. The "unemployed" and their friends once more returned in larger numbers, and again the square was ordered to be cleared. This vacillation on the part of the authorities emboldened the mob leaders; and after marching to the Mansion House to demand an interview with the Lord Mayor on one day, and to Bow Street on another to bring their case before the Chief Magistrate, they decided to attend the afternoon service at Westminster Abbey (Oct. 16), where their proceedings were marked by such a total disregard of decency that the theory that honest and deserving working men were taking part in these demonstrations had to be abandoned. Matters had reached this point when the Liberal caucus met at Nottingham, and although the question of dealing with the

unemployed did not figure in the official programme, it was hoped that some definite attitude would be adopted by the leaders of the party in view of the imminent risks which beset the official guardians of public peace in London as in Ireland.

There had been no need for the conveners of the Nottingham meeting to resort to any expedients to bring up the representatives of the party. Times were so critical that the necessity of common action and a bold front to foes on all sides was patent to all. Mr. Gladstone's reception was as cordial as it was unanimous; and opponents as well as supporters waited eagerly to learn how far the various concessions to the Unionists which had from time to time been offered by his lieutenants, were accepted and ratified by the great captain.

In nearly every respect Mr. Gladstone's speeches belied the anticipations of friends and foes alike. In the first (Oct. 18) which he delivered especially to the delegates of the various local Liberal bodies (of which it was said the number had doubled since Home Rule had been made the chief plank of the new Liberal platform) Mr. Gladstone confined himself almost exclusively to an indictment of the mode by which the government of Ireland was being administered. He accused the Irish police of every form of illegality and brutality—of inciting men to crime and then denouncing them to the authorities; even of murdering, or conspiring to murder, innocent men without a shadow of excuse. He dwelt upon the fact that the Irish question was still pending, with its difficulties aggravated, its prospects still uncertain. He denied that he had ever proposed a Home Rule policy simply in the Liberal party interests. What he asked for was a statutory Parliament in Ireland subject to Imperial control. There was nothing to prevent any reasonable man from joining them, without reference to this or that particular detail. There was only one word by which he could properly describe the proceedings of the Administration, and that was impertinence, for things were done in Ireland in the name of law which would not be tolerated in England. Mitchelstown must and would be remembered, and in respect to that affair the country had an account to settle with the Government.

"Though I regret it very much," said Mr. Gladstone, "it has become a matter of absolute necessity not only to remember Mitchelstown, but even to mention Mitchelstown. It was our duty from the first to keep it in our minds for consideration at the proper time; but the sanction given to such proceedings by the Executive Government, of which the power in Ireland is enormous, requires from us plain and unequivocal and straightforward declarations, with a view to the formation of a sound opinion in England, in order that the pestilent declarations of Mr. Balfour may not be adopted, as they might be with great excuse, by his subordinate agents, and may not be a means of



further invasion of Irish liberty, and possibly of further destruction of Irish life. To speak plainly, I say that the law was broken by the agents of the law, and that it is idle to speak to the Irish people about obeying the law, if the very Government that so speaks, and that brings these bills, has agents which break the law by advisedly and violently breaking the order of public meetings, and who are sustained in that illegal action."

Mr. Gladstone then went on to say that he did not excuse illegalities or justify crime, which he abhorred. In cases of illegality, however, both parties were often to blame, and it was the duty of onlookers to divide the blame aright. Even in the cases of the Whiteboys whose outrages were cruel, flagrant, and wicked, Mr. Gladstone declared that they were caused by nothing less than the grinding injustice of the landlords. In the case of Mitchelstown, however, which was in some respects parallel, "the gross breach of the law, and the whole cause of the breaches of the law, lie at the feet of the ministers of the law themselves, and now, by their own deliberate act, at the door of the Ministers of the Queen." In conclusion, Mr. Gladstone asked who was to bring about a change in the picture he had placed before his hearers, and in answer to the unanimous shout "You!" replied, "No, gentlemen, there are many causes besides the white hairs upon my head, and the long tale of my years, which render me totally incompetent for such a work; but I go further and say, it is not only my own weakness which forbids, but it is not to be done by individuals. . . . It is, gentlemen, the nation—it is the enfranchised nation, and that alone—which can bring about the change. I appeal, gentlemen, to you, who are representative men from every portion of the country, to assist in bringing about this change. We want to get to the state of things in which every voter, when he hears and reads of these evil things being done in Ireland, shall feel he has a share of the responsibility. If he has, even by a single vote, assisted those who are aiding and tolerating these evil deeds, he still remains bound to do everything he can to bring about a better state of things. England—yes, and Scotland and Wales, too—expect every man to do his duty. That individual appeal of the great Nelson is as applicable to every voter in the land as it was to the gallant seamen of the fleet before the battle of Trafalgar, and the means through which you will attain your ultimate purpose will be your success in bringing your fellow-electors to realise the duties that lie upon them. When that work has been done—and I have faith enough in my country to believe that it will be done—and the sooner it is done the better—when the work has been done, the Empire will present to the view of the beholder a glorious spectacle. That one blot of discontent and disaffection, of which not the Irish, but we, are the real origin, by misconduct and miscarriage—that one blot will have been wiped away, and Irishmen will cheerfully vie with all other subjects of the Queen in

attachment to the throne, in reverence for the law, and in devotion to this great and united Empire."

In this speech, whilst it lacked the fire and rhetorical finish of some of his more famous addresses, Mr. Gladstone displayed more than ordinary care and astuteness. In spite of the appeals of many supporters in the press and elsewhere, he carefully avoided all attempts to define the limits of the Home Rule he was so eager to confer upon Ireland. He abstained from endorsing, generally or specifically, the concessions to the Liberal Unionists, which his most trusted lieutenants were interpreted, without contradiction, to have made. With regard to the "four points," disconnected sentences were found which seemed to indicate that Mr. Gladstone had no intention of receding from the promise given at Singleton Abbey, that "no infirmity" of his should stand in the way of the retention of the Irish members at Westminster. He admitted the desire "to be just" of those who wished to see the Dublin Parliament subordinate to the Imperial Parliament. He was ready to consider the just claims of all minorities of Ulster Protestants and of any others in danger from hostile majorities. Finally he declared that he would offer no opposition to the alteration of the administrative system, from one that was English and anti-national in spirit, for one that was Irish and national. When, however, on a different occasion, Mr. Gladstone was directly asked by a correspondent how, after the surrender by his colleagues of the various points at issue, the reunion of the Liberals was not a natural consequence, he referred his correspondent, somewhat evasively, to the public utterances he had made on different occasions. It was therefore evident that the rent in the Liberal party was greater than appeared from its divergence on the Irish question, and that other causes were at work which in some eyes at least rendered immediate reunion undesirable if even it were possible.

Mr. Gladstone's second speech (Oct. 19) threw some further light on the matter, when the new programme of the Liberal party was formally adopted, after its various points had been discussed by the conference. Mr. Gladstone not only summed up the results of those deliberations, but gave to them the authority they still required from the leader of the Liberal party. He started by recognising the necessity of further amending the franchise in spite of the agreement come to in 1885. The cry "one man, one vote," which during those discussions at that time had met with little or no favour from official Liberals was to be adopted, to simplify and invigorate the parliamentary system. To those who had any doubts as to the expediency of applying such a principle, Mr. Gladstone replied that, having trusted the people thus far, the results of the trust were such that all Liberals were disposed to trust them further. In the next place Mr. Gladstone declared in favour of "free

trade in land," holding that the time had arrived to sweep away bodily the system of landed entail, of which the maintenance could not be supported upon economical, moral, and social grounds. The third feature of the new Liberal programme was the prompt settlement of an improved system of local self-government, recognising the representative principle in regulating the concerns of counties, of parishes and municipalities. Mr. Gladstone called for a readjustment of the rates, "to be effected justly, and not unjustly, as in former years when labour had been made to contribute to redress the inequalities of taxation upon property." He expressed, moreover, his belief that the subject of "local option," and the necessary reform of the liquor traffic, could only be effected in conjunction with the recognition of local self-government. He then ventured upon the still more dangerous topic of Church Disestablishment, for which he admitted England was not yet ripe, whilst the rival claims for precedence in the matter put forward by Scotland and Wales, might be determined by the eagerness with which those countries supported the cause of Home Rule for Ireland. Mr. Gladstone's own words, which drew down floods of criticism, were as follows: "A principle has long been declared by the Liberal party—to the effect that these questions should not be determined imperially by the votes, I will say, of English majorities, but should be determined in deference to the inhabitants of those two portions of the country immediately interested—namely of Scotland and of Wales. But then, besides the announcement of that general principle, there is another matter. Are the questions ripe, are they opportune for decision, whatever that decision may be? In the expression of my own judgment, and as far as I know, the expression of the judgment of my friends, they are ripe for decision. I contend that, when the Irish difficulty is so far disposed of as to permit it, there is no reason or propriety why Parliament should not be solemnly asked to adjudicate upon the question whether, under the circumstances of Scotland, and under the circumstances of Wales, it is or it is not desirable that their Church establishments should continue as such to exist. . . . I have a piece of advice for my friends in Scotland who are anxious for disestablishment, and that is that they should endeavour to bring the division of parties in that country more nearly like what it is in Wales. Let them compete with Wales in that respect. Let them send us as good a body of Home Rulers from Scotland, who will also be, I believe, generally disestablishers—let them send us as good a body as Wales does, and I have not the least doubt that when the day of competition comes Scotland will be able to hold her own."

Having thus dealt with the programme of the Liberal party so far as regarded domestic legislation, Mr. Gladstone again reverted to the Irish question, explaining the reason which prevented him from binding himself and his friends in a definite

manner to the precise enactments of a future Bill for the government of Ireland. He was willing to promise on his own part that he would not allow any proposals which he had previously made, or any opinions he personally leaned to, "to become impediments in the way of the settlement of that great question, provided that settlement complies with the conditions originally laid down, provided it is not a fraud upon the people, provided it has the acceptance of Ireland, for without that acceptance who would be fool enough to disturb the present condition of things? I think it is a wide, and the strongest, pledge that I give, in saying that neither as to the retention of Irish members, nor as to the use of Imperial credit in the purchase of the Irish land, nor as to the delegation instead of surrender of power to the Irish Parliament—let me interject here the assertion that no power ever was surrendered, and there never was any such proposal or any proposal but to delegate—that as to the mode of action, and the particulars and the times under which the English administrative system is to be altered from one that is English and anti-national in spirit to one that is Irish and national in spirit—to the whole of those proposals the declaration I have made applies; and, rely upon it, you will find that neither I nor any infirmities of mine will upon those points stand in the way of a settlement desired by the two countries."

After dealing at some length upon the practical supremacy of the British Parliament to arrest injustice, and the need of affording protection to minorities in Ulster and elsewhere, Mr. Gladstone unfortunately allowed himself to descend to a somewhat personal tone, claiming the support of Dr. Kane and Col. Saunderson in his controversy with Mr. Chamberlain, and bringing against Colonel Dopping charges upon the faith of Professor Stuart's hearsay evidence. In each of these cases the persons interested gave unqualified contradictions to Mr. Gladstone's statements, although in the case of Colonel Dopping, it was only under threat of legal proceedings that he consented to expunge from the authorised edition of his speech passages which in a slightly altered form had appeared in every stenographed report. The conclusion of Mr. Gladstone's speech, however, was in his best and most eloquent style, and placed in glowing terms before the country the issue between the Liberal and Conservative policy with regard to Ireland, and to the burning question of arrears and evictions. "What is the remedy," he asked, "for the provocation administered to a sensitive people whose memories are filled with the traditions of whole centuries of wrong? I say that all that the Government have done in proclaiming, in prohibiting, in preventing, in coercing, has been addition to the mischief—fuel to the flame. If order is to be maintained in Ireland, in my opinion there is but one way in which we can make, and in which I, in my humble capacity, can make, a contribution to that great and sacred purpose. It is that we should

give the Irish nation something to hope for, something to rely upon—that we should teach the Irish nation, by our acts, by the interchange of our ideas, by the influence we exercise in our respective neighbourhoods, by the votes we give, by the measures we recommend, that they may rely upon the justice and the good sense of this great country.”

Mr. Gladstone concluded his speech with words of encouragement which awakened an enthusiastic response from his audience; but among those of his own partisans who were not carried away by the glamour of their leader's oratory, some, and those not the least astute and far-seeing, held that the more prudent course was to allow the Conservative policy in Ireland free scope to bring about the inevitable discomfiture of its supporters. This was not Mr. Gladstone's opinion, for he eloquently urged upon his hearers not to flinch or flag in their advocacy of and insistence upon those principles with which the Liberal party had been so long and so honourably identified.

The Gladstonian Liberals, however, in spite of the interest which the proceedings of their conference excited, were not permitted to monopolise public attention, the Liberal Unionists, as usual, finding it convenient, if not necessary, to keep their views in prominence whenever the chances of misconstruction were especially serious. Mr. Goschen took the lead in this campaign with a speech at Bradford, delivered simultaneously (Oct. 18) with Mr. Gladstone's first address at Nottingham.

After a generous tribute to Mr. Balfour, and an assurance that the Cabinet were in perfect sympathy with the Chief Secretary's administration, Mr. Goschen dwelt with vigour on “the horrors” of *United Ireland*. The Government had a difficult task before them, but except in one particular they had realised those difficulties. They had not realised the extent to which “ex-Home Secretaries, ex-Chief Secretaries, and ex-Prime Ministers would throw themselves in with the party of disorder, and attempt to arrest the arm of the law,” and of the Executive in performing the first duty of all Governments, irrespective of party. In answer to the question, “What about Mitchelstown?” Mr. Goschen frankly replied, “No more profligate saying than ‘Remember Mitchelstown!’ ever issued from the lips of a responsible Minister.” The Government had no desire to suppress free speech. “We wish to suppress free crime, but not free speech.” After describing the true character of the alleged domiciliary visit in London, and describing himself as “a Unionist” by party, Mr. Goschen went on to show that the Gladstonians, by their alliance with the Irish party, had associated themselves with the forces of disorder. “They have linked themselves with a party pledged to resist the law. They are endeavouring to prove their own prediction, and make the government of Ireland impossible. Let them take care that in endeavouring to verify their own prediction they do not make

the task of the government of England and Scotland impossible also. . . . I doubt whether their anarchic doctrines can be confined to the other side of the Channel." In conclusion, and referring to the future, Mr. Goschen hinted that Parliament might again have to deal with the reform of procedure, in order to have command of its own business, and he declared that the next session must not be a purely Irish session, for the arrears of English legislation pressed for settlement.

On the following evening (Oct. 19) Sir Henry James delivered the opening speech at the Bury and Elton Liberal Unionist Association, and indicated the position of the "third party," of which he was one of the founders and most prominent members. He defended the Liberal Unionists from the charge of supporting the Tories, reminding his hearers that the followers of Lord Hartington had "formed no alliance with the Tory party until after Mr. Gladstone was acting in open alliance with the followers of Mr. Parnell." Sir H. James then dwelt upon the encouragement of lawlessness given by the Gladstonian leaders, when first pointing to the manner in which the Irish broke the laws, they deduced therefrom that their Home Rule policy must succeed because of this triumph of lawlessness. In contradiction to this theory Sir H. James put the theory of government-tolerance in a democratic State: "If the law be evil let us alter it. But good or bad, so long as it exists, it must be supported." Dwelling on the fact that the course pursued by the Liberal Unionists would not make them popular in the country, he declared that the spectacle of men trying to be popular "is enough to make us avoid the example." "Popularity is not a very valuable prize, and if you do not mind the cost, it can easily be won. You have only to belie your whole life, to forget, or rather to contradict, without excuse, all you have ever said, to negative every principle you have asserted, to praise every man you have denounced, to associate with those whom you have shunned, to appeal to men's cupidity, to sacrifice every interest which should be protected, to give a moral sanction to crime, and to take your quotations from a jest-book, in order to secure the cheers of those whom you debauch instead of guiding, whom you degrade instead of elevating." The speech, after an authoritative statement as to the right of the Government to suppress unlawful assemblies, concluded with a demand that Mr. Gladstone should make a definite statement as to his so-called concessions.

Speaking on the same day at Bodmin, Mr. Courtney dealt with Mr. Gladstone's very fallacious remark about "the servitude of Parliament to the Government," arising out of the closure. The phrase, he admitted, was not too strong to mark the fact that Parliament had given up the whole of its time to Government work. The necessity, however, for thus absorbing the time of the House was "not due to the perverseness of the majority, but to the stubbornness of the minority in resisting and

attempting to defeat the purpose of Parliamentary life." Speaking with a full sense of his responsibility as Chairman of the House, Mr. Courtney deliberately repeated that "the servitude of Parliament to the Government" was due to "the fault of the minority, which made it apparently part of their object in life to prevent Parliament having its way." On his return journey from Nottingham, Mr. Gladstone stopped at Derby, where his reception bore witness to the unaltered sympathy with which his policy was accepted by the working classes in the Midlands. His speech at the Drill Hall (Oct. 20), in spite of its warm reception from those who listened to it, was closely criticised by some of his principal supporters in the press. It was, nevertheless, more interesting to his opponents, as explaining and in a way defending his altered attitude towards his present Irish allies. As was inevitable, it dealt almost exclusively with the position of the Irish question before the country and before Parliament. He expressed his conviction "that the field of Irish controversy was narrowing, in the vital sense that the forces to which they were opposed were narrowing, while their own forces were multiplying and extending. It was commonly said that he was acting now with those whose plans he formerly described as rapine and leading to murder. It was true that he did so describe the policy of the Nationalists in 1881, because he believed that their purposes led in that direction. To-day he found no such purposes, and as their majority increased their demands had moderated. There was no ground now for saying that any of the Irish Nationalists desired dismemberment of the Empire, or the weakening of the bonds uniting them to Great Britain. Now that Mr. Parnell was acting on the principles of moderation and common sense, there was no good reason why he should not approve the conduct of men which at one time he disapproved. Mr. Gladstone added that what he and his friends wanted was a union of hearts, not of paper and parchment. This charge of inconsistency, though so flimsy, was one of the strongest which opponents had to bring against him. The next charge was that he now opposed the policy of coercion which he had formerly supported. This too was unsupportable, because the bills which he and Sir William Harcourt had introduced they introduced with the *bonâ fide* object to repress crime, but the Coercion Bill of the present Government was to put down, not crime, but lawful combinations, and repress freedom of speech and of the press. Mr. Gladstone then went on to denounce the Coercion Bill of the last session as more flagrant than any other Act in the Statute-book. The Act was a piece of legislation not less permanent, so far as the law was concerned, than the Reform Act or the Bill of Rights, whereas every previous Parliament had treated Coercion as only an occasional and exceptional measure. He held that Coercion had totally failed. The time had come to go to the root of the disease, and to remove the evils by destroying their cause, pro-

viding the simple remedy of investing Ireland with the adequate and practical power of managing its own affairs. Ireland under Home Rule, he maintained, would discharge her duties as a member of the great British Empire far better than before.

Nor was Lord Roseberry, Mr. Gladstone's most brilliant apologist in the House of Lords, less hopeful of the results of Home Rule. Speaking across the border, at Castle Douglas (Oct. 20), he cleverly exposed the weak points of the resolutions passed by Unionists and Conservatives. He argued on the absurdity of the suggestion that a Government should allow the demand or prejudices of eleven members representing the Ulster Unionists to dictate to eighty-six Nationalist members, and if not able to prevent Home Rule should be allowed to promote the unity of the kingdom by carving out one-fifth part representing their own principles, and leave all other Irish Protestants to their fate. At present the Unionists had reduced Ireland to a state of anarchy, had caused respect for law and government to fall lower than ever, and dispersed and discredited all the institutions on which we, as a free people, prided ourselves in Ireland, and they had hunted down free meetings, free speech, and a free press.

On the other side, Lord Randolph Churchill, at Sunderland (Oct. 20), showed that the Gladstonians were not without many weak points in their line of policy, apart from the question of inconsistency in their treatment of the Irish question. But his speech was the more interesting as showing the avowed aims of the Tory democracy, if Lord R. Churchill were allowed to direct its policy. He referred to the speeches of Mr. Gladstone at Nottingham as disappointing alike to his friends and his foes. He had put before his own personal following—not the Liberal party, which had ceased to exist—a programme, and this programme Lord Randolph criticised, maintaining that what was good in it could be better obtained from the Unionist party than from Mr. Gladstone. The “one man, one vote” principle Lord Randolph Churchill did not consider of great importance, for the last election had shown that it would not affect more than 80,000 voters out of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  millions. The machinery of registration, on the other hand, he admitted, needed reform. With regard to the principle of land-inheritance, whilst holding that the general sense of the community would resist any tyrannical curtailment of the freedom of testamentary bequest, he strongly disapproved of entail upon lives unborn. Lord Randolph then referred to other points in Mr. Gladstone's programme, remarking that his treatment of Disestablishment was ambiguous, disingenuous, and immoral. As Mr. Gladstone did not intend to deal with domestic questions until the Irish difficulty was settled, a delay of at least four sessions would probably occur. On the other hand, the Unionist party were prepared to initiate legislation upon those subjects immediately. There was no reason



why many of them should not be dealt with next session, and nearly all of them during the course of the present Parliament, but Mr. Gladstone would not touch them until he had first repealed the Union. It was no use Mr. Gladstone saying, "You can't deal with any of these questions until you have dealt with Ireland." The reply was "We can and we will." The Unionist party would fight every line of a Separation Bill, which would inevitably be thrown out of the House of Lords, with the alternative result of postponement or a fresh dissolution.

A few days later Lord R. Churchill spoke at Stockton (Oct. 24), protesting especially against the sentiment or doctrine which was being preached by his opponents, to the effect that whenever the people resisted the police, the police should give way. This doctrine, as Lord R. Churchill showed, was not that of the American democracy, as evidenced by Captain Putnam's action towards the Irish of New York in 1863, who resisted a levy for the war. A far more important pronouncement, however, against the Gladstonian policy was delivered on the same day by Lord Hartington at Nottingham, where the Unionist leader found no more difficulty in finding an attentive and sympathetic audience than the speakers at the National Liberal Federation a few days previously. Lord Hartington's speech on this occasion was the more noteworthy, as it seemed to foreshadow the impossibility of any reunion of the Liberal party under its former leader. He said that, having changed at Mr. Gladstone's signal, from all but unanimous repudiation of Home Rule in 1885, to its enthusiastic support in 1887, the Liberal party became a one-man party, which scarcely ventured to think outside the lines prescribed by its dictator. For example, Lord Hartington pointed out how up to the eve of the Nottingham conference, Mr. Gladstone had been urged even by his own partisans to explain clearly what concessions he would make to the Unionists' objections. Mr. Gladstone, however, treated all these appeals as invitations to walk into a trap, whereupon the pressure suddenly disappeared; everyone applauded his sagacity for refusing to do what the same people were agreed in declaring a short time before it was his duty to do. Lord Hartington then went on to declare his belief that no concession which should leave the Irish representative assembly in any sense a national assembly, in the sense meant by the Home Rulers, could meet the Unionist objection against splitting up the nation. As for Mr. Gladstone's programme, like previous declarations emanating from the same source, it was not likely to have any effect on the future policy of the party. Lord Hartington next criticised, in scathing terms, Mr. Gladstone's invitation to those who desired disestablishment in Scotland or Wales, to become Home Rulers, as the shortest and easiest path towards the end they had in view: and he warned his hearers that these promises of local disestablishment put forward to

consolidate the party, might possibly share the fate of the authorised programme of 1885, and be laid aside in the keenness of the struggle for Home Rule. Lord Hartington went on to comment in severe language on Mr. Gladstone's speech at Nottingham on "Remember Mitchelstown!" With a perfect knowledge that Irish peasants were tempted by their leaders to plunder through the so-called "Plan of Campaign," and were exhorted to the most inhuman violence on the officers of the law carrying out evictions, Mr. Gladstone, though in a single sentence he repudiated any countenance to illegality, in hundreds of eloquent sentences had retailed unsupported charges against the Irish police, of the truth of which he had no means of judging. These vague charges he had dwelt upon with indignant minuteness, and had described provocations to the Irish people of which he had heard at third hand as if they were all trustworthy and officially established. "Gentlemen," said Lord Hartington, referring to Mr. Gladstone's comments on the Whelehan case, "I believe that our history does not contain a single instance—it might be searched in vain for a single instance—in which a Minister of the Crown who has been responsible for the administration of law and order in Ireland, who has depended, as every other Minister must, on the faithful and loyal co-operation of his police, as well as of every other public servant in the country, for discharging his duty to his country and his Queen, has thus gone out of his way prematurely, without evidence, without proof, to convict a body of men against whom nothing has been proved, of an atrocious crime, to sentence them even to an ignominious punishment." The "plan of campaign" Lord Hartington stigmatised as unmitigated robbery, and in their attempt to carry out the law, they had a right to expect some support from the Liberals. For their part the Unionists would concede nothing to force, violence, or disregard for law; and in that attitude Lord Hartington believed they would be sustained, not only by the loyal portion of Ireland, but also of England.

The speeches of Mr. Goschen and Lord Hartington could not be allowed to pass unnoticed by the statesman against whom they were especially directed, and Mr. Gladstone seized the first favourable opportunity not to reply to his critics, but to denounce with even greater warmth the Government. On his way to Ripon, during a brief halt at Leeds (Oct. 25), he told a crowd of assembled people there:—

"The deplorable policy of the Government in Ireland cannot end where it is. They will go on from bad to worse. There is this excuse to be made, that any outrage that the Government commits now, naturally grows out of a previous outrage, and that I cannot deny. I cannot deny that Woodford grew out of the conduct at Mitchelstown. The conduct at Mitchelstown grew out of the conduct at Ennis. The conduct at Ennis grew out

of the Coercion Bill. And the Coercion Bill, outrageous as it is, grew out of the determination to refuse Home Rule."

At Ripon Mr. Gladstone went a step farther, and described the Government as the lawbreaker, for enforcing an Act (the Irish Crimes Act) which, as would seem from the following words, he regarded as no law at all:—"Strange as it may seem to say so, at this moment I regard those who are in opposition as the only effective defenders of law and order in Ireland, which are being menaced by the executive Government, by the ministers of the Queen, by those subordinate agents who naturally and necessarily take their tone from the ministers of the Queen."

Mr. Gladstone further declared, and in view of what was then passing in London, the words had an important bearing, that it was only by English political demonstrations of abhorrence for the ministers of the Crown that the Irish were likely to be restrained "from those acts of violence and outrage to which the example that has been set them within the last few weeks and months by the acts of the law itself, have afforded the most painful and most dangerous temptation." Mr. Gladstone then protested against those of the party who continued firm in their allegiance to Liberal principles, as he understood them, being called "Separatists" or Gladstonians, maintaining that they were not Separatists, and stating that he was not a Gladstonian. His opponents, he said, had exceeded political licence in applying to him and his followers the designation of the Separatist Party. The cardinal principle of Liberalism was that no society was even in a tolerable condition unless the laws were honoured and loved by the people. The laws with which the Government chiefly concerned itself in Ireland were not honoured or loved by the people, and their administration approached to what belonged to a totally abnormal state of society. The cause, however, which he and his followers had espoused he held to be necessary to the peace, happiness, and consolidation of the Empire.

On the same day Mr. Gladstone's two most trusted colleagues, and the best informed in what regarded Irish affairs—Earl Spencer and Mr. John Morley—spoke in defence of the attitude they had taken up. The former, at Edinburgh, whilst insisting upon Home Rule as the only solution of existing difficulties, utterly condemned the "Plan of Campaign," because its object was to fix a fair rent, whilst its rival, the "No-Rent" cry, would abolish rent altogether. But the speeches of both Lord Spencer and of Mr. Morley (at Halifax) were chiefly noteworthy for the high praise they gave to the Irish constabulary, about which Mr. Gladstone had spoken so many hard words, and whose task of preserving order he had rendered so difficult. It was perhaps unfortunate that Mr. Chamberlain's speech at Islington should not have come after the remarks of Lord Spencer and Mr. Morley; for, speaking as he did on the same day, he was

able to say "the policy of the Gladstone-Parnell party is to make the government of Ireland impossible; and in doing it they are sapping the foundation of all order."

The condition of the West End of London, especially Trafalgar Square, in some sense justified Mr. Chamberlain's attack, for it is scarcely possible to believe that the most peaceable of all European capitals would have been disgraced by such scenes of disorder, had it not been felt that contempt for the police was being sanctioned by party leaders, and that revolt against the guardians of order was being raised to the level of patriotism. It is true that at a subsequent date (Nov. 14) Mr. Gladstone wrote to the secretary of the Bermondsey Gladstone Club, saying that "the appeal to Parliament and the nation on the grave and solemn issue raised by the proceedings of the Government in Ireland would suffer disastrous prejudice were it to be associated in any manner with those who make the appeal with metropolitan disturbance."

Before, however, referring more particularly to the rioting in London, it is necessary to notice briefly a few out of the many speeches with which the papers were filled each morning. In most cases the Irish question was put by the speakers before their audiences with little variation or freshness of treatment. It was the business of the Gladstonians to prove—although with the majority proof and assertion were synonymous—that the Crimes Act was being used for punishing purely political offences, or for giving to political offences the name of crimes, and attaching to them penalties which the supporters of the Bill in its progress through Parliament declared it was never intended to touch. The Unionists and the Conservatives, on the other hand, harped upon the theme that, whereas Lord Spencer and Sir George Trevelyan had summarily thrown into prison scores of "suspects," and detained them there many months, it was impossible for Lord Londonderry or Mr. Balfour to proceed against the most notorious seditionmonger except in public and by trial in open court. The speakers on one side probably never hoped or intended to convince those on the other, but if they did so it must be admitted that they attributed to their opponents reasoning powers of singularly small power. Both sides were as prodigal of declamation as they were sparing of arguments, and at length interest in such displays was manifested only in the rare instance of such speakers as Sir George Trevelyan, who, with considerable ingenuity, but scant success, endeavoured to explain the process by which his duty to his party had prevailed over the misgivings of his judgment. He had originally left Mr. Gladstone because the latter's scheme of Home Rule did not seem to offer sufficient protection for the fearless administration of justice and for the safety of its officers; and he had returned to his allegiance because, in some way which he never satisfactorily unfolded, all his misgivings had been removed, and he

was now perfectly satisfied that in his leader's still unfolded scheme of Home Rule all his own objections would be answered. He also came back to Mr. Gladstone apparently because he considered the unity of the Liberal party of more importance—or at least more attainable—than the maintenance of the Union by the Conservatives and their allies. On the present occasion he found at Bangor (Oct. 28) an opportunity of holding aloft the flag of true Liberalism, against which “there never had been such a dead set made as at the present moment.” He thought that at one moment the Liberal Unionists had had a grand game to play, and whether they missed their chance from failing to follow his (Sir George Trevelyan's) counsels, he allowed his hearers to decide. What they ought to have done, according to Sir G. Trevelyan, was to have said, “We will on no account be parties to a scheme by which the Irish representatives are excluded from Westminster, nor to one by which public money is given to murder Irish landlords; but, on the other hand, nothing on earth should make us turn Tories at a time when Liberalism is being assailed as it never has been before.” After a long panegyric upon his own and Lord Spencer's administration of Ireland, the blessings of which so few Irish “patriots” appreciated at the time, Sir G. Trevelyan went on to show that the policy of kindness and consideration inaugurated by him had been thrown to the winds by Lord Salisbury and Lord Hartington, and he concluded with an impassioned appeal to Welshmen, who knew what it was to be governed by a privileged class, to support and sympathise with the true Liberal party in its adversity. On the following day, at Carnarvon, addressing the North Wales Liberal Federation, Sir G. Trevelyan, by way of helping to heal the breach in the Liberal party, described the Liberal Unionists' objection to Home Rule as “the miserable excuse of a difference of opinion about a Bill introduced eighteen months ago,” forgetful, apparently, that his objections to that Bill had led to his seceding from his party at a critical juncture. At a subsequent meeting Sir G. Trevelyan's remarks were in like manner pitched in a tone which was scarcely likely to woo back his temporary associates, who he declared had broken off from the Liberal party on a sham and a pretext. It was, he said, a shame and a scandal for people calling themselves Liberals to join with the Primrose League in crushing out the Liberalism of the country districts. After denouncing coercion in Ireland and the clauses of the Crimes Act, which “throws political opponents into prison on the cowardly and miserable ground that they belong to political associations which the Lord Lieutenant for the time being thinks unlawful,” Sir G. Trevelyan went on to say that he would not play into the hands of the Tory party by keeping silence about English, Scotch, and Welsh measures. People knew very well that if they wanted to get rid of the fagot vote, to reform the House of Lords, to place

the control of the liquor traffic in the hands of the people, and to disestablish the Welsh Church, the worst thing they could do would be to vote for the consolidation of a party whose political power depended on the four great pillars of—the liquor interest, the plural vote, the unreformed House of Lords, and the Established Church. Sir G. Trevelyan followed up these speeches by a farewell to the Welsh at Acrefair near Ruabon (Oct. 31), on which occasion he made the House of Lords the chief object of his attacks, declaring that it was no use for Irish members to introduce into the House of Commons reforms which the House of Lords was sure to reject.

In a very different spirit Mr. Courtney and Lord Hartington discussed at Truro (Oct. 31) the political anxieties of the moment. The former urged, with no less power than self-restraint, that to give an Irish Parliament or Executive full permission to work their will, good or bad, on their land would be a craven abandonment of a duty which our fathers had handed us down, and one which, although a great burden, we had no right to fling down. Lord Hartington, after disposing in a few words of Sir William Harcourt's comparison of Mr. Gladstone to Count Cavour and Prince Bismarck, declared explicitly, on behalf of himself and his followers, that until Ireland should surrender the cry for a national Parliament, which would be practically independent of Great Britain, it would be worse than useless to propose any scheme for the extension to Ireland of a liberal measure of local self-government. The Irish, Lord Hartington maintained, would not accept such a compromise in lieu of their claims of independence, or they would use it as a lever for obtaining further concessions.

We may pass by, without special notice, the simultaneous speeches of Mr. Childers at Dalkeith and Mr. Goschen at Bath (Nov. 4), for their importance was quite overshadowed by Mr. Balfour's vigorous defence of the Government at Birmingham on the same evening. After a somewhat bitter attack on Mr. Gladstone's "unblushing" perversions of fact, as given in his speeches at Nottingham and Derby, the Chief Secretary for Ireland described the conversion of the Liberals to Home Rule after Mr. Gladstone had embraced it, as a spectacle for which there had been no parallel since our barbarous ancestors were baptized in tribes on the conversion of their kings to Christianity.

Mr. Balfour then went on to criticise the alliance between the Liberals and the Parnellites as less an alliance than a fusion. The two parties had not merely acted together when the issue was one of Home Rule, but had adopted the same tactics and manœuvred in the same manner when it was a question, not of Home Rule, but of order and obedience to unquestionable law. For instance, almost every sentence, he said, of Mr. Gladstone's recent speeches at Nottingham and Derby appeared to be deliberately calculated to make the task of the Government in main-

taining order in Ireland more difficult than it would otherwise have been. Replying to Mr. Gladstone's assertion that the spirit of the Parnellite party had wholly changed since his Government found it necessary to imprison Mr. Parnell, and to denounce him as marching through rapine to disintegration, Mr. Balfour declared that so far was this from being the truth, that the Nationalist newspapers day by day devoted themselves to the question how the landlords, as a class, were to be driven out, and the "Plan of Campaign" was devised to strike a blow at all rent, as deadly as the "No-Rent" manifesto itself. Mr. Gladstone had further asserted that there was such a thing as Irish crime, but excused it by saying that "the Irish people had received a desperate provocation." What was that desperate provocation? asked Mr. Balfour. This—that the law which now regulated the debt due from tenants to landlords was infinitely and incomparably more favourable to the tenant in Ireland than "the law which regulates the relations between any set of debtors and any set of creditors in any country in the civilised world."

As to Mitchelstown, "the demon of inaccuracy," said Mr. Balfour, "had haunted Mr. Gladstone in everything he had said on the subject. The police were not the aggressors in the affair mentioned by Mr. Gladstone which resulted in the wounding of a gentleman named Mandeville. They were driven by the mob into the priest's house, and not a particle of evidence was produced to show that in that affair the police inflicted any injury on anybody. Mr. Balfour believed that Mr. Mandeville was wounded by the stoning of the mob; but whether that was so or not, no charge against the police was brought in connection with the business, and even the Nationalist newspapers showed that the mob were the aggressors, and that the police were taking refuge from their violence. During Mr. Gladstone's Ministry, the police in Ireland were ill-treated by a stone-throwing mob at a place called Belmullet, and firing in self-defence, two women were killed. But Mr. Gladstone did not think it necessary to make a great speech on the text, "Remember Belmullet!" As to the suppression of public meetings, during Mr. Gladstone's Government, 351 meetings were to be held, of which 55 were stopped, or rather more than 1 in 7; during Lord Salisbury's Administration, 400 meetings were to be held, of which only 12 had been stopped, or about 1 in 33; and yet Mr. Gladstone declared that Lord Salisbury's Government went far beyond his own in interfering with the free speech of the people. Mr. Balfour concluded a most vigorous speech by declaring that the Liberal Party were adopting the tactics of the Parnellites without a symptom of self-reproach or humiliation, and by reiterating his belief that, notwithstanding this new and great impediment in the way of the policy of the Irish Government, he felt certain of the success which would attend him in firmly resisting the policy of intimidation, and restoring Ireland to order and prosperity.

Mr. Balfour's confident tone was naturally interpreted by the Gladstonian and Parnellite press as significative of the way in which the Crimes Act was to be administered. In other quarters, however, it produced a feeling of satisfaction, as showing that the Government recognised as its first duty to maintain the laws of the country inviolate.

Lord Salisbury's speech at the Guildhall (Nov. 9) was looked forward to rather in view of the state of affairs on the Continent than with the idea that he would have anything new to say with regard to the Irish question. The adhesion of Italy to the alliance between the two empires of Germany and Austria had been publicly declared on the return of Signor Crispi from his visit to Friedrichsruhe; and there was anxiety to know how far this country would give its support to what became known as the "League of Peace." It was rumoured, and subsequently the rumour was confirmed, that Russia was concentrating large bodies of troops in Poland and her south-western provinces, and although Austria was, as usual, slow to perceive the dangers on its Galician frontier, the ever-watchful German authorities were urging their ally to take the necessary precautions against a surprise. For the moment too, France seemed paralysed by the hostility displayed by the Chamber towards M. Grévy. Serious charges had been brought against his son-in-law, who, instead of meeting them single-handed, took refuge behind the President, and in the end involved him in his own ruin. At such a moment, so prudent a statesman as M. Flourens had shown himself to be, was scarcely disposed to take official notice of Signor Crispi's ostentatious adhesion to the Triple Alliance, especially as it was whispered that the Italian premier had received assurances from Lord Salisbury that, in the event of a war becoming general, the British fleet would watch over the protection of the Italian seaboard. Lord Salisbury's speech, however, disappointed all who might have hoped to gather from it a clue to English policy. He congratulated Europe on the improved prospects of peace, but admitted that while the armaments of Europe were so heavy and still on the increase, the continental equilibrium could hardly be regarded as stable; still he knew nothing "within the compass of diplomatic experience" which could give ground for uneasiness. He announced the surrender of Ayoub Khan to the Indian Government; the removal of the difficulties with France in connection with the Suez Canal and the New Hebrides; and he spoke hopefully of Mr. Chamberlain's endeavours to settle the fisheries dispute with the United States. Turning to Ireland, he expressed his belief in the gradual, but ultimately complete, restoration of order, in spite of the ominous change which was stealing over the ethics of party warfare in this country, and was unfavourable to the maintenance of law and order.

Lord Salisbury's misgivings were strikingly illustrated by the events of the next few days. The meetings in Trafalgar



Square, to which reference has already been made, continued intermittently; and in proportion as the police interfered, the crowd assembled in greater numbers. Sir C. Warren was therefore empowered to take such measures as he thought best to clear the square; and his ukase, which was couched in somewhat unfortunate words, succeeded only in provoking a counter-manifesto from the Socialists and their friends. The first idea had been to organise a great gathering for Lord Mayor's Day; but in face of the wretched weather, and the imposing display of police, the project was abandoned. The three following days passed off quietly, access to the open space of Trafalgar Square being denied to all persons alike. The Radical and Socialist Clubs issued notices to their members to attend in procession a great demonstration in Trafalgar Square on the following Sunday (Nov. 13), in order to assert the liberty of free meeting and to protest against the imprisonment of Mr. W. O'Brien, as an infringement of the freedom of the press. Sir Charles Warren replied by forbidding all organised processions to approach the square, but in spite of his prohibition, thousands of persons, some with music and banners, set out for that place from every quarter and suburb of the metropolis. Large bodies of police, mounted and on foot, were posted at various points, in order to break up the processions before they approached Trafalgar Square; and in Holborn, the Strand, and Parliament Street very severe fighting took place, and many were injured on both sides. In spite, too, of these attempts to arrest the crowds *en route*, a sufficient number reached the sides of the square, and a number of rushes were then made by the crowd to get within the forbidden area. One of them was headed by Mr. Cunninghame-Graham, M.P., and Mr. Burns, a well-known Socialist leader; but they were driven back and the two "rioters" were removed in custody. In spite, however, of the tenacity with which the police held their ground, and of the vigour with which they indiscriminately plied their truncheons on the heads of rioters and peaceful onlookers, matters might have gone seriously with them but for the appearance of two squadrons of Life Guards, with a magistrate at their head ready to read the Riot Act. The Foot Guards lined the north side of the square, whilst the cavalry rode round the road, and in half an hour the police were able to clear what remained of the crowd. No life was actually lost, although two men subsequently died of injuries they received from being trampled or kicked by friends or foes; and one policeman was stabbed, and many severely hurt. A number of arrests were made, and on the following day many of those taken were summarily sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from two to six months. The result of the struggle, however, was deemed so inconclusive, or the question at stake of such paramount importance, that it was determined, by the delegates of the principal Radical societies, to make a further trial of strength

on the following Sunday. The secretary of the Bermondsey Gladstone Club at once communicated to Mr. Gladstone a resolution passed by that body, condemning the conduct of the police, and recommending the holding of a further meeting. To this letter Mr. Gladstone at once replied (Nov. 14): "As I understand the matter, the Home Secretary stated on Saturday, for the information of the public, that he intended to prevent yesterday's meeting in Trafalgar Square, and that he believed this prevention to be within his legal power. The question is one of great moment to the inhabitants of London, and particularly to those who at present are unhappily in circumstances of distress; and it will be generally felt that the state of the law in regard to it ought to be promptly tested and ascertained. But it appears to me indisputable that, until a decision can be had, it is the duty of every citizen to refrain from all resistance to the decision of the Executive Government, which is clearly entitled to administer the laws according to what it may be advised is their true construction. . . ." This direct appeal divided the Radicals, and it was ultimately decided that the meeting should be held in Hyde Park, where the police would not interfere; leaving the subsequent results of such a meeting to develop themselves as they would. The Government, for some unexplained reason, seemed to anticipate mischief from the proposed gathering; and the Home Office issued a request for twenty or thirty thousand special constables to assist the police in preserving order on the day proposed for the Hyde Park meeting, and on other occasions. The public by no means shared the misgivings of the authorities; and, contrary to the precedents of 1848 and 1867, when special constables had been enrolled in large numbers, it was with difficulty that more than six or seven thousand could at this juncture be got together. Public instinct, however, on this occasion proved more correct than official information, for the meeting passed off with perfect order, and no further disturbances took place.

Whether or not there was any connection between these disturbances and the speeches of the opponents of the Ministry is not a question which can be discussed in this place. That many persons held that opinion, whilst many more pretended to do so, is beyond reasonable doubt. It was, moreover, the knowledge of this feeling which gave the Liberal Unionists confidence in addressing audiences of which they could not beforehand accurately gauge the temper and bias. Mr. Goschen, in this way, speaking at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester (Nov. 15), made a good use of the London disturbances which had been so heedlessly aggravated and so bitterly envenomed. He reminded his hearers that when, twenty-five years previously, Lancashire was suffering terribly from the cotton-famine caused by the war between the Northern and Southern States of the American Union, Lancashire did not quail, but refused to lend any countenance to those who

were then threatening the United States with disintegration. "The present struggle for the Union with Ireland was, for us, as great a question as the revolt of the South was for the United States a quarter of a century ago. No one ought to regard it as a question of conventional party politics. The conditions of healthy national life were confidence, credit, character, the power of making wise laws, obedience to the laws, respect for authority, stability, order, peace. Without these, no community can be prosperous and strong, and these had all been endangered by the proposal to establish a separate Legislature in Ireland in deference to the threats of the National League, and by the consequences of that proposal." Mr. Gladstone, he added, had felt the very serious danger that when mobs in London had begun to do what the League had long been endeavouring to do in Ireland, the Irish cause would suffer by its association with English disorder, and had put forth a very striking rebuke to that disorder. Nothing could prove more clearly that the Irish Question was not a separate question, than the impulse given to disorder here by the party which had sheltered and apologised for disorder there. "Anarchy," said Mr. Goschen, "is contagious."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer then went on to comment on the assertion that British legislation could not be proceeded with while Ireland blocked the way, and said that it must be boldly grappled with. Ireland would block the way a great deal more, if she were established in comparative independence as a separate colony or as an element in a federated empire. Besides, to yield to an irreconcilable Irish minority would be a premium on disintegration which the foes of England would never forget. "Refuse," said Mr. Goschen in conclusion, "to parley with those who tell you that the struggle will be weary and long. However long and weary it be, there is but one reply which you can make to the base and cowardly suggestion that you will be tired out,—'We surrender neither to crime nor to time.'"

On the following day (Nov. 16), at Ashton-under-Lyne, replying to an address from the Liberal Unionists, Mr. Goschen made a strong appeal to the neutral party in politics to give the Government their moral support; and at a subsequent meeting on the same evening Mr. Goschen asserted that the Colonial representatives who had come to England to assist at the Jubilee were in heart strong supporters of the Union. And he added that the majority of non-political Americans sympathised with the Unionists, although the exigencies of party politics made it necessary for public men to take into consideration the Irish Vote. To the plea put forward in the name of the Home Rulers that what they desire was a "union of hearts," Mr. Goschen retorted that a union of hearts between those who were doing their best to defy the law, and those who thought the soundness of the law the chief bond of national union, could not be very true.

Although Mr. Goschen's speeches were far above the ordinary level of party utterances, their effect, except on the audience to which they were addressed, was lost in the apparently limitless flow of speeches with which the papers were flooded on each succeeding day. The rights and wrongs of Ireland, the reproaches and recriminations of party leaders and party followers, awoke but languid interest, and, it must be added, the wearisome repetition of the same stock arguments on either side scarcely merited a better reception. Occasionally a speaker like Mr. Brodrick would infuse a few epigrammatic touches into his indictment of his opponents—as, for instance, when he compared Sir George Trevelyan's search for Mr. Gladstone's concessions to the Unionists to "the hopeful Yankee's search for a black hat on a very dark night"—or when he declined to urge arguments against Home Rule on the ground that, Mr. Gladstone's measure being dead, it was hardly decent to follow the example of the man who so enjoyed himself at a funeral that he got up to propose the health of the corpse. These, however, were rare oases in a desert of dry talk; and even the opening proceedings of the Conservative Conference which met at Oxford (Nov. 21) seemed little likely to inaugurate a brighter era. On its second day of meeting, however, it astonished its chiefs and the public by voting a Protectionist resolution with practical unanimity—there were only about thirty dissentients out of a thousand delegates. To Mr. Howard Vincent was due the distinction of throwing this bomb-shell into the Cabinet, and rendering the alliance with the Liberal Unionists nearly unworkable. His resolution ran thus, "That the continued depression in trade and agriculture, the increase in the scarcity of employment, and the consequent distress among all classes, render speedy reform in the policy of the United Kingdom as regards foreign imports and the influx of indigent foreigners, a matter of vital necessity to the people of Great Britain and Ireland." As a mere statement of existing facts, the resolution was indisputable; the only question was whether the grievances complained of were such as could be relieved by fiscal restrictions without giving rise to still greater difficulties. From a tactical point of view the resolution was a mistake; for, if the hardships to which it gave expression were so intolerable, it was obvious that the party which claimed, and justly claimed, the support of the "masses" would be first to find itself coerced by its own electors. Lord Salisbury who attended the last day's sitting of the Conference realised the position at a glance, but beyond urging the necessity of cordial co-operation with the Liberal Unionists, he made only a passing allusion to the resolution which had been adopted by so overwhelming a majority. In his evening speech, Lord Salisbury, while arguing strongly for a further reform of Procedure in the House of Commons, in a fashion enabling the House to put down obstruction without so much exhausting pain and labour as were needful for

that task during the last session, declared that five years ago no necessity for any such reform had arisen. Lord Salisbury objected to have his colleagues in the House of Commons used up by the torture needful to overcome obstruction. Moreover, the character of our legislation was, he said, utterly spoiled by the necessity of leaving out every not quite essential clause that was likely to meet with obstruction, however subservient to the good working of the measure it might be. As to some of the proposals made for the reform of the Lords, Lord Salisbury did not object to them in principle at all, but he did not believe they would be acceptable to the Commons, because the more efficient they might be, the more they would increase the relative strength of the Upper House, and compel the Commons to defer to its judgments; and that, he held, would not be at all to the liking of the Commons. On the character of the Local Government Bill, Lord Salisbury spoke out very frankly, leading his hearers to infer that it would be a very large measure, and a very genuinely decentralising measure; and it would not be extended to Ireland. His argument was primarily based on the plea that at present local questions were sacrificed to the exigencies of central politics,—as, for example, in Mr. Gladstone's exhortation to all Welsh and Scotch disestablishers to vote for Home Rule in order the sooner to get their disestablishment. Lord Salisbury protested against this sort of dealing with local needs, but saw no way to do it but to give the localities genuine power to settle questions, such as the liquor question, for themselves, and so to remove the temptation to constituencies to bargain away their votes on great questions like Home Rule for the sake of getting what they desired on small questions like the liquor traffic. Lord Salisbury declared strongly his wish not to postpone the settlement of the Purchase Question in Ireland. It was absolutely essential, he said, to put an end as soon as might be to dual ownership, and he concluded his speech by a vigorous attack upon Mr. Gladstone's altered attitude towards the Established Church. But, as the *Guardian* very forcibly pointed out, Lord Salisbury wholly misconceived or misrepresented Mr. Gladstone's views on the subject. That statesman's views with regard to the relations of the Church to the State had doubtless undergone change, but his belief in and attachment to the Church as a spiritual body remained undoubted and unshaken.

The task, however, of replying to the Oxford manifesto devolved upon Sir George Trevelyan and Mr. John Morley. The former, at Paisley (Nov. 24), after reviewing his own services to the Liberal cause, pointed out that Lord Salisbury had not rebuked those who had passed a resolution directed against free trade, and commented upon the position of leading Dissident Liberals in view of Lord Salisbury's allusion to the House of Lords as a machinery for checking Liberal legislation, his declaration on the question of local government, and his defence of

the Church. With Lord Salisbury's declaration that Ireland was not only not to have self-government, but not even local government, fell to pieces at once all pretence of Lord Hartington's conditions and Mr. Chamberlain's guarantees, and they had no prospect for Ireland except coercion, and again coercion, till the end of time, or at any rate till the end of this Tory Government. In the next place, said Sir G. Trevelyan, Lord Salisbury made an utterance of the most ominous nature. He made use of some very careful words which, if they meant anything, meant that while there were to be elected members on the local government bodies there was to be likewise a large privileged or nominee element of some nature which he did not specify. If that was the case—if that was the Bill which the Liberal and Radical Unionists were called on to support, they would have defeated the just hopes of their own country as much as they had crushed the aspirations of Ireland.

Mr. Morley spoke at Hull (Nov. 25), and possibly in view of the depression of trade along the north-east coast, attributed by the sufferers to unlimited foreign competition, avoided much allusion to the fair trade proclivities of the Conservatives in conference, and limited himself to pointing out "the blazing indiscretions" of Lord Salisbury's speech. The greater part of Mr. Morley's remarks, however, were directed against Mr. Goschen, who had not hesitated to say, in one of his speeches at Manchester, that although the Irish bills had prevented the passing of all other measures, the Gladstonian party were in a great measure responsible for the delay. This insinuation Mr. Morley could not allow to pass unchallenged. Mr. Goschen, he said, had recently come out in the quality of the "fighting politician," and complained of the delay to which the Railway Rates Bill and the Bill to promote Technical Education had been subjected, and then his virtuous indignation rose higher and higher, and he broke out into the passionate cry, "I want to know," he said, "are the children of the operatives to be kept from technical education because Ireland blocks the way? I want to know," said the fighting politician, "if preferential rates are still to operate against native industry because Ireland blocks the way?" Now, Liberal obstruction, the grievances of Ireland, and the conduct of the Irish members, Mr. Morley asserted, were not more responsible for the rejection of either of those two bills than they were responsible for the tides in the harbour or the fogs on the Thames.

So far as any reply was required from Mr. Goschen it was given in Dublin itself, where he and Lord Hartington were given a hearty reception on Irish soil (Nov. 29) by the Irish Unionists. The visit of the two English statesmen, following so closely upon Mr. Chamberlain's "progress" through Ulster, was warmly applauded in nearly all sections of the English press, although few organs were sanguine as to the results; and probably no

one imagined that it would have any immediate influence upon the state of parties in Ireland or in Westminster. In a sense this visit, which is referred to at length in the following chapter, was a success; and the citizens of Dublin, however opposed they might be to the opinions and policy of the two English party leaders, were not forgetful of their traditions of hospitality. On his return Lord Hartington at once started off to meet his constituents at Rossendale (Dec. 3), and delivered himself in no halting tones of the views which his brief visit to Ireland had strengthened and confirmed. Reverting for a moment to Mr. John Morley's eager repudiation of obstruction, Lord Hartington contended that the last thing that a Liberal committed to "the authorised programme" of 1885 ought to do, would be to postpone the whole of that programme, as the Liberals proposed, till the Irish question which "blocks the way" had been settled. Moreover, as a Liberal, he objected very much to the sudden unsettlement by the Nottingham Caucus of the Liberal principles agreed to in 1885, in favour of another quite new Reform Bill to be based on the principle of "One man, one vote." That might be wise or otherwise, but it had never been properly discussed, and was a sudden and disputable extension of the ground taken in 1885. Instead of an enfranchising, it would be in great degree a disfranchising measure, and it was not founded on any obviously reasonable assumption. The question might be deserving of full discussion, but it could not be settled by the arbitrary vote of the Nottingham Caucus. Lord Hartington further thought that the grievances inflicted by the existing clumsy mode of registering the voters should be removed; that the Land Laws should be simplified so as to render the transfer of land as easy as possible, and so as to enable the smallest landowner to feel that he had the greatest possible interest in improving the land; and that a good Local Government Bill should be passed before the new resolutions of the party Caucus were pushed forward. He admitted also that more careful economy in the management of the public services might with advantage be attempted; but the efforts recently made in this direction had been made chiefly by the Government without any active support from the party which called itself Liberal, and which was now given up to the agitation of Irish Home Rule. In Lord Hartington's belief, while the Home Rule measure advocated would drive away a great deal of capital and credit from Ireland, it would not at all fulfil the aspirations of the Nationalist party by whom the demand for Home Rule was chiefly urged.

This attitude towards the Irish question was still more explicitly adopted at the Unionist conference held at Westminster Town Hall (Dec. 8), presided over by Lord Hartington, at which Lord Derby, Lord Selborne, and Mr. Jesse Collings were the chief speakers. In proposing the first resolution, Lord Derby declared that the danger most to be apprehended was that of Home

Rule being granted out of sheer impatience of the question, and the sickness of heart with which it filled people. The only security against that danger was to make people clearly understand that the concession of an Irish Parliament would settle nothing; that the very cheapest price at which any sort of Nationalist content could be bought was the grant of a colonial independence at least as complete as that of Canada, which no statesman in his senses would allow, and which even Mr. Gladstone showed no disposition to concede. It would be much easier to secure content by convincing the Irish that Home Rule was out of the question, just as the Southern States of America were contented by being convinced that Southern independence was out of the question. Even Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues had never professed to be willing to satisfy the aspirations of Irishmen, but only what they called their legitimate aspirations. "They are not fighting," said Lord Derby, "by their own admission, for what the Irish people may think best, but for what they may think best for the Irish people. Well, so are we." As regards Coercion, he supposed nobody liked needless coercion, "though coercion in some form is only another name for civilisation," but he agreed with the man who said that he was all for doing away with the death-penalty, "only, let the murderers begin." He thought Coercion might cease as soon as the National League ceased to coerce. On the question of land purchase, he was opposed to pledging English credit to buy out the landlords, as well as to the State becoming either the creditor or the landlord of the tenants. These views were endorsed by various delegates from different parts of the country, and a resolution on the method of organisation was unanimously adopted. Lord Selborne spoke in support of the second resolution, which expressed entire approval of Lord Hartington's leadership, and in so doing alluded to the great services which Lord Hartington had rendered to the country in upholding the banner of clear Liberalism, which meant independent thought and action against the banner of political popery and infatuation. In acknowledging the resolution, which was passed unanimously, Lord Hartington denied the justice of the charge that the Liberal Unionists had deserted the Liberal party, and declared they had no intention of abandoning their title as Liberals solely because a new doctrine had been promulgated for the party which only a short time previously had been repudiated by them all. He admitted that the future of the parliamentary representation of the party depended on circumstances which could not then be forecast. They might pretty well give up any idea of reconciliation for the next election with the section of the Liberal party from which they had separated themselves, and he feared that the differences between them were not tending in the direction of becoming narrower, but of becoming broader. The parliamentary representation of the Unionist party depended on the present under-



standing with the Conservative party being maintained, which had nothing in it of which they needed to be ashamed; but whatever might be the fate of that representation, the Unionists would still remain a force to be reckoned with in the constituencies for preventing the return of Separatist candidates. Until the proposal of an Irish Parliament in Dublin was abandoned, he believed there was no alternative remaining to Unionists but to take their stand upon the maintenance of the legislative union of Great Britain and Ireland.

In the evening a banquet was held in St. Stephen's Hall and attended by upwards of seven hundred persons, Lord Hartington presiding. In proposing the toast of the evening, "The Unionist Cause," the Duke of Argyll, with reference to the changing opinions of Liberals, declared that it was just as useful to taunt the Liberals with their inconsistencies as the chameleons in the Zoological Gardens with their changing colours. The chameleons would reply that it was their proper business to change colour, and the Liberals, if they were frank, would make the same report. He then enlarged on the enormous services which Irishmen had rendered to the British Parliament, and on the enormous services which they would continue to render to it, if once we could get rid of a certain type of Irish representatives. And he ended with a splendid peroration, giving his own interpretation to the prayer, 'God save Ireland' "from the lawless men who deprive the poor of their liberty and their life; from members of Parliament who denounce courageous resistance to the National League as ruffianism; from statesmen who make Ireland the game of party politics"; and, lastly, said the Duke, "God save Ireland, to continue as she has been now for many years, an integral part of that United Kingdom which promises to all her citizens perfect freedom and liberty of action."

Mr. Goschen, in acknowledging the toast, alluded to his visit to Dublin, and said that many of those who had attended the meeting in Leinster Hall gave proof of their earnestness by the risks they had run, for the Nationalist Press had since called upon its readers to boycott the manufacturers and traders present there. Speaking now as a member of the Government, Mr. Goschen added that he had no idea of the Unionist party being shattered. There would not be a single principle—executive, administrative, or fiscal—which would cause any difficulty between the two great sections of the Unionist party. Smaller differences of opinion must be sunk in a cause so much greater than any of those which had hitherto divided them; but no severe test would be put by the Government on the political convictions of any Unionist. Lord Hartington followed, and spoke in a hopeful tone of the future of the Liberal Unionists and of the Irish Loyalists whose political aims and dangers were so much akin.

The closing days of the year, so far from showing a falling off

in the stream of political speeches, were marked by some of the most brilliant of the recess. The tone of personal invective and acrimony became more marked, and the speakers seemed more anxious to assail and humiliate their opponents than to grapple seriously with the difficulties presented by the political situation. Doubtless their audiences found more pleasure in the clever points and well-directed gibes than in the solid arguments with which throughout the autumn they had been surfeited. In this final tourney of the year, the first blow was struck by Sir Geo. Trevelyan at Sunderland, and the last by Mr. Gladstone at Dover. The former, in his principal speech (Dec. 12), addressed to the delegates of the Northumberland and Durham Liberal Association, insisted that Mr. Gladstone's concession to retain the Irish representatives in Parliament was a boon to the Liberal party, and that the promise that the British taxpayer should not be made to pay out the Irish landlords was scarcely less important, and should have sufficed to heal the breach in the Liberal party. But at the Liberal Unionist Conference all ideas of self-government or local government had been thrown to the winds, and there was nothing but repression and penal treatment of political opponents, without one single justification for it except the single assertion that Lord Spencer and he had done the same. Sir George was prepared to allow that, at a time when there were several thousand cases of agrarian crime a year, Lord Spencer and he did take some two or three, or perhaps four, steps which might fairly be quoted as overstepping the line of non-interference with politics. But from the time when Ireland began to be anything like as free from crime as it had not been for years past, they had confined themselves strictly and absolutely and successfully to the punishment of actual and undoubted crime. In another speech on the same occasion, Sir Geo. Trevelyan discussed the question of Disestablishment of the Church, not only in Wales but in Scotland and England, and fully recognised and adopted the principle as part of the Liberal programme of the future.

Mr. Balfour, as the actual holder of the office in which Sir George Trevelyan had acquired his experience of Ireland, was well suited to reply to the latter's arguments. In a speech addressed to his constituents in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, the Chief Secretary (Dec. 14) began by dealing with the charge brought against him by Sir George Trevelyan of having, in 1885, acquiesced in false representations to secure the Irish vote. In reply he quoted from his electoral address, in which he had frankly declared that he would resist "every attempt to loosen the connection" between Great Britain and Ireland, under whatever disguise that attempt might be made; and he had insisted that "to secure order, freedom, and safety for the minority as well as the majority in Ireland," was the great object to be aimed at by his party.

Quickly abandoning a defensive attitude, Mr. Balfour turned the tables with considerable vigour upon Sir George Trevelyan, who reminded him, he said, of "Mr. Pliable" in "The Pilgrim's Progress," who, "after falling into the Slough of Despond, promptly began to use very violent language towards his former companion, and after struggling about in the mud for some time, got out on the wrong side, and ultimately returned to the City of Destruction," where "he was held greatly in derision amongst all sorts of people." Mr. Balfour excused the Conservative alliance with the Parnellites in 1885, on the ground that in 1885 "the Irish came to us," while in 1887 "the Radicals have gone to the Irish"—a somewhat delicate distinction, which did not carry conviction to all his hearers. On the other hand, Mr. Balfour asserted that even Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, whom he would as soon suspect of "fabricating a fact as of writing a sonnet," had been imposed upon by them. He showed that Sir George Trevelyan, who had accused him of evicting Irish farmers "in crowds," had evicted in one quarter 853, where the present Government had evicted in the corresponding quarter exactly 132. Again, the same speaker, in his anxiety to demonstrate the improvement in the Irish Press, had quoted from *United Ireland* a strong denunciation of a crime of which that journal had expressly suggested that the police were the originators, and had omitted in his quotation the sentence which showed the denunciation to be a blow at the police. Mr. Balfour also exposed the misstatements of Mr. Dillon on the subject of two Irish convictions, in both of which Mr. Dillon made it appear that no violence had been used by the mob to the police, though in both cases the police were resisted with much violence, and in one of them were severely injured.

Mr. Balfour's brilliant speech, it was admitted, even by his opponents, effectually disposed of many of the legends which were circulated respecting the administration of the law in Ireland, and possibly, but for the susceptibilities it aroused, might have passed unanswered for the time. But the exigencies of party warfare needed a prompt reply, and Sir William Harcourt, speaking at the other end of the kingdom, at Bournemouth (Dec. 15), stated, in more than his usually trenchant style, the case of the Radical Home Rulers, and their view of the way in which Ireland was being administered by the Tories. He began by assuring his audience that it was really the position of the Dissident Liberals which rested on false and unfounded statements. They knew perfectly well that Mr. Gladstone's party did not wish to set up Ireland as an independent State. What Mr. Gladstone proposed was an Irish Parliament subordinate and subject to the Imperial Parliament, and that principle was accepted at the Round Table Conference by Mr. Chamberlain and Sir George Trevelyan on behalf of the Dissident Liberals.

He contradicted in detail nearly every one of Mr. Balfour's

assertions as to law and facts, and declared that the law was being administered in Dublin and London in a totally different spirit, and concluded his speech by a panegyric on the Lord Mayor of Dublin, whom Mr. Balfour had cast into prison.

In a very different tone, but possibly with quite as much permanent effect, Lord Rosebery at Huddersfield (Dec. 15) addressed himself especially to Mr. Goschen's speech at the Unionist Conference, and argued that, from motives of prudence, it was important to conciliate Ireland, in view of future Continental complications, and he urged that foreign nations were fully aware that Ireland was the fault in our armour where England was most vulnerable.

Lord Herschell's contribution to the discussion was even more impartial and judicial. Speaking at Newcastle-on-Tyne (Dec. 18) he urged with great force of instance and argument that the condition of England and Ireland was so different that it was practically impossible really to provide for both by the agency of the same legislature without greatly endangering the character of either English or Irish legislators. After eighty years the experiment of the Union had failed in conciliating the Irish people, and it was, in his opinion, most important to concede what would convert Ireland from a hostile to a friendly attitude.

In Lord R. Churchill's speech at Stockport (Dec. 15) there was nothing very new or striking beyond his confidence in the prospects of the Unionists, and his noteworthy silence on the subject of Fair Trade or Protection. He maintained that the "Dartford programme" was still and would remain the programme of the Conservative party; and that the heavy arrears of legislation it indicated, must be dealt with without further delay. Lord R. Churchill was very reticent on the subject of foreign politics, which at the moment were occupying men's thoughts almost to the exclusion of Ireland; for Russian armaments were being continued, in spite of the explanations given by Prince Bismarck, and his ostentatious deference to Russian views and wishes with regard to Prince Ferdinand and Bulgaria. It was therefore with considerable interest that Lord Salisbury's promised visit to Derby (Dec. 19), the centre of Sir William Harcourt's popularity, was anticipated, in the hope that the Foreign Secretary would give some clue to the state of the European horizon. Nor was this expectation wholly disappointed, although Lord Salisbury spoke with a caution and reticence he seldom displayed. As far, he said, as diplomatic information went, there was no ground for the terror which had seized the newspapers of Europe; but "it is impossible that these vast armaments, constantly growing, can continue to watch each other without creating some well-founded solicitude. With these great, heavy, overcharged clouds, charged with the electricity of war, coming closer and closer, who shall be bold enough to prophesy that at any given time the thunderclap shall not ensue? The rulers of

Europe are anxious for peace, but great waves of popular sentiment are sweeping over the nations, and no man knows what impulse they may give to the men whom they seem to obey, but whom they in reality govern."

Lord Salisbury then passed on to answer Sir W. Harcourt, and ended with a historic sketch of the relation of the two islands. He showed that from the beginning of the Tudor period Englishmen had found in every crisis a great danger in Ireland, and had met it by renewed attempts to bring that country more closely within their own political system. The same danger had arisen in Scotland the moment the absolute monarchy ceased, and the Revolution was followed by the Scottish Act of Union. That Act had succeeded; but circumstances had in that case been fortunate, for no Mr. Gladstone had risen to nourish and exaggerate all causes of political difference. The work of union had been accomplished there, as in France, and Italy, and Germany; and it would be accomplished in Ireland also if the constituencies, remembering their grand inheritance of empire, would but will "consolidation."

To this speech Mr. Gladstone found an opportunity of replying on the very eve of his seventy-ninth birthday. Leaving Hawarden for Italy, for the unification of which he had done so much in earlier life, he was received with the customary enthusiasm at the various places at which his train stopped, and at some uttered a few words of encouragement to his supporters. At Dover he arranged to make a regular address to the Kentish Liberals, presided over by Mr. Philip Stanhope, an advanced Radical, but closely related to Lord Salisbury's Secretary for War. Mr. Gladstone seized the occasion of his connection with an old Whig family to pay a tribute to the Whig families of a hundred years ago, the Cavendishes and Fitzwilliams. He took credit for the support he had given to Lord Salisbury's foreign policy, and expressed the strongest conviction that, whatever might be the dangers threatening European peace, England ought to keep out of the embroilment. As to Free Trade, he feared that Liberals could not rely upon the Government, and he examined the acts, or words, of Mr. Goschen and Lord Hartington to show what little reason existed for expecting that they would support Free Trade. Mr. Bright would not support Protection, but in dealing with the question Liberals would have to rely upon the mass of the people. He thought that if the Government delayed the introduction of the Local Government Bill until after Easter, it would be an undisguised mockery. Mr. Gladstone then criticised in detail the action of the Government in Ireland. Remarking that the great disease of Ireland is the estrangement of the people from the law, he said: "Do you think that when the Irish people see the Lord Mayor of Dublin, a courteous, accomplished, estimable man, of whom I may speak from my own knowledge, sent to prison—do you think

it is possible that any thing can more tend to demoralise them and widen the breach that separates them from the law of the country? The whole power and voice of the people are on one side, and the other is from Dublin Castle backed by Lord Salisbury when he speaks at Derby, and it is the voice of Lord Salisbury coming to them as a foreign voice, telling them that English institutions and English consolidation are to be forced upon them whether they like it or not, and that all the principles of freedom on which our empire is founded are in their case to be set aside. He ought to reverse the opinion which prevails throughout all the British colonies and the Anglo-Saxon race, and to reverse the judgment of the civilised world with reference to the fact that England, great in power and bright in most of the recollections of her history, has one dark blot and stain which degrades her dealings with the sister island, which, instead of being as they ought to be an honour to the greatest of free countries, would be a dishonour to the most despotic and enslaved community."

Apart from all its other qualities, Mr. Gladstone's speech was a marvellous display of mental and physical vigour for a man whose years so nearly approached fourscore. But brilliant in its rhetoric, and incisive in its criticisms, it failed to bring conviction to followers who were not already of their leader's way of thinking. Nothing, perhaps, was at once more striking and more painful than the widening gulf which separated Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright; and there can be little doubt that the latter's plain, straightforward letters, which from time to time appeared, did more to make the surrender of the Radical Unionists impossible than all the speeches of the apologists of that group. We have seen how Sir George Trevelyan found the strain put upon him by his alliance with the Conservatives intolerable; and it is not difficult to suppose that his return to his quondam leader would have been followed by others of less note, but for the solid arguments and blunt common sense with which Mr. Bright's letters provided them. In one case, that of Mr. Buchanan, who represented the western division of Edinburgh, Sir George Trevelyan's example was contagious; but his return to the Gladstonians was balanced by the defection of Mr. Lacaita, one of the members for Dundee, who saw in the Liberal opposition a wanton obstruction of all public business, and refused to admit that the Crimes Act was aimed at offences because of their political origin, and that it was framed with the view of the suppression of the liberty of speech so long as that liberty was not made the cloak for subverting law and order. Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Lacaita, finding themselves no longer in sympathy with the majorities by which they had been sent to Westminster, announced their intention of resigning their seats as soon as Parliament re-assembled—a decision qualified by some as quixotic, but by all as most honourable.

The close of the year was marked by the announcement in the *Dublin Gazette* that the Irish Land Commissioners, in the exercise of the powers conferred upon them by the Land Act of the previous session, had reduced all the judicial rents fixed since 1881, by sums varying from 6 to 20 per cent. The average was about 14 per cent. And consequently the reduction on the 114,647 judicial rents to which it applied, amounted to about 360,000*l.* per annum—a loss which in theory fell upon the landlords. But, inasmuch as in the majority of cases, they had already lost all hopes of getting their arrears in full, the “Conservative” treatment to which they were called upon to submit was perhaps less distasteful than it would otherwise have been. In so far, however, as such a reduction of arrears threw doubt upon the fixity of the actual rentals, the sale value of all Irish estates was seriously affected; and the beginning of an outcry from the landlords against the Government was beginning to make itself heard as the year closed.

The domestic history of the Jubilee year, so far as politics were concerned, might be summed up in two words, “impotence” and “unrest.” The Opposition had shown itself strong enough and sufficiently united to render all general legislation hopeless; but it was powerless to prevent the passage of one or two measures, which it denounced as fatal to the peace of the Empire. The spirit of unrest, in spite of all official assurances to the contrary, wandered over Ireland as freely at the end as at the beginning of the year, and symptoms of its influence were to be traced in Scotland, Wales, and even in London itself. The Government had, it is true, successfully asserted its right to proclaim public meetings in both Tipperary and Trafalgar Square; but in neither countries had it obtained its end without stirring up bitter feelings and rousing angry passions. But if the Ministry were no weaker at the close than at the commencement of the year, the Opposition were no stronger. The four seats gained by the Gladstonians in the earlier part of the year had not been followed up by subsequent successes, and in the most recent elections they had been signally unfortunate. The Government, on the other hand, had managed to bring the year to a close without making that open admission of their weaknesses which would have been augured from a remodelling of the Cabinet. Over and over again it was positively announced by organs of the Opposition, that Lord Hartington would take the premiership and leadership of the House of Commons, with Lord Salisbury as Foreign Secretary for his colleague in the Upper House. But the year closed without any modification of the Ministry, even in its lowest offices; and hostile critics were reduced to admit that the collapse of the Conservative Government was delayed until they had formulated their programme for the coming session. Moreover, the menacing aspect of affairs on the Continent had some restraining influence on a large body of Liberals out-

side the parliamentary followers of Mr. Gladstone. His unfortunate influence on our foreign policy at a critical juncture was not forgotten. It was felt by many, even of his warmest admirers, that at a moment when the slightest accident might set in motion the armed millions of Europe, the return to office of a statesman who would probably devote his attention to the settlement of the Irish question to the exclusion of every other, would be perilous in the extreme. The leaders of the Opposition even when more passionately arraigning the Government for its misdeeds, recognised this danger, and seemed, even in their most fervid demonstrations, to postpone the overthrow of Lord Salisbury to some remote period, when the rivalries of continental Europe should have become somewhat less acute, and the grievances of Ireland should assert themselves in a fashion less compromising to those who made a platform of their sympathies with that sorely-tried country.

## CHAPTER VI.

### SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.

1. SCOTLAND.—Political Campaign.—Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Lacaita.—Disestablishment.—The Crofters.—Revival of Trade.
2. IRELAND.—The Plan of Campaign.—The New Chief Secretary.—The Riots at Mitchelstown.—The Woodford Meeting.—Imprisonment of the Lord Mayor of Dublin.—Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Wilfrid Blunt.—Visits of Unionist Leaders.

#### SCOTLAND.

The political history of Scotland during the year had little to distinguish it from its neighbour. Its electors and non-electors, like those of England, were by turns confirmed, exhorted, and warned by the leaders of the three great parties of which Parliament was composed. Most of these meetings have already been alluded to in the general survey of the political situation; and the incidents of the Glasgow election, which proved Mr. Gladstone's hold upon the electorate of that great centre to be unbroken, have been narrated in a previous chapter. It may be mentioned, however, that the Gladstonian Liberals had been represented at various times and places by Mr. Campbell Bannerman, Sir Horace Davey, Mr. Childers, and Lord Rosebery, who placed before their hearers the alternative between coercion and conciliation as the means of governing Ireland. In this they were ably seconded by Mr. Michael Davitt, Mr. Dillon, Mr. John O'Connor and others, who pleaded the cause of Home Rule with an earnestness of conviction which awoke the sympathy of their hearers. The Liberal Unionists who numbered sixteen among the Scotch representatives found the lines which separated them from the Gladstonian Liberals growing deeper and wider, and



in two constituencies—Edinburgh (west) and Dundee—the respective members, Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Lacaita announced their intention of resigning the trust committed to them by their electors. Mr. Buchanan had been elected by the Unionist vote, and found his sympathies drawn towards the Gladstonian section, whilst Mr. Lacaita, elected by a thoroughly Gladstonian body, saw in the hindrances placed by the Opposition in the way of legislation, an organised attempt to obstruct the constitutional functions of Parliament.

With regard to the questions especially affecting Scotland small progress was made in forcing either Home Rule for Scotland or Disestablishment into a prominent position. Mr. John Morley emphatically condemned any attempt to bring the former question into the field of practical politics. The Disestablishment question was kept in the foreground chiefly by the agency of the clergy, and within their ranks the agitation was undoubtedly kept up in the usual spirit; but this feeling was scarcely, if at all, reflected by the lay public. In January it was announced that three associations for the promotion of disestablishment in Scotland—the Scottish Council of the Liberation Society, the Scottish Disestablishment Association, and the Society for procuring Religious Equality in Scotland—had combined their action, and had been amalgamated in the Disestablishment Council for Scotland, and an elaborate statement was issued by the new body, insisting, with all the old vehemence, on the necessity for immediate disestablishment and disendowment; but the appeal met with no hearty response. In February the General Council of the Scottish Liberal Association, reconstituted after the withdrawal, or the expulsion, of the Unionist element, framed new rules and constructed a new platform, in which disestablishment found a place; but its place was simply one of recognition, not one requiring immediate action, and in point of fact no action has followed in that line. The General Assemblies met as usual in May, and although Principal Rainy was Moderator of the Free Church, the disestablishment question excited little interest, little hopefulness, and consequently little enthusiasm. Certain remarks made by Mr. Gladstone at Nottingham were interpreted, on the one hand, as holding out a promise of disestablishment in Scotland, and, on the other hand, as offering it as a bribe to his Home Rule followers in the North. The notion of a bribe was promptly repudiated; and the promise, if such it was, had very little effect on the ranks of the Radical Unionists. Nevertheless, the relations between the Established Church and the Free Church underwent certain modifications in the course of the year. The negotiations which had for some time been going on for co-operation, if not for union, were brought to a fruitless conclusion in February; whilst, on the other hand, the minority of the Free Church party, composed of those who were opposed to disestablishment, urged that their claims should be

recognised in Mr. Finlay's Bill; and had that measure been pressed to a conclusion, it is possible that a refusal of their claims might have led to some unexpected results in the field of purely lay politics.

The grievances of the crofters and cottars in the Highlands, and disturbances connected therewith, attracted public notice, and engaged the attention of the Government as well as of the local authorities all through the year. In the last week of 1886 (we follow the able summary given by the *Times*, Jan. 2, 1888) nine men were tried at Inverary for rioting at Easdale, in Argyleshire. Five of the charges were withdrawn, but four were proved, two of the prisoners being sentenced to sixty days' and two others to thirty days' imprisonment. In the first week of January two other sets of rioters were tried. In the case of eight Garalapin prisoners the charges against two were withdrawn, and the other six were acquitted. Seven Herabusta crofters were tried, of whom three were sentenced to two months' and four to one month's imprisonment. In passing sentence Lord Young uttered a significant warning that such offenders would have to be dealt with less leniently in the future. At the same time, the crofters were encouraged in their resistance to the law and its officers by meetings of their sympathisers both in Edinburgh and in Glasgow. Some time afterwards a little excitement was caused by the arrest of two Skye crofters when in bed, and after that it was found possible to serve notices in Skye without opposition. The two crofters in question were tried in Portree in February; one was dismissed, the other was sentenced to one month's imprisonment. Nevertheless the agitation continued. The tenants on the Ellore estate, in Aberdeenshire, following the example of Ireland, adopted the Plan of Campaign, and the speeches of Mr. Michael Davitt in Dornach, Dingwall, and at other places in the Highlands, tended to keep the excitement alive. Further encouragement was given to the malcontents by decisions partially favourable to the crofters in an action for wrongful apprehension raised against Sheriff Ivory, who agreed to pay the pursuer 25*l.*, with costs. Meantime, a branch of the Land League was established in Skye, and a conference of Land Law reformers was held at Oban. There was a fresh outbreak of lawlessness in the island of Lewis in November, when an army of discontented and impoverished cottars made a well-organised raid on the deer forest of Lochs, and slaughtered a number of deer. The prompt appearance on the scene of disturbance of the Royal gunboat "Seahorse" checked the raiders, and the ringleaders by-and-by surrendered themselves. At the same time there was a similar and sympathetic movement on the opposite mainland. Certain pasture lands belonging to the Duke of Sutherland, at Clashmore, in Assynt, were seized by crofters and cottars, who drove their cattle on to them day after day. The tenant, whose lease had nearly expired, was an innkeeper, and the seizure was made

although the Duke had promised to give the land to the crofters when the lease fell in. The crofters claimed the land as theirs, alleging that their forefathers had been unjustly deprived of it. They also objected to the best of the land being rented "to a man of means who had hotels in different parts of the country." Fires occurred at more than one of the Duke's farm-steadings, which aroused suspicions of incendiarism. To bring the offenders to justice in this case was not found to be so easy a matter as in the case of the Lewis. The ringleaders escaped to the hills, and concealed themselves in caves which strangers could not reach. At length the gunboat "Seahorse" was despatched to Lochinver, to protect and support the police in the discharge of their duty. The Commissioners appointed under the Crofters' Act continued their thankless duties, for although in Sutherland, Caithness, Skye, and Uist the reduction of rents varied from 20 to 50 per cent., the discontent of the crofters seemed to be but little diminished. Even in South Uist, where Lady Cathcart waived her claim to object to leaseholders fixing their own rents, her forbearance was met by no display of gratitude. The conclusion, however, was arrived at that many of the Western Isles were far too densely populated in proportion to their power of producing food or affording remunerative employment, and amongst the various schemes of relief suggested was that Government should advance a sum of money (150,000*l.*) to enable a thousand or more deserving families to emigrate to British Columbia, where the colonial authorities would offer them allotments of fertile land.

The revival of trade which had been making itself gradually felt elsewhere, extended to Scotland early in the year. The change was necessarily marked by various trade disputes. The miners in the south-west districts went out on strike at different times, but in every case resumed work at an advanced rate of wages, although not perhaps sufficiently increased to compensate the men for the losses they had incurred during the period of the strikes.

#### IRELAND.

The Jubilee year opened for Ireland with far more hope than probably any of its predecessors of the Queen's reign. On the part of the Nationalists, who formed three-fifths of the population, there were hopes that, in spite of the defeat of Mr. Gladstone's policy, the days of coercion and repression had gone by; whilst the less impatient among them were satisfied to await the outcome of the new article which had been added to the political faith of English Liberals. The Unionists, or by whatever other name it is thought fit to designate the Ulster Loyalists and Conservatives, were also hopeful that the strong majority which in Parliament supported the principles of the Union would convince the Nationalists of the uselessness of the struggle. Finally it is

only fair to suppose that both parties entertained hopes that the ordinary law would be found sufficient to maintain order and good government. These hopes were, however, destined to be frustrated, and there is too much reason to fear that the close of the Jubilee year found Ireland still more disaffected, though possibly less outwardly disturbed, than that unhappy country was represented to be at its commencement. On this occasion, moreover, this reaction of feeling cannot honestly be traced to foreign causes. The course of Irish history throughout the year was marked by the conflict of the purely national feeling with the dominant race, and coming as it did after a period when better hopes had dawned, it seemed to throw back the cause of Ireland to something worse than its former despondency.

The attitude assumed by the Executive Government towards the "Plan of Campaign" was inevitable, for the writings of Mr. W. O'Brien in *United Ireland* and the speeches of Mr. Dillon and his friends in various places showed strongly the desire of the latter to bring about a trial of force. The Parnellites, indeed, defended themselves with considerable astuteness by urging that the "Plan of Campaign" which they were urging tenants to adopt against extortionate landlords was in reality, only in another form, the pressure which the Chief Secretary had brought to bear in cases where impossible rents had been demanded. The objection, however, taken by onlookers to the "Plan of Campaign" was that in many cases it was brought to bear indiscriminately on bad and good landlords, and it was shown that in certain instances landlords even who had displayed excessive leniency towards, and care for, their tenants found the latter directed to pay their rents to some perfect stranger. This was notably the case of Mr. George Brooke, of Celbridge, co. Wexford, who was singled out by Mr. Dillon (Jan. 16), in a speech at Enniscorthy, as a landlord against whom the campaign should be prosecuted. In presence of such attacks upon peaceful citizens the Executive could not remain a passive spectator, and Mr. Dillon and five others were accordingly prosecuted. The evictions at Glenbeigh which followed at a short interval showed that, however rational and beneficent the ultimate aims of the National League might be, that body enforced its methods in a way which entailed terrible sufferings on the tenantry. The struggle for supremacy with the National League was thus forced upon the Executive Government, which, whatever may have been its misgivings as to the rights of some of its clients, had no alternative but to give them the benefits of the law under which they lived. The managers of the "Plan of Campaign" proposed to establish receivers in those districts where there were disputes as to rentals. These receivers should take from the tenants such rent as was decided amongst themselves to be justly due, and would hold it in trust for the landlords until such time as they were ready to come to terms about re-letting

their land at reduced rates. It was not necessary for Mr. Sexton to accuse the Government, as he did in the House of Commons (Feb. 11), of "ungovernable jealousy of the authors of the 'Plan of Campaign'" as the reason for prosecuting Mr. Dillon and his associates. On the same day the Irish Court of Appeal had finally decided that the "Plan" was illegal and involved a fraudulent concealment of property, constituting an act of bankruptcy. Mr. Dillon nevertheless escaped the penalties of the law for inciting tenants not to pay rent to their landlords. After a tedious trial, the jury—according to report equally divided—failed to agree, and the accused persons were allowed to go free. Mr. Sexton had nevertheless been able to bring before the House of Commons in an informal manner (Feb. 17) the question of jury-packing in Ireland, and to point out the anomaly under which in a country where Catholics predominate in the population Protestants were more commonly represented on special and common juries.

Throughout the struggle which had been going steadily forward in one direction ever since Mr. Parnell first "took off his coat," the Roman Catholic clergy had been identifying themselves more and more each year with the national cause. The curates, who were the first to throw in their lot with neighbours as poor as themselves, were after a while followed by the parish priests, and these carried with them sooner or later the majority of the bishops. It was reserved to Archbishop Croke to give a plain, outspoken support to the "Plan of Campaign," and to supplement its programme by a suggestion which at first was interpreted as an invitation to the people to pay no taxes. The Archbishop hastened to explain his words and to declare himself in favour of the policy of constitutional agitation, so successfully pursued by the Irish party. It was not surprising if, under such excitements, order should from time to time be disturbed; but the large bodies of troops and constabulary, which the Government moved rapidly from one part of the country to another, kept the people within bounds. At Belfast and at Youghal encounters between the police and the mob took place; and at the latter place the disturbance was mainly due to the sympathy shown to Father Kelleher by his parishioners when it became known that the Government proposed to prosecute him for refusing to answer certain questions in the Irish Bankruptcy Court. These questions related to sums of money received from tenants under the "Plan of Campaign," and could not, according to Father Kelleher, be revealed without betraying the confessional secrecy he owed to his parishioners. Whether this and similar proceedings would have been taken by the Executive had Sir M. Hicks-Beach retained the post of Chief Secretary was a matter of considerable discussion. It was, however, at this juncture that his resignation (March 5) was announced, and, although there was abundant evidence that his state of health rendered immediate cessation

from work necessary, it was asserted in various quarters that the Chief Secretary was not altogether in accord with his colleagues as to the government of Ireland. He was a man of courteous bearing, keenly anxious to be fair and impartial with the people under his control. He was known to have stood between tyrannical landlords and oppressed tenants, and the knowledge of this fact had done much to make his name respected and, as far as possible, English rule acceptable throughout the country.

The choice of his successor was a surprise for most persons. Mr. A. J. Balfour, although he had sat in the House of Commons for Hertford since 1874, had only made himself conspicuous as a member of Lord R. Churchill's memorable "Fourth Party," of which Mr. Gorst and Sir H. Drummond Wolff made up the *partie carrée*. As to Mr. Balfour's abilities no doubts were entertained, but few of his colleagues anticipated that he would display them to advantage in a post which had marred so many careers, destroyed so many hopes, and shattered so many ambitions. In the management of the Crimes Bill, detailed elsewhere, Mr. Balfour displayed a readiness of resource, a persistency of purpose, and, his enemies added, a recklessness of consequences which contributed much to the carrying of the Government Bill in the teeth of the forces allied against it. The selection of Colonel King-Harman as assistant to the Chief Secretary was, from the Irish Nationalist point of view, scarcely so fortunate. In previous Parliaments Colonel King-Harman had seemed at least to sympathise with those of his countrymen whom he was now accused of having deserted; and the Parnellites showed no pity or quarter in the interrogatories they daily administered to the Chief Secretary's deputy. The parliamentary history of the year is related elsewhere. It is sufficient to record here that, by a sad fatality, the celebration of the Queen's Jubilee in England almost coincided with the enforcement of the Crimes Act in Ireland.

The Nationalist leaders lost no time in taking the field against the Executive. Within a few days of the Act becoming law Mr. Davitt visited Bodyke (July 24), which had been the scene of some notorious evictions, and distributed medals to those who had resisted the police on that occasion. He accused himself and his colleagues of having displayed too much consideration with regard to the "Plan of Campaign," and declared that they ought to have insisted upon 60 or 70 or 80 per cent. reduction of rent, instead of being content with 15 or 20 per cent. In conclusion, he seemed to suggest that evictions were in themselves criminal, and that it was the duty of tenants to resist them. To this challenge the Government replied by proclaiming Ireland generally to be under Clause II. of the Crimes Act, so far as regarded rioting, unlawful assembly, obstructing the police, and holding unlawful possession by forcible means.

Notwithstanding this warning, or possibly in consequence of

it, Mr. W. O'Brien, M.P., the editor of *United Ireland*, went to Mitchelstown (Aug. 9) to encourage those of the population who were ready to resist the police in the execution of their duty. After slight hesitation the Government proclaimed (under Clause VI. of the Crimes Act) the National League to be a dangerous association, and announced that specific branches of it, by which intimidation and boycotting were being carried on, would be dealt with under Clause VII. as the necessities of each case suggested, and ordered Mr. O'Brien to be prosecuted. In the interval previous to the trial Mr. O'Brien presided at the meeting of the National League held in Dublin (Aug. 30), and, after attacking the Government bitterly for its action, asserted that the Land Commission was a mere puppet in the hands of the landlords. "Justice O'Hagan," he said, "might have raised instead of lowering the rents unless some wholesome intimidation had been applied. There should be no shilly-shallying, but fair reduction given to the Irish people, or they would be driven back on their own organisation, or go in for some sweeping, radical, and universal 'Plan of Campaign' all along the line." This meeting was followed by the summoning of a local meeting at Ballycoree, near Ennis (Sept. 8). This was at once proclaimed, but the Nationalists succeeding in holding one or two smaller meetings in the neighbourhood, which were addressed by Mr. Dillon, M.P., Mr. Philip Stanhope, M.P., and Mr. W. O'Brien; but although the troops and constabulary appeared upon the ground no collision ensued. Matters did not pass off so quietly at Mitchelstown, co. Cork, where Mr. W. O'Brien and Mr. J. Mandeville were summoned at the petty sessions (Sept. 9) to answer for their action in relation to the "Plan of Campaign" and the Kingston estates. It was well known that they would disregard the summons, and so in fact they did. But a great deal of interest naturally centred on Mitchelstown and the judicial proceedings, and it was arranged that a meeting should be held there upon the day indicated. In the morning the proceedings at the Court House had gone on in the absence of Mr. William O'Brien and Mr. Mandeville. The witnesses for the prosecution were examined, and warrants were issued for the arrest of the two defendants. When, and only when, the proceedings at the Court House had concluded the preparations for the popular demonstration began. The various contingents from the country side marched into the town. A long procession of cars came in from Cahir, bringing with them Mr. John Dillon, M.P., Mr. Labouchere, M.P., Mr. Condon, M.P., and Mr. Brunner, M.P., with several priests, prominent members of the National League, and many English sympathisers—some of whom were ladies. The members of Parliament received an enthusiastic welcome from the momentarily increasing crowd, and a sort of procession being formed the whole body moved slowly through the town, escorted by bands playing national airs, to the square in the

centre of the town. So far the condition of things was similar to that which had characterised every one of the numerous meetings at which English, as well as Irish, members of Parliament had been present.

The meeting was to be held in the great open square of Mitchelstown, where an assemblage of some 8,000 persons soon gathered together. Mr. John Dillon had just begun to address the meeting when a disturbance arose on the outskirts of the crowd. The Government reporter had put in a late appearance, and was endeavouring, with the aid of some twenty policemen, to force his way through the dense crowd to the cars from which the speeches were to be made. It must be borne in mind that the Nationalists had never placed the slightest difficulty in the way of the presence of the Government reporter at any of their meetings. Had the Mitchelstown reporter applied in the ordinary way, and in good time, he would have had no trouble whatever in finding his due place on the temporary platform. But to appear on the outskirts of a vast crowd tightly wedged together after the proceedings had begun was an act of amazing folly—worse than folly in this instance. Instead of making a peaceable effort to get to the platform the police escort strove to force their way roughly through the crowd. It would have been almost impossible for them to have got through on any terms—on these terms it was absolutely impossible. The men on the edge of the crowd resented the police hustling, and the escort retired for further strength. The crowd was then completely quiet, and Mr. Dillon was proceeding with his speech when the police again appeared, this time strongly reinforced, and again tried to make their way to the platform. What began as a scuffle ended in a struggle, and the police, overpowered by the numbers of the crowd, made the best of their way back to their barracks. They seem to have brought with them a feeling of panic, for as soon as they found themselves under cover a volley was fired from the windows—in self-defence according to Mr. Balfour and the official apologists, in cold blood according to Mr. Labouchere and others who were present. The results in any case were most lamentable. One old man was shot dead, a young man was mortally wounded, and several others were more or less seriously injured. Mr. Dillon, who was present, exerted himself to his utmost in keeping back the people, who were eager to attack the barracks, and he at length persuaded the resident magistrate to withdraw the police and to allow the crowd to disperse quietly; and, thanks to the influence of the priests and nationalistic leaders, no more bloodshed ensued. A subsequent and protracted inquiry held at Mitchelstown showed that the police had acted in a most reckless and apparently unauthorised manner. The coroner's jury (Oct. 12) returned a verdict of wilful murder against the county inspector and three constables, but no steps were taken by the Executive to attach the blame to any of its



officers, and "Remember Mitchelstown" became a political watchword, which will long stir sad memories.

The policy of the Government was not, however, relaxed by episodes of this nature. Acting under the power conferred on them, they issued proclamations suppressing the National League throughout the greater part of south-western Ireland, thereby rendering the branches of the League unlawful associations, and making it an offence for any person to call together the members, to publish their proceedings, or to receive their funds. The need for some special activity in the county Clare, where moonlighting was carried on with unbroken success, was shown by the circumstances which attended the murder of Head-constable Whelehan (October 2), who, having learnt the intention of the moonlighters, had attempted to defend the house of a "land-grabber." After a severe struggle, in which the head-constable was brutally killed, the majority of the attacking party were secured, but the coroner's jury, in face of the strongest evidence, refused to bring in a verdict of murder against the prisoners.

Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., and Mr. J. Mandeville were tried (Sept. 24) for their action in connection with the Kingston estates and sentenced to imprisonment. They appealed, and pending the hearing a meeting was called to protest against the severity and evictions which had marked Lord Clanricarde's proprietorship of the Woodford (Kerry) estates (Oct. 16).

The meeting at Woodford was proclaimed and large bodies of troops and constabulary were sent into the district to preserve order. For a while there was great fear that there would be some collision more fatal than Mitchelstown, for the Nationalists declared that they would hold their meeting, and the Executive were evidently determined to enforce their own will with the strong hand. The Nationalists had said nothing, however, about the hour when they intended to hold their meeting, and so when the appointed day came and went with no sign of a meeting anywhere the soldiers and constabulary went contentedly to bed. Then the Nationalists came out. Through the night they poured from all parts to the place of assemblage, torches were lit, and a great meeting was held, singularly picturesque to behold, singularly effective as a political move. Mr. William O'Brien, speaking from a window, burnt the official proclamation of the meeting. The meeting was afterwards addressed by Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, who had come over to Ireland, as the delegate of the English Home Rule Union, to see for himself the actual state of things. Mr. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt was a conspicuous man: an English Catholic gentleman of good family and of strong Conservative opinions, he had passed much of his life in travel, and more especially in the East, where he lived even as a Bedouin among the Bedouins. On the present occasion he escaped the consequences of his devotion to Irish Home Rule, but a little later (Oct. 23) he summoned

another meeting at Woodford, which was also proclaimed, but Mr. Blunt insisted upon holding it, and it was dispersed with some violence by the police. Mr. Blunt was convicted under the Crimes Act and sentenced, but appealed without success, and ultimately had to undergo his term of imprisonment, as had also Mr. W. O'Brien and many others. Over Mr. O'Brien in prison a curious conflict arose. He had announced from the first that he would not submit to wear the prison dress or to perform any menial office. He claimed the privilege of a political prisoner, and refused to be classed among felons. The Executive declined to make any exception in Mr. O'Brien's favour, and during his sleep his clothes were taken away and a prison suit substituted. These he declined to put on, and remained in bed until by some unexplained means a new suit of ordinary clothes was conveyed to his cell, and Mr. O'Brien appeared duly clothed in the presence of the astonished warder.

It is sad to have to add that, in addition to Mr. O'Brien, a number of other Irish National leaders, including many members of Parliament, were the victims of the Crimes Act. Foremost amongst these was Mr. T. D. Sullivan, Lord Mayor of Dublin, the editor and proprietor of the *Nation* newspaper, and even better known as the author of the "national anthem" of the party—"God Save Ireland." In answer to the warning of the Executive, that legal steps would be taken against newspapers reporting the proceedings of suppressed branches of the National League, Mr. Sullivan refused to submit to the restrictions imposed upon the liberty of the press, and continued to publish the reports. The Government retorted by prosecuting him, and (Oct. 6) all Dublin witnessed the curious sight of the chief official of their city, attended by the High Sheriff and the Corporation in their robes of office and preceded by the official mace, going in slow procession through the streets from the Mansion House to take his trial. The trial proved a failure at first. The case was dismissed by the magistrate on the ground that the Crown had not proved that the reported meeting was one of the suppressed branches of the National League. The Lord Mayor returned in triumph to the Mansion House amidst the exclamations of a delighted populace. But the Government was not to be baffled. The technical objection taken by the magistrate was overruled, and on appeal to a superior court the case was remitted for trial by the magistrate, and Mr. Sullivan was found guilty, sentenced, and imprisoned. It is satisfactory, however, to note that in this instance the magistrate insisted that Mr. Sullivan was to be treated as a first-class misdemeanant.

It was at the moment of the first and abortive proceedings against the Lord Mayor that Mr. Chamberlain started on his procession through Ulster, and at a series of meetings held in Belfast and elsewhere he warmly encouraged the "Loyalists" of the province and of the rest of Ireland to resist being trans-

ferred to the rule of a Parliament in Dublin. He maintained (Oct. 12) that Home Rule must, from its limitations, inevitably result in separation and an ever-widening quarrel between the Legislature and the Executive. In a subsequent speech (Oct. 13) Mr. Chamberlain took the more practical ground of contrasting the results of Nationalist self-government as shown in the local administration of Dublin with the economy practised elsewhere, and he argued that, whenever put to the test, the Nationalist members had displayed constructive ability, as evidenced by their criticisms on the Land Act of the previous session. Mr. Chamberlain, in reference to this topic, declared his readiness to buy out the landlords at a low rate without pledging British credit. His plan was to issue debentures to the landlords for the value of their property, the interest being guaranteed by local bodies, who would collect these quit rents, and in the event of any failure on the part of the tenants would levy rates to supply the deficiency. An additional guarantee for the payment of the interest would be found, according to Mr. Chamberlain, in the sums voted in the Imperial Budget for Irish customs, police, and public works.

Neither Mr. Chamberlain's triumphal progress nor the still more elaborately contrived visit of Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen to Dublin (Nov. 29), successful as it also was, could be regarded as throwing any real light upon the attitude of the Irish Nationalists. In Ulster these were but sparsely represented, and had no cause to force themselves upon public notice by useless protests; in Dublin the landlord class and Conservative element were strongly represented, and it would have been contrary to all the traditions of Irish life and political warfare if they had displayed hostility to their Saxon guests. Elaborate police precautions were, it was said, taken to ensure the safety of the visitors; but it may be fairly assumed that they ran less chance of outrage from secret assassins in the streets of Dublin than in their own country. The first meeting at Leinster Hall was attended by four thousand persons, representing every class and interest except the people's—the classes, not the masses. It was therefore not surprising that the speeches should have been ostensibly addressed to this select audience. Lord Hartington denounced the argument that Home Rule should be granted because Irishmen wished for it, and dwelt on the readiness shown by the British Parliament to remove grievances by emancipation, by disestablishment of the Church, and by giving security to tenants. Mr. Goschen addressed himself more particularly to the economic benefits which Ireland derived from the union with Great Britain. He described Home Rule as a "bastard nationalism," which would generate far greater woes for the Irish than it would remove. "The rich might be sent empty away, but the hungry would not be filled with good things." In their subsequent speeches at the banquet given in

their honour (Nov. 30) the English leaders maintained this tone. Mr. Goschen, whilst not denying the value of the instinct of the masses, would not concede that the only qualification for passing a sound political opinion was "to have nothing and to know nothing." The Unionists desired to be able to extend to Ireland all the local institutions which they were prepared to grant to England and Scotland. So long, however, as such institutions were liable to be wrested to partisan objects, it would be reckless to force them upon Ireland.

There was something apposite in these warnings, for just about this time the feud existing between the Fenians and the Nationalists, which for a long time had been slumbering, broke out at the meeting of the Gaelic Athletic Association (Nov. 9) at Thurles. The contest arose over the selection of a chairman, when the priests and the Nationalists found themselves outvoted in the proportion of nearly three to one. They at once withdrew from the association, but the Fenians, who had never hesitated to avow their Separatist wishes, gave no sign of modifying their policy, in spite of the appeals made to them not to endanger the Nationalist cause.

The closing act of the year to Ireland, the reduction of the arrears on judicial rents, has been referred to in the preceding chapter. By the Nationalist press it was said to "combine the very minimum concession to the tenants with the very maximum disregard of the so-called rights of the landlords." At any rate it seemed in direct opposition to all that the Ministry had asserted by the mouths of their chief spokesmen. It did not satisfy the tenants and it infuriated the landlords. Whilst one party saw in it "the last deadliest blow struck against the Irish tenants by those who should be their protectors," the other declared that "neither Davitt nor Dillon had given a severer shock to the interests of the landed proprietors."

In presence of such wide divergences of opinion; in view of the fact that some of the most trusted of the Irish Nationalist leaders were confined in gaol for conscience' sake; and in the knowledge that, official statistics notwithstanding, the area of disaffection had not sensibly diminished, it is no exaggeration to say that for Ireland the Jubilee year ended in despondency, and for its well-wishers in something akin to despair.

# FOREIGN AND COLONIAL HISTORY.

## CHAPTER I.

### FRANCE AND ITALY.

#### I. FRANCE.

In the political history of France the year 1887 will be known as the year of crises, struggles, and dislocation of the public service. At its very outset it was obvious that the Goblet Ministry had but little vitality. It bore, in common with the Budget which it was forced to present to the Chamber, the mark of expectancy, and like it was wanting in both unity and equilibrium. The President of the Council held only the appearance of authority over his colleagues ; he was neither the most popular, nor the most eloquent, nor the most weighty of the members of his Ministry. General Boulanger had more popularity with the crowd ; M. Berthelot, one of the first *savants* of France, was most appreciated by the educated classes ; whilst M. Lockroy stood first in the favour of Parisians. It was, moreover, clear that the majority of the Cabinet was more Radical than the majority of the Chamber. Perhaps a still greater cause of weakness was the wide gulf separating the Moderates, M. Develle and M. Dauphin, from MM. Granet and Boulanger, the favourites of the Extreme Left. Public opinion, moreover, was so unanimous as to the weak resistance which the Government could offer to its adversaries that the rumour of a chance meeting between M. Jules Ferry and M. de Freycinet at the Elysée gave currency to the rumour of a Ministerial crisis. The mere hint of an alliance between the two former Premiers sufficed to arouse stories of a Ministerial crisis and a dissolution of the Chamber. These, combined with alarming presentiments of approaching troubles with Germany, threw no little gloom over the opening year.

The first thing the Ministry had to do was to obtain a two months' Budget and to find some excuse for the Chamber to reconsider its vote relating to the suppression of *sous-préfétures*. M. Goblet, with this view, prepared a Bill which pleased no one. He proposed to suppress 60 out of 273 *sous-préfétures*, and completely recast the administrative districts which dated from the time of the Consulate. In spite of so considerable a change, the Bill only showed a saving of 500,000 francs, which were at once absorbed by the additional travelling allowances accorded to the prefects and their representatives. Simultaneously M.

Dauphin, the Finance Minister, drew up a Budget which promised as little practical advantages as that planned by the President of the Council. The result he had in view was to establish an equilibrium between expenditure and revenue without having recourse to either a fresh loan or new taxes. The solution proposed by the Minister was a meagre saving to be obtained by the suppression of a certain number of tax-collectors (*percepteurs*). The moment, moreover, for effecting these savings was postponed until the death of the existing officials. In order, however, to find some less imaginary millions the Government resolved to propose to the Chamber to revise the legislation of 1844 on the Sugar Bounty question, and to associate the State in the profits which the manufacturers were making.

Nothing could exceed the moderation of the Chamber at the opening of the session (Jan. 11). Members returned from meetings with their electors animated by the best intentions; its officers (those of the preceding year) were nominated at a single sitting, whilst the President, M. Floquet, was elected President almost unanimously. This was a well-deserved tribute. The valuable qualities which the President had displayed in the discharge of his duty—clearness and decision in the control of the debates, absolute impartiality between rival groups, and a ready tongue at the service of sharp wit—were M. Floquet's claims to the confidence of his colleagues. In taking his seat in the presidential chair for the third time (Jan. 13) M. Floquet, after having thanked the Chamber, added a few words of wise counsel: "I sincerely desire," said he, "that amongst the Republicans my friends may bring to bear upon their discussions and transactions that spirit of concord necessary to the peaceful continuance and fruitful existence of the Republic. I wish the Chamber a long life, the strength to carry beneficent reforms, and a clear view of skilful policy."

The Chamber at once showed that it was not the dupe of the Utopists by refusing to recognise as urgent the proposal of M. Aristide Boyer, the Socialist Deputy for Marseilles, for an immediate disarmament. His theory was that if France gave an example other nations would follow, and disband their armies. Another member of the Extreme Left, M. Achard, introduced into the debate on the Budget of the Home Office an amendment for the suppression of the Secret Service Fund. M. Goblet opposed the motion with great vivacity, going so far as to make it a Cabinet question; and, inasmuch as it was the first party vote demanded by the Ministry, the result was a gauge of its strength in the Chamber. Out of 478 members voting, 265 supported the Ministry and the maintenance of the Secret Service Fund, whilst 233 voted on the other side; this minority included scarcely any but members of the Right and those of the Extreme Left, whilst the majority was made up for the most part of the Union of the Lefts (Opportunists) and of the Radical Left.

The group over which M. Clémenceau presided either refrained or voted against the Ministry, which thus found its only solid support in the moderate section of the Republican party. M. Goblet accepted the warning. At this moment most alarming rumours as to the warlike intentions of Germany were current in Paris; the telegrams from Berlin and London brought about a terrible panic on the Bourse, and the need of union amongst Republicans of all shades was urgent. M. Goblet at once struck out of the Ministerial programme every project bearing on the separation of the Church and State. Notwithstanding his former declarations he maintained that the majority of Frenchmen were in no wise disposed to suppress the Budget of public worship, and as a corollary he was prepared to support the Concordat. To show their approval of these doctrines, the Government, on the discussion of the Education and Public Worship Budgets, vigorously opposed the reductions proposed by MM. Burdeau and Millerand, who led off a campaign against the clericals. M. Burdeau wished to exclude from competitions for the Naval School all young men who had been educated in the Jesuit college at Jersey, and M. Millerand called for the suppression of chaplains, both Catholic and Protestant, in all *lycées* and colleges. The Government was supported by the Chamber in refuting these amendments; further, on taking a vote on the principle of the separation of Church and State (Jan. 29, the Government had a majority of 848 against 180.

The earlier days of February passed in a sterile agitation, of which foreign policy furnished the theme. German newspapers commenced a series of bitter attacks upon General Boulanger, whom they represented as a danger to the peace of Europe. Although in some quarters of France these articles found an echo, their immediate result was to increase the influence of the soldier whom they sought to depreciate, and to rally to his support not a few moderate Republicans. The General's popularity rapidly increased to an extent which was disquieting. In presence of the new element suddenly introduced into French politics, the members of the Union of the Lefts (Opportunists) felt the need of rallying their forces and giving a new organisation to their party. With this view a Grand Republican Congress was convoked at Paris (Feb. 17), at which Deputies and Senators met and took counsel with the delegates of 71 departments. M. Steeg, Deputy for the Gironde, and President of the Parliamentary Union of the Lefts, was elected President. He explained with great clearness the serious changes which the tone of politics had undergone throughout the country during the past few years. He showed the Republican party weakened by its very victories—its renewals compromised by the greatly increased cost of electoral expenses, and its influence in the country nullified by its internal divisions. It was decided that a committee should be created with the

view of establishing local societies in every department. All members of existing bodies would be admitted to form part of these societies. The Monarchists on one side and the partisans of violent revolution were alike excluded. In point of fact the project was nothing more than an adaptation of the means employed ten years previously by Gambetta in his struggle with the Government of May 16 and renewed in 1884 by the Comte de Paris. On the present occasion, however, the mistrust existing between the various groups of Republicans was too deeply accentuated to give any hope that an attempt at common action could be realised.

Meanwhile the discussion on the Budget, delayed by numerous amendments, was at length brought to a close (Feb. 11). The Budget in its totality was voted by 378 to 24, and a few days previously a unanimous vote had accorded to the Ministers of War and Marine a credit of 86,000,000 frs. In spite of the thinly disguised menaces of the German newspapers these measures of precaution were voted with a rapidity and ease which denoted the firm intention of France to defend herself if attacked. The dangers from without made the need of greater concord at home more sensible, especially amongst the various groups of politicians, who each in their own way frankly accepted the Republic. M. Raoul Duval, formerly one of the most influential members of the Right during the MacMahon *régime*, set himself to bring about this reunion. He proposed to form a sort of third party in which should coalesce the Liberal Monarchists who held France above the Monarchy and all moderate Republicans. His sudden death before his plan could be tested was regarded as a public misfortune, and political leaders of the hostile camps met behind his coffin. The protectionist policy skilfully profited by the spirit of alarmed patriotism to levy an additional tax upon corn, but it must be admitted that the discussion of this serious proposal was conducted with full and befitting gravity. The debate, however, clearly brought out the want of unity existing in the Ministry, and that on a question of this importance it was ready to follow the majority of the Chamber, but unable to guide it. Moreover, the majority itself was dislocated, and the ordinary groups dispersed. Broadly speaking, it may be said that the Deputies of the great towns and commercial ports voted against the additional tax; those of the agricultural districts, on the other hand, regarding it as insufficient, gave it a lukewarm reception. Hence M. Frederic Passy, Deputy of the Seine, and a thoroughgoing Free Trader, bitterly attacked the law, and the Government which allowed it to pass, without taking a decided line for or against the proposals. He proved that the price of corn in France was higher than in London, and indignantly protested against the idea of still more increasing the functions of the State, as if it were not already too powerful in France! This charge which M. Passy brought against



the Ministry before the Chamber of Deputies was repeated and emphasised before the Senate by M. Léon Say, who had at an earlier period administered the finances of the Republic with no little success. "I look upon the existing Ministers," said he, "as Ministers Plenipotentiary; they are nothing more than an assemblage of a dozen persons who accept the resolutions of the majority, and in no sense fulfil the conditions of a Cabinet." M. Léon Say went on to lay bare the wounds under which the Republican Government was staggering—the multiplication of public works, the construction of railroads, which had only an electoral interest. The power of the Government to resist attacks on the public treasury was diminishing each day in presence of the demands made upon it by the communes to defray the expenses of public education of individuals eager to become functionaries, and by taxpayers who defrauded the revenue with impunity by the help of their representatives in the Chamber. This speech by M. Léon Say coincided with the election of M. Ribot as Deputy for the Pas-de-Calais, and may be regarded as the revival of the old Left Centre party. The statesmen of this party, who for the last ten years had been pushed aside, found a common ground of action in the reform of the Budget. It was impossible not to draw a comparison between such a Budget as M. Léon Say sketched out and that which M. Dauphin presented two months too late. The Senate, moreover, in spite of its protestations of previous years, was called upon to discuss this Budget and a new finance law with unreasonable despatch. In order to close the discussion before the end of the month it held as many as three sittings a day. Several slight modifications were introduced, and it was returned to the Chamber, which promptly struck out an item of 735,000 frs. which the Senate had inserted for the payment of certain officials in the Ministry of Finance. The Budget thereupon was reported afresh to the Luxembourg (Feb. 27), and M. Dauphin implored the Senators to pass it in the form it had been amended by the Deputies, promising at the same time that he would restore by a supplementary vote the sums which had been struck out. M. Léon Say vainly urged the Senate to insist upon its previous decision, but the concessionists carried the day, and the Budget of 1887 was at last voted.

At the beginning of March there came before the public the first of those political and personal scandals of which the year was to witness an increasing series. A newspaper, *La France*, which had become Radical after having for long advocated moderate opinions, accused M. Cordier of having promised a sum of money to whoever would undertake to poison General Boulanger. The Deputy thus charged protested energetically against so infamous an accusation, and ultimately a long and bitter discussion led to no other results than the painful impressions it aroused. It became, however, evident to the more clear-sighted that a

party was in process of formation which had decided to regard General Boulanger as an idol, and to weaken by every possible means the restraints of parliamentary government. The Leandri affair in Corsica furnished fresh arguments in support of this view. An *avocat* editing at Bastia a Bonapartist journal had been sentenced to a month's imprisonment and a somewhat heavy fine for libel; and, imagining himself disavowed by the political personages who subventioned his journal, withdrew to the *mâquis* in order to repair his credit and to organise an insurrection. He succeeded in gathering round himself about sixty persons, and thereupon drew up an appeal to arms, which was placarded in the principal towns of Corsica. This ridiculous rising had, however, no serious results, and it was regarded as probably having been organised in order to provide arguments for an interpellation which the chiefs of the Bonapartist party hoped to force upon the Chamber. But if the material result of Leandri's rising was insignificant, its moral effect was most serious. It seemed as incredible as it was scandalous that in a French department a body of armed rebels could roam about during several days with impunity, discharging their guns, breaking the windows of the houses of Republicans, and setting at defiance the local magistrates. After having dispersed his band Leandri, in spite of the search made for him, remained at large for several months; ultimately he voluntarily gave himself up, and was brought before the Court of Assizes, charged with rebellion and destruction of property, and, to the surprise of all, was acquitted. In Paris the interpellation of M. Cunéo d'Ornano (March 7) on the part played by the Corsican courts and the political condition of the department raised a sharp debate. M. Goblet replied by defending the agents of the Government, and after much recrimination the Bonapartist Deputy withdrew his resolution. The *Temps*, however, the most moderate of journals, undertook on its own account to make a special investigation of the matter. It despatched to Corsica one of the most active and intelligent members of its staff, the outcome of whose inquiries it subsequently published. According to him Corsica appeared to be in a complete state of anarchy. The friends and *protégés* of the influential people in the island enjoyed complete immunity; their adversaries, pursued by the legal authorities, had no other remedy than open force; in a word, this inquiry, which not only was not contradicted, but which all parties admitted to be trustworthy, proved that one French department was almost wholly lawless.

After a debate lasting upwards of a month, the Chamber brought to a close (March 14) the discussion on the new corn tax. M. Rouvier as energetically opposed the additional duty as M. Meline, a former Minister of Agriculture, warmly supported it, but it was ultimately voted by 393 to 291, and the Bill was forthwith sent to the Senate. The adhesion of the

Upper Chamber was not doubtful, consequently public attention was speedily turned away from a topic of which the interest was exhausted to the discussion of the military law, which was under the examination of a committee of the Chamber. This committee, of which Gambetta and M. Margaigne had been successively chairmen, was now presided over by M. de Mahy. It had drawn up with great care and elaboration a completely fresh military Bill, based upon three years' service, and the suppression of the majority of the exemptions which for times of peace had subsisted since 1872. General Boulanger, like all his predecessors, had taken the Bill in hand, introducing into it many important modifications. In view, moreover, of the fact that the question of Government military schools had been discussed by the committee, the General, not daring openly to menace the École Polytechnique, which was very popular, wrote to the committee without consulting his colleagues of the Cabinet a letter which was regarded equally strange in aim and style. In this letter the Minister of War maintained that the maintenance of military schools outside the military service was altogether anti-democratic, and he proposed to remedy this by graduating for officers between the ages of twenty and thirty a course of tuition and examination. The proposed reform was more opposed, however, to the principles of equality than the existing system, although the General had reproached the Committee for being "unfaithful to democratic principles." This letter, moreover, was communicated to the press before being brought to the notice of the Committee, and M. de Mahy protested, with some warmth, both against the charge and the manner in which it had been made. At the same time the Ministry took alarm at the excessive independence displayed by the chief of the army, and regarded as irregular that he should have written of his own motion a letter touching so gravely on questions of general policy. The Chamber itself by a large majority condemned the contemptuous tone adopted by the General towards the representatives of the nation. In short, a few days sufficed to bring about a total change in the attitude of the Republican party towards General Boulanger. On his side the General, perceiving his danger, beat a prudent retreat, addressing to the President of the Military Committee a letter alleging that the documents concerning military schools, of which the publication had been so inopportune, had been printed without his authority.

This sharp lesson inflicted on the impetuous General, coming so closely after the favourable impression produced by the journey of M. de Lesseps to Berlin, seemed to indicate the return of France to more peaceful sentiments. The election of M. Ribot for the Pas-de-Calais (March 20) was also of good augury. This department, one of the most densely populated in France, had been carried in 1885 by the Reactionaries in consequence of the schisms of the Republican party. The latter, enlightened by its

past experience, now displayed the strictest discipline, and warmly welcomed the candidature of one of the most eminent orators of the Left Centre, and by the crushing majority of 125,000 votes M. Ribot was returned to Parliament. This revival of moderate opinion gave a momentary courage to the Government; the Municipal Council of Marseilles, which had profited by the anniversary of March 18 to make an apology for the Commune of 1871, was dissolved, and a similar fate befel St. Ouen. M. Levailant, the Director of General Safety, too, issued an order interdicting betting, and closing racecourses against the bookmakers. This prohibition aroused so lively a controversy that political questions were for a moment thrown into the background; and finally a triple murder committed in Paris on the night of the Mi-carême and the arrest of the murderer at Marseilles completely occupied public attention. The debates on the law for organising the Municipal Council of Paris passed unnoticed, and scarcely a pretence of attention was given to the victory of the Government over the Extreme Left in the matter of the salaries of the central administration of the Finance Department. On this occasion M. Dauphin, Minister of Finance, carried the supplementary credits he had promised in his arrangement with the Senate. The Budget for the succeeding year (1888) having been presented, several members of the Ministry, accompanied by a body of Deputies, left for Algiers to be present at the inauguration of the Tunis and Algiers Railway. Those who remained in Paris settled down to quiet work, and the political horizon looked brighter than it had done for years.

Before separating for the Easter holidays the Chamber decided to name its Budget Committee; the thirty-three members forming this Committee had previously been nominated by *bureaux* of the Chamber, each *bureau* sending in three names; as, however, chance alone determined the composition of each *bureau*, it might happen that in the same *bureau* were five or six Deputies most competent in matters of finance. By this means eminent men were not unfrequently eliminated from the Committee, whilst another *bureau* had great difficulty in electing its three representatives. It seemed, therefore, more advantageous that the whole Chamber should decide for itself a list of the members of the Budget Committee. Such, at least, were the openly avowed reasons given in support of a change of system. As a matter of fact, however, the proportion of Monarchical Deputies in the Chamber was so strong that it might easily happen in one or more *bureaux* that chance would give a majority to those hostile to the Republic. Now it had come to be recognised as a principle that Conservative members were never to have seats on the Budget Committee; the leaders of the Left therefore hit upon this expedient to exclude them. Unfortunately for its success some difficulty was found in arriving at an understanding between the various groups as to the names to be put forward,

and two sittings were lost in fruitless ballots. This delay augured ill for the discussion of a Budget, which, it had been declared, was to re-establish order in the finances of the Republic. M. Rouvier for the fourth time was named President of the Committee. At its first sitting M. Dauphin's proposed Budget scheme was attacked and declared ineffectual to bring about the necessary balance between receipts and expenditure. M. Jules Roche vigorously exposed its imperfections. He showed that, despite the unanimous demands of public opinion, no serious economies had been effected in the services. Moreover an important proposal of the Budget scheme consisted in the reinvestment of capital which was to be obtained by means of a loan. This was an innovation wholly opposed to the financial traditions of France, and its boldness was not compensated for by the advantages it vaguely promised. MM. Goblet and Dauphin, summoned before the Committee, declared themselves by no means enthusiastically in favour of their proposal, and that they would be quite ready to sacrifice it if they could in concert with the Committee establish a real equilibrium, bringing in to the Budget all ordinary expenditure for public works and establishing a sinking fund. With regard to economies, the President of the Council urged that it was for the Committee to find where they could be effected and to propose them. Thus from the outset there was manifest a very decided disagreement between the Committee and the Government, which was reproached with endeavouring to shift its responsibilities. "To get out of the mess," said M. Camille Pelletan, "the reporters of the Committee will in future have to make the reductions, and ministers draw up the reports."

The closing days of the winter session had been marked by a regrettable incident, inasmuch as it bore witness to a certain relaxation of parliamentary usage. At the close of a political discussion M. de Douville Maillefeu, one of the members for Paris, had struck his colleague, M. Sans Leroy, during a sitting. The *procureur* of the Republic requested permission of the Chamber to prosecute the irascible Deputy for Paris, but this authority was not accorded. In the course of the same session another Deputy, M. Germain Casse, was struck in the lobby of the Chamber by a sculptor named Baffier, who was subsequently acquitted by the Court of Assizes; and finally M. Camille Dreyfus was similarly attacked in the lobby by a journalist with some fancied grievance. The prestige of the Deputies suffered from these scandals.

Two ministers, M. Berthelot (Public Instruction) and M. Millaud (Public Works), took advantage of the spring recess to pay a long-intended visit to Algiers. The result of their inquiries did not lead to any reduction in the charges incident on that colony. But the Schnaebelé incident speedily cut short all interchange of compliments between the members of the French Ministry and the local authorities of Algiers.

Ever since the elections to the Reichstag, when the Alsatians by so large a majority had voted for the irreconcilable candidates, the Statthalter's Government had displayed increased severity towards Frenchmen residing in Alsace-Lorraine. Convinced that there existed relations between the discontented of the Reichsland and the French authorities, he gave orders for the arrest of the special commissary of police at Pagny-sur-Moselle, M. Schnaebelé, if ever he should appear on German territory. Under pretext of a conference on business affairs with his German colleague Herr Gautsch, the French commissary was seized (April 20) by police agents, sent with that object from Leipsic. On the news becoming known, national feeling was deeply aroused throughout the whole of France. The act had all the appearance of a deliberate provocation which might force the French Government to some violent or ill-considered measure of which Germany would take advantage. In the midst of the Cabinet Council two currents at once became manifest. General Boulanger and the Radical section of the Ministry proposed to send immediately an ultimatum demanding, not only the setting free of M. Schnaebelé, but also an apology. M. Flourens, understanding the gravity of the situation, was of opinion that the manner in which the arrest had been effected rendered it impossible that it could be maintained according to the ordinary law of nations. With a little patience and firmness he could see his way to forcing Germany either to give way or to take upon herself the responsibility of a rupture. M. Goblet hesitated, and for several days left the Minister of War and the Minister of Foreign Affairs in open opposition to each other. Thus, while M. Flourens was engaged in diplomatic action, ostensibly most moderate, but in reality most firm, General Boulanger, without consulting his colleagues, was taking measures of extreme gravity, was secretly despatching to the eastern fortresses the detachments of various corps d'armée, and was feverishly hurrying on a scheme of mobilisation. These precautionary measures at length assumed such a serious character that a sharp and angry discussion arose in the Cabinet. M. Boulanger offered his resignation, and the President was forced to intervene to restrain the ardour of the Minister of War. At length, after many wearisome hesitations, the German Government was forced to admit that the letter of invitation addressed by the German commissary to his French colleague constituted an absolute safe-conduct. Schnaebelé was set at liberty, and some days later, to avoid giving rise to further offence, he was transferred to Lyons. But the excitement aroused in France by this affair did not calm down so rapidly; a war party had by degrees been formed, and by a singular evolution was at first almost wholly composed of Bonapartists, supported by certain groups. The most noisy portion of this faction formed itself into the League of the Patriots, taking for their chief M. Deroulède. This individual resigned his post of President as soon as the

Schnaebelé affair was arranged, but he nevertheless continued to direct the manifestations of the association, which from that moment assumed an aggressive attitude.

By an unfortunate coincidence almost at the same moment M. Lamoureux was proposing to give a series of representations of Wagner's operas. On the first night a noisy manifestation, followed on the following day by increased disturbances, warned the Government of the state of popular feeling. Afraid to repress the disorder of the streets it forced M. Lamoureux to close his theatre. The result of the municipal elections (May 8), moreover, bore witness to the weakness in Paris of the Government and the progress of the two extreme parties. The Opportunist candidates emerged from the contest in greatly reduced numbers. The session of the *conseils-généraux* in the provinces gave rise to no incident. The departmental assemblies were satisfied with the discussion of local affairs, and their debates had not for years passed off with such complete calm. When the Chambers re-assembled for the summer session (May 10) the struggle between the Budget Commission and the Ministry was renewed with increased violence; the former declared itself opposed to the new arrangement of the receipts and expenditure offered by the Government, declaring that a saving of 20 millions on a Budget of three milliards was unworthy of serious discussion, for in spite of every good intention the Budget of 1888 exceeded its predecessor by 58,000,000 frs. The Ministry replied obstinately that it was unable to propose greater reductions, but if the Commission saw its way to effecting any which were practical, it was incumbent on it to indicate the means. The Commission at once decided to bring the misunderstanding before the Chamber, and M. Camille Pelletan and M. Rouvier explained to the Chamber (May 17) the views of the Committee. M. Goblet retaliated by accusing them of wishing to bring about the fall of the Ministry without making an effort to help them in the pursuit of economy.

The best causes are often compromised by imprudent advocates. M. Goblet's aggressive tone alienated, during the debate, not a few of those who wished him well, with the result that the order of the day proposed by MM. Brousse and Anatole de la Forge, and accepted by the Government, was rejected by 275 against 257 votes. M. Goblet at once declared the resignation of the Government and quitted the Chamber. The Goblet Ministry had lasted five months and seven days, to which the recess contributed largely. From its very outset the ministerial crisis assumed a serious aspect, and the Boulanger question was once more brought to the front. A section of the Radical press, headed by the *Lanterne*, the *Intransigeant*, the *Justice*, M. Clémenceau's organ, and by many others, declared that it was necessary to insist upon the maintenance in office of the popular War Minister, and thus an agitation, without precedent since the fall of the Empire, was organised with great skilfulness. Newspaper

articles, pamphlets, music-hall songs, meetings of gymnastic and musical societies were put in movement to represent General Boulanger as indispensable, and to force the hand of the President of the Republic. The very excess of the General's popularity and the intrigues of the demagogues brought about a violent reaction in the Republican party. The democrats recalled 1848, and the manner in which Napoleon's dictatorship had been organised came back to the memory of all old Republicans. M. Grévy found himself forced to choose decisively between the two factions of the Republican party. MM. de Freycinet and Floquet by turns attempted to form a Cabinet in which the chiefs of both groups should be represented, but it was found impossible to unite a sufficient number of responsible statesmen who were willing to sit in the same Cabinet with General Boulanger. The President of the Republic consequently had to end where in accordance with the principles of parliamentary procedure he should have commenced. He sent for M. Rouvier, the President of the Budget Committee, whose attitude had brought about the defeat of the Ministry, and confided to him the formation of a new Cabinet. After a short reflection M. Rouvier accepted this difficult task (May 31), and his Cabinet comprised MM. Fallières, Interior; Spuller, Public Instruction; d'Hérédia, Public Works; Magnan, Justice; Barbey, Marine; Barbe, Agriculture; Dautresmé, Commerce; General Ferron, War; and M. Flourens, Foreign Affairs, M. Rouvier himself retaining the Ministry of Finance, with the Presidency of the Council. The exasperation of the Extremists in learning the constitution of the Ministry was unparalleled; from the very outset it was evident that the struggle would be bitter and prolonged. Next to the President of the Council, General Ferron, in spite of his brilliant services, was the most savagely attacked and insulted by the press. The first occasion which presented itself of rousing popular opinion was on the morrow of the constitution of the Ministry. The partisans of General Boulanger assembled their crowds round the Opera, where a military fête was being held, with the avowed object of giving an ovation to the outgoing Minister and of protesting against his successor. Thanks, however, to the measures taken, the night passed off without disorder. In the Chambers equal good fortune had attended them; in the Senate M. Mazeau read to a half-empty House the programme of the new Government; whilst M. Rouvier, in the Chamber of Deputies, was received by one of the most violent parliamentary storms known in the annals of the French Parliament.

The Extreme Left, alluding to a visit paid by the chief of the Right, M. de Mackau, to the Elysée, pretended to regard the Ministry as the *protégé* of the Monarchists, and at its first sitting the Government had to defend itself against an interpellation presented by M. Jullien, President of the Republican Left, and M. Barodet, President of the Extreme Left. M. Rouvier



defended his policy with great energy : he declared that he would not govern except with the support of the Republican majority, and that he would resign the day that majority deserted him. This firm attitude was favourably received by the Republican Deputies. On the other hand, obeying orders sent by the Comte de Paris, the Monarchical Right sided with the Government. The interpellation was rejected by 285 to 139 votes, whilst the order of the day, pure and simple, was endorsed by 362 to 149, the Republican votes alone giving the Government a majority of 50. The greater part of the month (June) was given up to the discussion of the Bill imposing obligatory military service of three years upon all Frenchmen. At the outset the debates were purely academic ; on the one side MM. de Martimprey, de la Marzelle, and de Mun attempted to set aside the principle of obligatory service, whilst on the other hand M. Hanataux was in favour of a democratic army. At length (June 11), the general discussion having come to an end, M. de Mahy, President of the Committee, asked the Chamber to declare the Bill urgent, and by this means to do away with the formality of a second reading. The Minister of War (General Ferron) in reply declared the willingness of the Government to follow the wishes of the Chamber ; this declaration at once aroused the hostility of the Extreme Left, and both M. Ferron and M. de Mun found it difficult to make themselves heard. M. Clémenceau thereupon mounted the tribune and argued that each member having made up his mind urgency might be voted, and this view was adopted by 255 to 191 votes. The debate, however, was rather a victory for M. Clémenceau, who had found a ground on which all Republicans might unite, than for the Ministry who had let slip an excellent opportunity of explaining their policy. These debates, as well as others raised by certain appointments made by the outgoing minister, M. Granet, irritated the public, but resulted in no advantage to the State. The Chamber of Deputies gave the measure of its incapacity, whilst the Senate, whose rôle the Radical papers affected to despise, devoted its time to a careful discussion of the liquor laws.

In France alcohol, on which one half of the indirect taxation is levied, is the corner-stone of every Budget. M. Claude, a Senator of the Vosges, had presented to that body a remarkable report upon the manufacture and consumption of alcohol in the country. This report suggested a more strict supervision by the State of its manufacture and importation, and urged the abolition of the privileges accorded to the *bouilleurs de cru*. By this name are known the small proprietors of vines or orchards who, after making their wine or cider, distil alcohol from the residuum (*marc*). In 1873, in order to gain popularity in the agricultural districts, the Chamber had permitted to these small owners the right to distil in freedom the *eau de vie* necessary for the consumption of their households. Such persons had the right to

own stills, and were exempt from the inquisitorial visits of excise officers. It now appeared that this privilege served as a cloak to a gigantic fraud; it was asserted that a considerable number of small landowners were not content to distil from their residuum far more alcohol than they could consume themselves, but purchased their neighbours' *marc* and distilled it, selling the brandy secretly and to the detriment of legitimate trade.

It was estimated that the alcohol thus put in circulation was equal to one-third of the amount regularly taxed and purchased; statisticians valued at upwards of 300,000,000 francs the loss thus caused to the revenue, whilst the damage to commercial probity was incalculable. These revelations made a strong impression on the public mind, and the Minister of Finance at once gave strict instructions to the departmental authorities to exercise the greatest vigilance and to repress sternly any infraction of the Excise laws. For upwards of ten years a fatal laxity had prevailed in that branch of the administration: the majority of liquor merchants and innkeepers paid no duties but those which it was impossible to evade. Caught in actual violation of the law, they found means to invoke the intervention of their Deputy or Senator. The officials whose vigilance was too great were even made victims of their zeal; they were accused of being reactionaries for insisting on the observance of the law by people who, to escape the consequences, loudly protested the purity of their republicanism. The heads of the departmental administration, finding their places threatened, had no alternative but to submit to this thralldom. In this way delinquents who had been condemned to fines of 1,000 francs and upwards escaped by the payment of 25 or 30 francs by way of arrangement. Enlightened as to the true state of affairs, M. Rouvier despatched to all officers of the fisc peremptory orders to agree to no terms of settlement, and to follow up every case by process of law, unless specially instructed by the express authority of the Minister. This step was one of the determining causes of M. Rouvier's subsequent fall. Meanwhile, by taking his stand on the firm ground of personal interests, M. Rouvier had been able in a few weeks to acquire an incontestable influence, if not in the Chamber, at all events in the country; he was thus enabled to make a stand against the intrigues and insinuations of his opponents, those on the Left endeavouring to represent him as the *protégé* of M. de Bismarck in his foreign policy, whilst those on the Right accused him of imitating the same master at home. A great meeting of the Patriots' League (June 24) was called to protest against the trial of certain Alsatian patriots then taking place at Leipsic. In spite of an appeal to M. Deroulède, by the family of one of the accused, M. Kœchlin-Claudon, to abandon these protestations in the interests of the accused themselves, the patriots refused on the plea that the prisoners belonged not to their family, but to their fatherland. This display of cheap

heroism at the expense of others foreshadowed the noisy scenes which marked the meeting. M. Deroulède introduced the name of General Boulanger, hailing him as the personification of the French Army of the Republic and of the *revanche*. This absurd appeal was the occasion of a wild outburst from both the friends and enemies of the General, and a noisy crowd spread through the streets, and was with difficulty dispersed at the gates of the Elysée. At length the Government, alarmed by the dangers of the situation, decided to remove General Boulanger from Paris. He was appointed to the chief command of the 18th Corps d'Armée at Clermont-Ferrand, and was requested to join before the National Fête (July 14). The day fixed for his departure (July 8), as well as the route he would take to the railway station, were publicly announced in the two journals the *Intransigeant* and *Lanterne*, which had been foremost in organising the Boulanger demonstration. Enormous crowds filled the streets which led to the Lyons station, whence the glorious victim was to start for his place of exile. The crowd, however, was not to be restrained, and swarming into the station, breaking down all barriers, prevented the arrival and departure of the trains. For upwards of two hours the regular service was interrupted, during which the General, pleased at first but subsequently uneasy, lent himself to this extraordinary manifestation. At length he succeeded in mounting on a locomotive, which conveyed him to the first station beyond Paris, whence the railway company despatched him by an ordinary train. In spite of the protests of the Parisian press against these riotous displays, the Boulangist party organised another manifestation against the Ministry. On their way to the National Review (July 4) at Longchamps President Grévy and the Minister of War, General Ferron, were received with every mark of disfavour. For the first time since the repression of the Commune it was found necessary to resort to precautions which recalled the military occupation of Paris; the whole route followed by the President's procession was kept clear by cavalry, and all traffic was suspended. Eventually these illegal and foolish manoeuvres discredited their authors. The public was indignant at the pretensions of a noisy party to disturb order in the streets and to dishonour the National Fête, and the Ministry gained a fresh triumph by having maintained peace without striking a blow. A victim, however, was required, and General Boulanger was sacrificed. The leaders of the Radical party solemnly discarded him in the Chamber, where M. Sis La-croix completed a campaign which he had commenced against him in his newspaper the *Radical*. Finally M. Clémenceau himself declared it advisable henceforth to keep the General in his place. In spite of these concessions to the almost unanimous feeling of the Republican party, the leaders of the Left were unable to obtain from the Chamber a censure of the Ministerial policy, and M. Rouvier was able by a vote of 357 (of whom 210 were

Republicans) against 111 Radicals to refuse to regard as their colleagues the Deputies of the Right.

General Boulanger felt acutely his betrayal by his friends. He complained that M. Clémenceau had thrown him over to suit his own purposes, and allowed to appear in *La France* a series of letters dated from Clermont-Ferrand, of which M. F. Laur, Deputy of the Loire, subsequently admitted the authorship. In these the General declared that on two occasions he might have seized the dictatorship. The suggestion, in the first instance, had been supported by ninety-four generals, on the second by a group of Deputies of the Right, to whom the General had shown the door, assuring them that if he made a *coup d'état* it would be against them. These bold assertions, as might be imagined, roused great excitement. If the facts alleged by the General were exact, how had the secret of such proposals been concealed from his colleagues in the Ministry? If false, what could be thought of the General who would descend to such manœuvres? Moreover M. Jules Ferry, in an important speech addressed to his constituents at Epinal (July 24), referred to the *protégé* of the *Lanterne* as a "Saint-Arnaud de café-concert"; in other words, this was to reproach him with aiming at the military dictatorship after the fashion of Napoleon's marshal, and to seek for popularity in the noisiest haunts of the capital. General Boulanger at once sent a cartel to M. Ferry, but after much negotiation the meeting did not take place. The General's seconds claimed the right of the choice of arms, deciding upon the pistol. This was accorded, but on their insistence to prescribe the conditions of the meeting, M. Ferry's friends declined to give way on a point of no small importance in a country like France, where political duels are so frequent. Apart from these noisy incidents the Chamber occupied the month of July in discussing the Bill regulating military service.

The repeated amendments of various Deputies to lighten the obligations of certain classes of recruits were sternly negatived. At the last moment, however, when the vote was taken for imposing the three years' service, the Chamber struck out Art. 49 of the Bill, which empowered the Government to shorten by twelve or even eighteen months the military service of soldiers who had displayed more than average intelligence. Thereupon M. Laisant, declaring that the Bill was destroyed, resigned his post, but the measure was voted in its entirety by 352 to 181. Meanwhile General Ferron was quietly pushing forward two points of more modest but more immediate interest. He asked the Chamber to vote the necessary credits for thirteen regiments of cavalry and eighteen of infantry, and taking up the plan of the mobilisation of one army corps suggested by General Boulanger, he modified it by the addition of an attempt at concentration. The credits were voted in spite of the criticism of many competent speakers, who had little difficulty in proving how

little in common with actual mobilisation this costly process would have. The Chamber further voted an increased import duty of 40 francs on German alcohol to counterbalance the German bounty, but the Paris Underground Railway was negatived by 258 to 221 votes.

By the close of the session (July 22) the Rouvier Cabinet had, in the course of six weeks, acquired a considerable influence in Parliament, but contrary to what might have been expected, its position in the country did not gain thereby. It took advantage of the parliamentary recess to put into shape the administrative and financial reforms it had promised; for example, the Minister of Finance, continuing a reform commenced by his predecessor, M. Dauphin, undertook to reduce the numbers of the army of tax-gatherers, and to commit to a single officer the supervision of the indirect taxation of the various departments. The Director of Posts and Telegraphs severely censured the habits of carelessness and indiscipline which had crept into his department. The Customs Union of France and her Indo-Chinese possessions was promulgated (Sept. 8), and the conditions of naturalisation of natives and foreigners in Tonkin were determined. At a banquet organised by the Chamber of Commerce (Oct. 18) M. Rouvier explained his policy: "The Republican Government," he said, "arrived at maturity, should be a Government of good-will, not of conflict; we have seen Governments of conflict, and to us who have fought against them some would address reproach for not acting in like manner. Our present duty is to win back the electors who separated themselves in 1885—I will not say from the Republic, but from the Republican majority. It is these electors whom we should rally by a wise and liberal policy." The Radical party was not to be softened by this moderation, and the *Justice* daily sought to envenom opinion against M. Rouvier. The same newspaper accused General Ferron of delaying the manufacture of the new magazine rifles, and M. Andrieux, a Radical Deputy, on taking his seat as President of the Conseil-Général, complained that administrative posts were refused to Republicans. At the same time the Municipal Council of Paris conceived the idea of inviting the 35,000 communes of France to send delegates to Paris in order to discuss the approaching celebration of the centenary of the Republic; and the Minister of the Interior, M. Fallières, at once annulled this decision. The Municipal Council persisted in holding the Congress, which failed, however, for want of guests. The municipal councils of the large towns of France, more respectful to the law, refusing to name delegates, it was only in an insignificant number of the smaller communes that the proposal was taken seriously, and this attempt to bring together a revolutionary congress was a miserable failure.

But another danger threatened the Government during the latter part of the parliamentary session. It had, without doubt,

obtained a majority of the Republican votes, but it was not less evident that had the Right voted in a body with the Extreme Left the Ministry would have been defeated from the outset ; but the leaders of the Monarchical party had been forced to hold aloof from the Ultra-Radicals. One of the most influential members of the Conservative group, M. Lepontu, one of the members for the department of the Nord, thought to find a way of constituting a Right Republican party. The idea, however, did not meet with the approval of the leaders of the Right, and M. Hervé, the eminent Academician, hastened to publish in his paper, the *Soleil*, a programme wholly opposed to the principles of universal suffrage. He maintained that the Royalist party should maintain two distinct attitudes—to support the Ministry in the Chamber when their interests were involved, and to oppose the Republic and the Republicans at all times in the country. This article was the prelude to the master's utterance, for on the following day (Sept. 15), under the title of "Instructions of Mgr. Le Comte de Paris to the representatives of the Monarchical party in France," appeared a solemn manifesto which made more stir in the press than in the country. In this document the chief of the House of France foretold the terrible ills which awaited the nation. He declared the Monarchy would emerge from one of these too frequent crises : "La crise sera l'œuvre de certains républicains, soit que les passions et les souffrances populaires exploitées par des ambitions criminelles amènent des troubles civils, soit qu'une faction politique ait recours à la force pour s'emparer du pouvoir suprême. Le jour où la légalité aura été violée, la Monarchie apparaîtra comme l'instrument nécessaire du rétablissement de l'ordre et le gage de la concorde."

This monarchy which the Comte de Paris thus offered to France was neither the traditional royalty of the Bourbons of the elder branch nor that constitutional monarchy which had been called in 1880 "*la meilleure des républiques*," for by a strange violation of the principles of his family he borrowed the type of a modern monarchy from the Napoleonic idea ; whilst he withdrew from the Chamber of Deputies the right to vote annually the taxes, which once voted were to be altered only by the joint accord of the King, the Senate, and the Chamber. The manifesto, moreover, promised freedom of worship, whilst announcing the intention of remitting to the clergy the right of religious instruction. To the army it offered the advantages of a permanent chief ; to the labouring classes, social tranquillity ; and to all it declared that the Monarchy would not be the domination of any one party ; on the contrary, by raising above all competition the head of the Executive it made him the supreme guardian of that law before which all would be equal. In this way the Monarchy pledged itself to serve the dominant passion of Frenchmen for equality. It was this which enabled M. Jules

Ferry, in a speech at Saint Di , to declare that the monarchical principle was dead in France : " It is no longer," said he, " between the Republic and the Monarchy that France has to chose, but between liberty and dictatorship."

It was not, however, so much from the skilfulness of its enemies as from the blunders of its partisans that the Republic was in danger, and early in the autumn an incident arose from which grew a cloud of scandals which remained undissipated until the close of the year.

The experiment of mobilisation having been fixed for the commencement of September, it was important, in order to make it as conclusive as possible, that the corps selected should be suddenly designated by the Minister. But some days before the date fixed the Paris journal the *Figaro* published not only the number of the Corps d'Arm e (the 17th), but also an exact programme of the man uvres and a sketch of the operations. It was proved that this information had been given by a clerk in the War Office, and it was thus made clear that professional secrets were not respected in that department. The consequences which might arise from similar indiscretions in matters of more vital interest naturally aroused the public mind. The success of the mobilisation was less than had been hoped for. If the somewhat theatrical man uvres at which the Minister of War assisted gave the Reservists an opportunity of displaying their zeal and alacrity to answer the call, it was not the less evident that the administrative services, although duly warned beforehand, failed to work satisfactorily. The general impression, however, on the public mind was reassuring, and the Minister of War reaped the benefit of this state of feeling. A few days later, too, M. Flourens obtained from Germany a pecuniary indemnity for the family of a gamekeeper who had been shot on the German frontier, as well as apologies from the German Government. Almost simultaneously other diplomatic successes were announced : M. Le Myre de Vilers, French Resident in Madagascar, obtained a satisfactory solution of his dispute with the Hova Government on the subject of the *exequaturs* of foreign consuls. Finally, a few weeks later (Oct. 24), an Anglo-French convention was signed in Paris, determining the neutrality of the Suez Canal ; whilst a second convention, signed on the same day, satisfied Great Britain on the subject of the New Hebrides, France obtaining compensation in the group of islands south-east of Tahiti.

On his side also M. Rouvier was not inactive. He had arranged, in concert with M. Spuller, that the charges in *lyc es* and colleges should be raised in proportion to the increased cost of provisions. Moreover the new Governor of Indo-China, breaking with all the traditions of the past, inaugurated a system of government which promised, if it could not ensure, tangible economy. Finally the Government, at the instigation of M. Rouvier, decided to convert the 4 and 4½ per cent. stock into

a 3 per cent. Rente. But these efforts to restore order in the finances, and to maintain the authority of the Government, were seriously compromised by succeeding events.

At the close of September took place the execution of the assassin Pranzini, who in the previous month of March had committed a triple murder. Moved by some ghastly fancy the chief of the secret police and his deputy had obtained fragments of the murderer's skin, of which card-cases had been made. Some newspapers having got wind of this scandal bruited it far and wide. In order to divert public indignation, which called for their dismissal, these two officers decided to create a new and more serious scandal, which would direct upon others the wrath of the press. This was the foul origin of the "decorations scandal" which was to exercise so much influence on politics.

The first step in this drama was the placing on half-pay (Oct. 7.) of General Caffarel, the Commander-in-Chief's deputy, at head-quarters. The same day the *XIXième Siècle* newspaper announced that the Government would willingly have postponed this serious decision, rendered necessary by the grave charges of corruption brought against the General. At first it was supposed that allusion was made to the premature publication of the mobilisation scheme, but the most serious charge against the General arose from his relations with a certain *intrigante*, Mme. Limouzin, who was at the head of an agency for obtaining French and foreign decorations. The excitement caused by the measures taken against General Caffarel was extraordinary. A public enquiry was demanded, the press set itself to obtain information on all sides, whilst the Boulangist newspapers pretended that the Minister of War, in striking at General Caffarel, had in reality wished to dishonour General Boulanger. That officer publicly intervened in the strife, and allowed himself to be interviewed by journalists who placed in his mouth some bitter remarks concerning his official chief. Summoned to disavow them General Boulanger declined, and the thirty days of arrest to which he was condemned only served to cause him to be regarded as a martyr by his partisans. Meanwhile the scandal thus aroused daily assumed greater importance; another general, Le Comte d'Andlau, who was also a Senator, found himself compromised with others whom the magistrate summarily sent to prison. The police, moreover, found when examining the prisoner's papers letters which compromised General Thibaudin, a former Minister of War, who had allowed himself to fall a victim to the intrigues of Mme. Limouzin. Next it was M. Wilson who found himself implicated in this scandal. The story rapidly got abroad that the President's son-in-law was the real pivot of the various agencies for decorations—that he undertook to obtain, in return for money, lucrative contracts for public works, army stores, and nominations to public offices. At the same



time it was well known that M. Wilson had had recourse to various expedients in order to obtain money to meet his lavish expenditure. It therefore surprised no one when on the first meeting of the Chamber (Oct. 25) M. Cunéo d'Ornano demanded a committee of inquiry to inquire into the scandals denounced by the press. The Ministry opposed the urgency of such a step, but it was nevertheless voted by 338 to 130. This initiative on the part of a Bonapartist deputy aroused the zeal of the Republican opponents of the Ministry, who saw in this matter an opportunity of unseating M. Rouvier. M. Colfavru, a Radical deputy for the department of Seine-et-Oise, was put forward to move that the inquiry should embrace all facts affecting the Executive which should seem to deserve blame or reversal. In spite of this obvious usurpation of power this committee signalised itself only by the insignificance of its investigations. The much desired crisis was to arise from other and wholly unforeseen causes. The Correctional Tribunal of the Seine was following up (Nov. 9) the Caffarel-Limouzin scandal, when it appeared that two letters signed by M. Wilson had been withdrawn from the file and replaced by others. The following day, in the Chamber, M. de Doudeville Maillefeu, Deputy of the Extreme Left, and M. Piou, of the Right, inquired of M. Mazeau, Keeper of the Seals, if some judicial notice should not be taken of this incident. The Minister of Justice, unable to resist the encroachment of the Legislature upon the Executive, or to profit by a prompt deference to the wishes of the Chamber, gave tardy orders to the Procureur-General to commence proceedings against M. Wilson. The counsel for the other accused parties at once demanded the provisional release of their clients, and the whole aspect of the affair underwent a complete change; the accused were now M. Wilson, the Prefect of Police (M. Gragnon), and the head of the Detective Department (M. Taylor), who had seized the original documents and had consented to the later substitution. The Chamber voted unanimously (less one vote) in favour of the prosecution of M. Wilson, and the same day M. Gragnon was replaced by M. Bourgeois. Up to this time M. Grévy had refused to admit that his son-in-law had been guilty of any act which brought him within the penal code; moreover he had refused to separate himself from M. Wilson, who continued to live at the Elysée Palace, after several announcements that he was about to withdraw to his house in the Avenue d'Iéna. M. Wilson seemed determined to cling to the palace in spite of public opinion. A feeling of popular irritation at once made itself felt, not even sparing the President's irresponsibility. Both in the Chamber and in the Senate the various groups discussed (Oct. 18) the manner in which the dismissal of the President of the Republic could be brought about. On the following day M. Clémenceau asked leave to interpellate the Ministry on the political situation. M. Rouvier replied that it was not expedient to raise such a

question at the critical moment of the conversion of the Rente, and he proposed to postpone the discussion for a few days. M. Clémenceau insisted that it should take place at once, and on this question of procedure the struggle between the Ministry and its enemies took place; the adjournment sought for by the Ministry was rejected by 317 to 228 votes. The majority of the Republicans had held firm in support of the Cabinet, but the union of the Radicals with the Monarchists again brought about a Ministerial crisis. M. Rouvier announced that at the close of the sitting he should offer to the President his resignation.

In point of fact it was a Presidential rather than a Ministerial crisis. M. Grévy by his weakness towards M. Wilson had seriously compromised the dignity of the chief magistrate of the Republic. His resignation was necessary, but inasmuch as no constitutional means existed to force it upon him, the Chamber determined to upset every Ministry which presented itself without M. Grévy's resignation. The President, on the other hand, hoped to weary out his opponents and to hold fast to the Presidency. He went so far in the sacrifice of his own feelings as to summon M. Clémenceau, to whom he had declared he would never entrust the formation of a Ministry. The leader of the Extreme Left was astonished at the vitality, the suppleness, and the craft displayed by the aged President, but he nevertheless refused the *carte blanche* offered to him. M. de Freycinet proved no less inflexible to the appeals of his old friend, and counselled him to resign; M. Floquet and M. Brisson, summoned in turn, gave him the same advice. M. Leroyer, President of the Senate, M. Ribot, and M. Jules Ferry in like manner held the same language. The situation was becoming critical, M. Grévy's obstinacy rendering the crisis insoluble; a Boulangist *émeute* or Communist revolt might declare itself at any moment. Happily, the Governor of Paris displayed a reassuring energy. General Saussier, who occupied this difficult post, by his tact and firmness maintained absolute discipline among his troops. He threatened to have shot "like a rabbit" the first general who should hesitate to do his duty in case of a rising in the streets. General Boulanger, whose arrest was over, had come to Paris to take part in the labours of a commission to which he was attached, but he wisely held himself aloof from public meetings. The Collectivist party issued a violent proclamation, but urged the people to act with caution. At length M. Grévy decided (Nov. 24) to call M. Ribot, and to inform him that he had made up his mind to resign. On this promise the Deputy expressed his readiness to form a Ministry, but he stipulated that he should be made acquainted with the President's message before reading it to the Chambers, and that its terms should be discussed by the Council of Ministers. M. Grévy refused, whereupon M. Ribot advised him to decline M. Rouvier's resignation; the latter would then read the President's resignation to the Chambers, and take steps for the

due transmission of power. In announcing this arrangement to the public the Havas Agency added that the message would be ready on the first days of the following week. By these irritating delays M. Grévy hoped to gain time for a reaction to declare itself in his favour. He expected that the Radicals, who having supported him at the commencement of the crisis had subsequently deserted him, would return to him for fear of M. Ferry's election. For a moment this seemed possible, inasmuch as the journals which had ardently led the campaign against M. Wilson and his father-in-law suddenly (Nov. 28) implored the latter to remain. The long-promised resignation was again postponed. Manifestations directed by MM. Deroulède and Eudes, the General of the Commune, paraded the streets, protesting against the eventual election of M. Ferry. It became known that the President would only resign upon a formal demand on the part of Parliament. The two Chambers held three short sittings the same day, declaring at the second that they awaited at the third sitting the communication promised by the Government. M. Rouvier announced definitely to the Chambers that the President had no thought of entering upon a conflict with them, and would send his resignation on the following day.

At last (Dec. 2) the long-promised message was read. In it M. Grévy complained bitterly of the attitude of the Chambers, and prophesied the direst dangers for France. In accordance with the Constitution, the Congress assembled on the following day (Dec. 3) at Versailles. It was as remarkable for the self-restraint and dignity of its proceedings as had been the attitude of the Republican majority in the Chambers. Private meetings of the various groups were held before the general assembly. M. Jules Ferry had for his supporters a majority of the Republicans of the Senate and a considerable knot of those in the Chamber, but his unpopularity out of doors could not be overlooked. The revolutionary party of Paris had expressed its feelings on the previous day, and threatened to rise if the Congress gave a majority to the "Tonkinois." The Municipal Council of Paris took the lead in this illegal agitation, going even so far as to discuss conditions with professional rioters. It would be unjust to say that these attempts at sedition had much influence on the members of Congress or prevented them voting conscientiously, but without doubt many who had no fear of civil war were anxious to avoid it. The Radicals profited by these hesitations, and after several ballotings amongst themselves decided to throw over both M. de Freycinet and M. Floquet and to vote *en masse* for M. Sadi Carnot. The Right, not daring to choose a truly political candidate, divided their votes between General Saussier, who had formerly refused the nomination, and General Appert, formerly Ambassador to St. Petersburg. Two ballotings sufficed. In the first the total number of voters was 849. Of these M. Sadi Carnot obtained the votes of 303, M. Jules Ferry 212,

General Saussier 148, M. de Freycinet 76, General Appert 72, M. Brisson 25, scattering 12. In the second, M. Jules Ferry having resigned in favour of M. Carnot, the latter was elected by 616 votes against 188 polled by General Saussier, and M. Carnot was at once placed in possession of the Presidency. The Ministerial crisis, however, was not terminated so rapidly. MM. Goblet and Fallières failed in turn to form a Government, and at length after a week's delay M. Carnot called upon M. Tirard, a former Minister of Finance, who succeeded (Dec. 12) in forming the following Cabinet:—President of the Council and Finance Minister, M. Tirard; Justice, M. Fallières; Foreign Affairs, M. Flourens; War, General Logerot; Interior, M. Savrien; Public Instruction, M. Faye; Public Works, M. Loubat; Navy and Colonial, M. de Mahy; Commerce, M. Dautresmé; and Agriculture, M. Vuille. This Ministry was composed of men of moderate opinions and generally esteemed by their colleagues. Their first act was to read (Dec. 13) the President's message, which was followed two days later by the Ministerial programme. Both documents were marked by more than usual vagueness, but both attached importance to the development of trade. In view of the impossibility of discussing the Budget before the close of the year, the Chamber was asked to vote provisionally supplies for three months amounting to 1,006,000,000 frs. After some remarks by MM. Andrieux, Dugué de la Fauconnerie, and Camille Pelletan, the proposal was adopted by 487 to 13. On the following day the Chamber approved the prolongation for six months of the treaty of commerce with Italy, although the latter Power had only prolonged it until March 1, 1888, and the session closed. The Chamber had thus once more reached the end of the year without having voted the Budget, which is its most essential work. In this way it gave a colour to the ill-omened predictions of those who announced the approaching collapse of parliamentary government.

Although the year had been marked by scandals almost without precedent, it nevertheless closed more hopefully than was anticipated. The transmission of the public power had been effected with a facility which disconcerted the enemies of the Republic. The new President was a man of untarnished reputation, the grandson of one of those men whom the history of the Revolution had rendered most popular. He owed his election to an effort on the part of the Republican party to reassert itself. Moreover, a new current of opinion in favour of a careful attention to administration showed itself in both the Chamber and the country. The programme sketched out (Nov. 29) by the Deputies Delmas and Siegfried had at once obtained 160 signatures, and it became evident that the Chamber sooner or later would be forced to the alternative of forming a new Republican party or of submitting to dissolution.

## II. ITALY.

Although the course of political events was marked by severe trials and exceptional difficulties, the close of the year nevertheless found Italy stronger both at home and abroad. Her military organisation had made noteworthy progress, and the resources of her soil had been better developed; and whilst she had to deplore the loss of the Minister who had worked so laboriously to vindicate her place in the councils of Europe, she was to reap the fruit of his labours more decidedly after his death than during his lifetime.

The opening year found the country agitated by rumours of armaments in Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Roumania, which, unduly exaggerated by the press, were regarded as the prelude to an immediate rising of the Balkan populations. Suddenly the rumour spread abroad that the mobilisation of the Italian army had been secretly decided, and it needed an official denial of this statement to allay public excitement. The only ground for such a rumour was to be found in the presence at Rome of the Bulgarian delegates, who, having failed in their efforts at Paris and London, hoped, but in vain, to find M. de Robilant more accessible; but neither the Minister of Foreign Affairs nor his chief, Signor Depretis, was disposed to cross the Adriatic in search of adventures for Italian arms or diplomacy. The delegates were politely received by the Ministers, but a popular demonstration in their honour was dispersed by the police.

Meanwhile Papal diplomacy did not remain idle, and the early months of the year were marked by important negotiations between the Holy See and Russia, but the illness of Cardinal Jacobini, who had to resign his post, somewhat retarded the progress of negotiations. On the appointment of Msgr. Mariano Rampolla del Tindaro to the post of Secretary of State, the negotiations were resumed under circumstances exceptionally favourable to the Papal policy. In Germany its intervention had been solicited by the Government with the view of disposing the Catholic members to vote the supplies required by the Ministry of War. Herr von Schloezer received conciliatory instructions, and was directed to assure His Holiness that the German Government was prepared to make serious concessions. In the United Kingdom, moreover, the intervention of the Pope between the conflicting parties had been solicited, and Leo XIII. had strongly urged the Irish bishops to restrain their congregations within the limits of strict legality. The suppleness of Leo XIII. had obtained results which the violence of Pius IX. had never conquered for the Church. The Sovereign Pontiff addressed (Jan. 20) an autograph letter to the Emperor William, thanking him for the declarations contained in the opening speech of the Prussian Landtag, and it was anticipated that the

personal relations thus entered upon would have an important bearing on the political action of the two Governments.

From the very outset of the Parliamentary session it was easy to anticipate that its course would be stormy. Numerous interpellations were announced, all bearing on the foreign policy of the Government. M. de Robilant was not popular, and the Opposition felt that if they could bring about his fall the Ministry would collapse. Victory, however, declared itself for the friends of Signor Crispi far sooner than they had anticipated, and possibly also sooner than they wished. From the commencement of the year the affairs of Abyssinia had assumed a serious aspect. A scientific mission, commanded by the Count Salimbeni, had proposed to penetrate into the interior of the country. Its leader, an eminently peaceful man, had taken with him the assurance of General Gene, commanding the expeditionary force, that no military enterprise on the part of the Italians should compromise his safety; but a few days only had elapsed when the Italian troops marched out of the fortifications of Massowah to meet the Ras Alula, commanding on behalf of King John of Abyssinia. Count Salimbeni was at once made prisoner by the Abyssinians, who forthwith demanded of the Italian commander the evacuation of Massowah. Ras Alula attacked (Jan. 25) the little fort of Saati, in advance of the Italian lines, but after three hours' fighting was repulsed. The following day, however, three companies of Italian troops, despatched to re-victual the fort, were attacked *en route* by heavy masses of the enemy. After four hours' fighting this column was almost wholly destroyed, and, according to the official report, 23 officers and 407 soldiers were killed. When this news reached Rome (Feb. 1) it caused a deep impression. In the first moment patriotism silenced all opposition. Signor Depretis immediately asked the Chamber of Deputies for a credit of 5,000,000 lire, whilst Signor Baccarini sent greeting to the brave Italian soldiers in Africa. Signor Crispi was named reporter of the Special Committee charged to examine the vote of credit demanded, and reported in complete favour of the proposal. The Chamber, on coming to its discussion (Feb. 4), began by rejecting the motion of Signor Costa to evacuate Massowah, and endorsed the vote by 317 to 12, but the order of the day expressing confidence in the Ministry was only passed by a majority of 31. Moreover, the panic caused by the first telegrams rapidly subsided. General Gene found for his troops a safe asylum within the forts of Otumlo, Arkiko, and Monkullo, but the Ministry found itself in a less secure position. The national pride had been deeply wounded, not only by the defeat at Dogali, but still more by having to apply to the French Government to assist in the transport of its reinforcements. The Cabinet forthwith (Feb. 7) tendered its resignation, which was accepted by the king. In this crisis it was M. de Robilant who was the most attacked. A

diplomat by chance, a soldier by education, he altogether wanted the parliamentary temperament, and at times was more ready to dispute with his colleagues than to conciliate his supporters. He was, moreover, too openly devoted to the Austrian alliance. M. Depretis was fully alive to the necessity of sacrificing a colleague who was a cause of weakness, but he was himself too much weakened by illness to contend against the influence of the king, and was unable to overcome the repugnance of the Court to accept either Signor Cairoli or Signor Crispi. Meanwhile the Ministerial crisis was prolonged; the king sent in succession for Signor Depretis, M. de Robilant, Signor Sarraco, and then again for Sig. Depretis. During these negotiations the Chamber had adjourned, and M. de Robilant, although out of office, continued his negotiations with the Courts of Berlin and Vienna for the renewal of the treaty of 1882. By this agreement Italy had acceded to the Austro-German alliance, but its conditions were kept secret, although, judging from the eagerness of Italy and Austria for its continuance, they were presumed to be favourable to those two Powers. An entire month passed without bringing any solution to this parliamentary comedy. M. de Robilant was ready to form a Cabinet, coupled with a dissolution of the Chamber, but to this condition the king refused to accede. At length, the treaty of the Triple Alliance having been renewed, and M. de Robilant rewarded by the Order of the Black Eagle of Prussia, the imbroglio was brought to an end, and Signor Depretis presented himself (March 10) before the Chamber and declared that, all efforts to form a new Cabinet having failed, patriotism obliged the former Ministers to resume office. Signor Crispi at once attacked the Government, but a vote of want of confidence moved by a Deputy of the Left was rejected by 214 to 184 votes. This was indeed a slight Ministerial advantage, but Signor Depretis at once adjourned the Chamber, and a new crisis arose, which lasted three weeks longer. The solution arrived at by the Minister was an alliance with the Left. Retaining in his own hands the Presidency of the Council and both the Home and Foreign Offices, and confirming his colleagues, Signori Magliani, Coppino, Grimaldi, and Admiral Brin, he gave the portfolio of Public Works to Signor Saracco, Justice to Zanardelli, the War Office to General Bertole Viale, and transferred to Signor Crispi the direction of the Home Office. This new combination made no change in the foreign politics of the country. Both the Quirinal and the Vatican desired the friendship of Germany, and that country seemed ready to lend itself to an amicable intervention between the Pope and the king. Leo XIII. had played an important part in the elections to the Reichstag, and by enjoining on Catholic electors their duty to support candidates favourable to the Septennate had assured the victory of the Government. Leo XIII. in return hoped for something more than the abandonment of the Culturkampf. The Roman

Clerical press explained the conditions upon which a reconciliation between the Papacy and the Italian Monarchy might be effected, but the discussion which arose thereon had no appreciable political result. Monsignor Rampolla, who on Cardinal Jacobini's death (Feb. 28) had become Secretary of State, brought to bear upon the negotiations the resources of his supple and astute mind, but he was not the less determined that the views of the Vatican should be reflected in the policy of Italy. On the reassembling of the Chambers (April 16) Signor Depretis made an important speech, in which he declared the aims of Italy were to labour to maintain the peace of Europe, the consequent necessity for increasing naval and military expenditure, and the obligation to meet this expenditure by new taxes. He promised, moreover, that the Government would avenge the Dogali disaster. The first sitting of the Chamber was marked by an incident of good augury for the Ministry. Signor Biancheri, President of the Chamber of Deputies, had resigned in order to facilitate Signor Depretis' negotiations with the Left. It was supposed that his successor would be Signor Cairoli, the leader of the *Pentarchia*, but that distinguished statesman himself moved that the Chamber should not accept this resignation, and Signor Biancheri resumed the Presidential chair by the unanimous vote of the Chamber. The Minister of War lost no time in laying before the House (May 2) his proposals for an increase of the army and for the reform of military administration. The measure was carefully discussed, and had passed both Houses before the end of June. By it the Italian army was to be divided into three categories: the permanent army, numbering 23,000 officers (of whom 10,000 remained on furlough during peace), and 252,000 soldiers on the peace footing, to be raised to 870,000 on the declaration of war. The movable militia was to consist of 380,000 officers and men, while the second reserve, or territorial militia, was to finally number 1,313,000 men. In this way the young Italian monarchy, with an armed force of 2,600,000, placed itself on a footing of equality with Austria-Hungary.

The magnificent fêtes given by the city of Florence on the completion of the façade of the *Duomo* furnished abundant testimony to the moral unity of the Italian nation, and the Archbishop took advantage of the opportunity to express, in a pastoral letter, his hope of a reconciliation between the Church and the nation. Nor was this good feeling limited to the scene of the festivities. In the capital the business of Parliament had been making steady progress, and the general debate on the Budget had been closed (May 20). The chief honours were carried off by Signor Crispi, whose short and precise statements and ready replies displayed more of the qualities of a keen debater than those of an impassioned orator. The discussion in committee was pushed forward with no less energy, the Chamber meeting even on Sundays to expedite business. The estimates of the Home and Public



Works Departments were despatched in two sittings, and a similar agreement showed itself with regard to the other demands of the Government. In the debate on the vote for Public Education (June 10) Signor Borio, a member of the Left, asked for some explanation of the rumours relative to overtures to the Holy See attributed to the Ministry. Signor Zanardelli at once replied that no act of the Government could have given foundation to such reports. "I am no admirer," continued the Minister of Justice, "of disunion between religion and fatherland. I desire to see a clergy imbued with a sense of its duties towards the State, and holding itself aloof from party squabbles. We have given the clergy the benefit of most liberal laws, but there we will leave them." Signor Crispi, who spoke somewhat later in the debate, was not less explicit. "It is no duty of ours," he said, "to concern ourselves with what takes place in the Vatican, where, however, there is now a Pontiff who is no ordinary man. Time, which ripens everything, may also bring fruit in its due course; but it is no part of our programme or of our intention to set aside or violate in the least degree those principles of national right which have been sanctioned by the popular vote." Beyond this point the Ministry would not go, and Signor Zanardelli moved and carried the rejection of a motion brought forward by Signori Maffi, Costa, and Armiroldi, proposing to abrogate the articles of the penal code which restricted the rights of strikes and trade combinations. Crispi was not unnaturally compared with Gambetta, and the Radicals added that, like his predecessor, he had not severed himself from his tail.

The partial renewal of the Municipal Council of Rome gave rise (June 20) to a curious and eager electoral struggle, owing in great measure to a promise made by the Pope to take part in the municipal election. The Clericals, following the example of their Belgian confrères, flocked to the polling booths in large numbers. The result of their admirable discipline was at once apparent in the return of thirteen of their nominees against five only of their opponents' list. The defeat, however, of the Nationalist party on this occasion was ominous of the future, when the Pope should withdraw the injunction laid upon the faithful to take no part in Parliamentary elections. The Liberals attributed their defeat in this case to the weakness of the Government and their anxiety to please Germany, whose interest was to conciliate the Pope. This connection of causes was not at first sight apparent, but the Extreme Left in the Chamber seemingly considered it to be real, inasmuch as they challenged the Government to explain its refusal to take part officially in the French *Exposition universelle* of 1889. Signor Cavallotti, in pressing the interpellation, unfolded the views of his group. "To do honour to 1789 is to do honour to human reason, and to recognise human rights in their highest and purest forms." In reply Signor Grimaldi, avoiding the issue thus offered, replied simply that

the refusal of Italy only referred to an official representation of the Government, and that in acting thus the precedents of later years, prescribed by the urgent needs of the Budget, had been scrupulously followed. Moreover, the economic view of the question was no longer what it had been in 1867 and 1878, for throughout Western Europe the principle of free trade had been almost universally replaced by that of protection. For this reason, and it was the only one, the Ministry had come to the conclusion that there was no reason for Government to be officially represented; but he energetically protested against the idea of any foreign influence having been exercised to induce Italy to hold aloof from the French fêtes. Signor Cavallotti replied that these explanations did not satisfy him, but that he would not move a vote of censure, although convinced that the country would support him. In proof of this assertion, a private committee was organised to enable Italian industry and commerce to take part in the Exposition, and a list was opened which was subscribed to by all classes, one private person giving 50,000 lire. Its subsequent success, however, was somewhat compromised by events of greater importance to which public attention was drawn away.

The Abyssinian imbroglio was rapidly approaching an acute phase. The Government, pressed by the military authorities, was forced (June 29) to ask for an extraordinary grant of 20,000,000 lire, and in the debate which ensued Signor Bonghi took occasion to inquire as to the rights put forward by France with regard to Zeila and Dessi in the Red Sea. Signor Depretis at once replied that the pretensions were imaginary, whereupon M. de Mouy, the French ambassador, addressed a remonstrance to the Italian Government, to which Signor Depretis replied at length, and suggesting that after this interchange of views each Power should reserve its rights to its own opinions. This somewhat feeble conclusion was not satisfactory to the Italian public, accustomed as they had been to a display of greater subtlety and resource on the part of their Prime Minister. The reason was not long in being explained. On the day following the despatch of this note Signor Depretis, worn out by age and illness, took to his bed, from which he never again rose.

The municipal elections were not long in showing their influence on the counsels of the Vatican. Cardinal Rampolla lost no time in addressing to the various papal nuncios (June 22) a circular despatch, in which he protested against any intention on the part of the Holy See to renounce its claims to the States of the Church. Whilst admitting that the language of the Ministers Zanardelli and Crispi had been moderate and conciliatory, the Cardinal called their comments absurd and their assertions unfounded, and in another paragraph he declared it useless to insist upon the incoherence and blunders of the Ministerial statements. The Cardinal went on to insist on the immemorial rights

of the Pope to temporal power, as a "necessary buttress of the independence of the Holy See, of the free propaganda of its doctrines, of the complete freedom of its ministry against domination and oppression of every kind." The moment chosen for putting forward this argument was more propitious than its force was apparent. The German Government a few months before had sought the intervention of the "unbuttressed" Papacy in its struggle with popular feeling; Belgium had entreated for a word of command to the Catholic Deputies; the Duke of Norfolk was getting ready to invoke the influence of the Papacy on the side of the English Government in Ireland. Moreover, Rome was about to become the scene of the great rejoicings and homage by which the Catholics throughout the world had decided to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Sovereign Pontiff's entry into the priesthood. The news, too, that on the day of the great ceremonial the Pope would take part in the services in St. Peter's destroyed once for all the legend of his "captivity." If Leo XIII. remained within the precincts of the Eternal City it was by his own free will, and the Italian Parliament, untroubled by further dangers and debates, hastened to set the example of seeking a change of scene. The Budget was passed with little or no alteration, the negotiations with Austria and France relative to fresh treaties of commerce were allowed to languish; and M. de Robilant was free to take his twenty millions for the Abyssinian expedition. On the occasion of the vote of this sum (July 5) the Minister openly avowed that he had never looked with favour upon the Italian occupation of Assab, and his objections had been so strong that in 1885 he had declined to join the Ministry. Since, however, the step had been taken there was no alternative but to remain at Massowah; and he insisted upon the danger of the country finding itself engaged in an African campaign at the moment when the conflagration in Europe became general.

The session closed on the following day, and public attention was at once directed to a series of calamities. The cholera, which had seemingly smouldered during the winter, broke out in Southern Italy, and rapidly spread to Sicily and Sardinia, where, especially in the districts round Palermo, it assumed a virulent form, and drove the half-educated peasantry to many acts of desperation. A serious riot at one moment threatened Naples, in consequence of the bursting of the new aqueduct of Il Serino, on which a quarter of the city was wholly dependent for its water-supply; and for a few days every cask of more or less pure water commanded five lire and upwards. Before the month closed Signor Depretis, the most skilful of Italian statesmen, had succumbed (July 27) to his long illness, but not until he had reached his native town of Stradella, which he had represented in every Parliament since 1849.

A Ministerial crisis naturally ensued upon the death of the

Prime Minister, and the king was forced to return to Rome in the height of summer in order to settle the difficulties of the situation. M. de Robilant and Signor Crispi once more found themselves face to face. After five days' hesitation the king, surmounting his personal feelings, called upon the latter to assume the presidency of the Council. In all other respects the Ministry remained the same. It was reduced by only one name—the name, it is true, of an ancient worker with Cavour and Garibaldi. Nevertheless, Signor Crispi's promotion to the premiership indicated a still greater evolution of the Government towards the Left, and nothing was changed in the foreign policy of the country. Signor Crispi took advantage of the vacation to push forward the preparations for the new Abyssinian expedition, but simultaneously he strove to retard it, or at least to render it unnecessary, by invoking indirectly the mediation of the British Government between Italy and the Negus of Abyssinia. It was, perhaps, with the idea of giving the world a high opinion of his diplomatic talents that Signor Crispi took so much pains to dissemble his real intentions. His outdoor speeches, as well as the articles in his newspaper *La Riforma*, sung in turns the praises of the Triple Alliance and of universal peace, but every step in one direction was immediately followed by one in the opposite sense. Thus King Humbert having received the congratulations of the Municipality of Rome on the anniversary of the occupation of that city (Sept. 20), replied by a telegram which created great sensation:—"Rome can offer a welcome and protection to all who may come to render homage to the Sovereign Pontiff, and can be at the same time the capital of a strong and independent people." On the other hand, the *Riforma* declared that manifestations in behalf of the temporal power would on no account be tolerated. A few days later the *Osservatore Romano*, the official organ of the Vatican, hinted that the Italian Post Office was in the habit of opening letters addressed to and despatched from the Curia. The Italian Government protested against this calumny, which, doubtless, was unfounded; but the police, whose forbearance had also been called in doubt, thought right to make display of increased severity, and seized, in the shops of certain dealers in church ornaments, copies of a petition in favour of the re-establishment of the temporal power. Far more important, however, was the interview which took place (Oct. 2) at Friedrichsruhe between Signor Crispi and Prince Bismarck. At a banquet given to the Italian Premier at Turin (Oct. 26) after his return, he publicly declared himself a warm supporter of peace with France, and that his next strongest desire was to contribute towards maintaining a good understanding with that republic. At this very moment General Ferron, the French Minister of War, was making a careful inspection of the newly erected fortresses on the Alpine frontier. In this way did both nations prepare for possible emergencies. The autumn session was devoted

in its earlier debates almost exclusively to economical questions. The doctrine of free trade, out of favour both in France and Germany, was viewed with as little satisfaction by Italian politicians. Signor Magliani easily obtained a vote (Nov. 26) for increasing considerably the duties on sugar and other products. After lengthy debates in both Chambers, pointing to general unanimity on this and similar subjects, the attitude of the Ministry towards the Papacy was keenly discussed. In a speech (Nov. 25) the Pope complained of the abolition of ecclesiastical tithe in Northern Italy and the corruption of the youth of the country. To this Signor Crispi replied that the state of Italy was a subject of admiration for such as were able to judge how much she had gained since the suppression of the temporal power. In some respects she might be considered as setting an example to other nations, for a measure abolishing capital punishment had been accepted in principle, and was at that moment referred to a committee. The country of Beccaria was once more in front of the nations in the cause of criminal reform.

As the year closed crowds were flocking to Rome to celebrate with befitting splendour the Pontifical Jubilee. From every quarter, not only Catholics, but the sovereigns and chiefs of Protestant States, emulated each other in rendering homage to the policy of Leo XIII. Magnificent presents marked the devotion and respect with which the spiritual head of the Catholic Church was regarded. An exhibition arranged to display these marvels of art, however, gave rise to a quarrel between the Duc di Torlonia, Syndic of Rome, and the Ministry. The Syndic had proposed to the Municipal Council an address which was to be delivered to the Pope on the part of the Urbs Roma on the occasion of his jubilee. The clerical members of the Council warmly endorsed the suggestion, but the Liberal members insisted upon inserting the words "capital of Italy." This would have completely changed the character of the manifestation, and would have transformed the intended homage into a sort of declaration of war. The Papal Curia skilfully took advantage of this incident. By order of the Pope, Cardinal Parocchi handed over to the Municipality of Rome a considerable sum of money for the relief of the poor of the city. The Duc di Torlonia, unwilling to be wanting in courtesy, went in person to thank the Cardinal Vicar, Monsignor Parocchi. This step was looked upon by the Italian Ministry as an act of defiance, and the duke was dismissed (Dec. 30) from his post of Syndic of Rome. In Florence, a few days before, an unpleasant incident arose out of the action of Prætor Torsini, who insisted upon forcing his way into the French Consulate, in order to place seals upon the papers of a deceased Tunisian named Hussein Pacha. The Consul protested against this violation of international law, and a conflict as to jurisdiction seemed imminent. In Abyssinia no progress was being made. The Portal mission despatched by Queen Victoria to the Negus

Johannis had failed in its efforts to bring about an understanding. The Italian Government consequently found itself forced to one of three solutions: 1st, to undertake a serious expedition into the interior of Abyssinia; 2nd, to remain strictly on the defensive, and by so doing abandon to destruction by disease or otherwise the expeditionary force; or, 3rd, to withdraw its troops, a step little in keeping with the traditions of the House of Savoy. At the close of the year the Government had arrived at no decision.

The Budget of the year 1887-8 differed but little in its general aspect from that of its predecessors, the total receipts being estimated at 1,758,818,244 lire, and the ordinary expenditure at 1,801,757,180 lire, of which 1,486,062,121 lire were for the ordinary service of the year. The exceptional efforts necessitated by increased armaments had disturbed the financial equilibrium, but the general situation was considered hopeful should the peace of Europe remain unbroken.

## CHAPTER II.

### GERMANY AND AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

#### I. GERMANY.

THE debate on the German Army Bill (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1886, p. 357) was resumed on January 11, and both Count Moltke and Prince Bismarck spoke with more than usual emphasis on the necessity of increasing the military forces of the country. The former pointed out that "all the greater European Governments are earnestly making preparations to meet an uncertain future," and that "on every side the question is asked: 'Shall we have war?'" He admitted that strong Governments were guarantees of peace, as "no chief of a State would voluntarily undertake the responsibility" of beginning a European war; "but the passions of the people, the ambition of party leaders, the excitement of public opinion, are elements which may become stronger than Governments." "If," he continued, "in this political tension any Power is in a position to work for the continuance of peace, it is Germany; but to be able effectually to carry out this difficult, perhaps thankless, task of mediation Germany must be strong and well prepared for war." He added that if the demand of the Government were rejected, he believed "we shall most certainly have war;" and he ended with the remark that "the army is the first institution of all in the country, for it alone renders the existence of all other institutions possible. All political and civil liberty, all the results of culture, the finances, the State, all stand or fall with the army." Following Count Moltke, Prince Bismarck said that the German Government by introducing the Bill "expressed their conviction that the present defensive strength of Germany does not afford the nation

that guarantee for the protection of its imperial interests to which it has an indefeasible right." This was also "the unanimous opinion of all the military authorities in Germany." The Government had no desire of conquest, no "intention to go to war at an early date, either for certain special purposes, or for the sake of prestige, or in order to interfere with preponderating forces in the affairs of other nations—as, for instance, with a view to arranging the Eastern question." The German Government had "no warlike aspirations, and no necessities for which it must draw the sword." It had succeeded in maintaining peace for sixteen years, "not, however, without meeting and overcoming strong tendencies in the other direction." Referring to the position of Germany with regard to other Powers, the Chancellor observed that Germany had considered it her chief duty to achieve a reconciliation, if possible, with the States with which she had been at war. In respect to Austria this aim "was fully accomplished." "We stand," he said, "on such terms of mutual trust and good-will with Austria as never existed before, neither during the period of the German Bund nor during the earlier days of the Holy Roman Empire." Another object of German policy was "the foundation of a new friendship between the three Empires." That friendship, he continued, "is now beyond any doubt. We expect from Russia neither an attack nor a hostile policy. . . . Our relations with Russia afford no motive for this Bill. We continue with the present Czar on the same friendly footing as with the late Czar, and this state of things will not under any circumstances be disturbed by us. . . . The Czar Alexander III. has always had the courage of his opinions, and if he wished to quarrel with Germany he would be the first to say so. Everybody who has had the honour of approaching him can trust him. Hence I, for my part, do not accept as an argument for this Bill that we might have to face a Franco-Russian alliance. . . . We shall have no conflict with Russia unless we go to Bulgaria for the express purpose of provoking a war. . . . What is Bulgaria to us? It is nothing to us who rules in Bulgaria, or even what becomes of Bulgaria, and I should have deserved to be prosecuted for high treason if I had acted so stupidly as to go to war for Bulgaria. . . . The difficulty of our position is not to keep peace with Austria and Russia, but between Russia and Austria. . . . If, however, we had to reckon only with the state of things in the East, such a Bill as this would not have been decided upon; but with regard to France it is different; . . . the question of how we shall stand with France in the future is to me less secure. . . . We have no more reason for attacking France than we have any intention of doing so. The idea of commencing war now, because at a later day the prospects might not be so good for us, has never entered my mind. In 1867 I was opposed to pushing the Luxemburg question into a war; and although in 1870 we were more successful

than we could have been three years before, I was against going to war, because Louis Napoleon might have died, in which case all the calamities of that campaign would have been avoided." Prince Bismarck added that he believed an offensive war against Germany "would not be very popular in France." All readers of French history, however, knew that "in times of emergency the decisions of the people had been guided by energetic minorities. Those Frenchmen who desire a war with us desire that they may enter upon it with the largest possible forces. Their task is to feed the sacred fire of revenge, in accordance with Gambetta's advice: 'Ne parlez jamais de la guerre, mais pensez-y toujours.' . . . This appears a highly dangerous proceeding. . . . Our confidence in the disposition of the Ministers of France, and in the feelings towards us of the majority of Frenchmen, cannot lull me into security, so as to lead me to say that we have no longer any occasion to fear a war with France. My conviction is that such a war is to be feared. . . . A less pacific Ministry may come into power any day, and no peaceful assurances can satisfy us in this respect. . . . With words I can do nothing. Words are not soldiers, nor are speeches battalions, and when we have the enemy in the Fatherland and read them speeches they will laugh at us. The possibility of a French attack, which to-day is not imminent, will recur as soon as France thinks she is stronger than we are, either by alliances or by being better armed, and this being so we must be prepared for such contingencies. In case of an unsuccessful war, the peace of 1870 would be mere child's play as compared with the peace of 1890. We should have the same French against us whom we met from 1807 to 1813, and who would again suck our blood so that we should be paralysed for thirty years. We absolutely adhere to our demand for the complete Septennate, and do not give way by a hair's breadth. Do you wish to make the rise and fall of the German army dependent on majorities in the Reichstag? If so, we will appeal to the electors to ascertain whether this is really the wish of the nation. If you do not speedily satisfy the wishes of the Federal Governments as to the defensive forces of Germany by a complete acceptance of the Bill, we prefer to deal with another Reichstag. We will enter into no further negotiations with you, but the danger in which we might place the German nation by delay will force us to promptly obtain a decisive answer, or to address ourselves to others who will give us such an answer." Finally, in reply to a remark made by one of the speakers as to Germany's Eastern policy, the Chancellor said that Germany and Austria would each make the interests of the other its own, but that it would not be possible for one Power absolutely and entirely to sacrifice itself for the other. "We have interests which do not affect Austria, and Austria has interests which are far removed from us, and each must therefore go its own way."

The debate continued for three days, and on the last day



Count Moltke repeated his previous statement that a Septennate was indispensable, as "new formations only become effective in the course of years, and stability and duration form the basis of all military organisations." An interesting digression here occurred on the subject of the policy of Germany with regard to Bulgaria. Herr Richter having made an attack on the Government on this subject, Prince Bismarck replied by reading some telegrams which passed between him and Baron Thielemann, the German envoy at Sofia. The first, dated Sept. 19, 1886, when the fate of the Bulgarian conspirators was in the balance, gave the following instruction to Baron Thielemann: "Do your utmost to delay the executions. Peace would, perhaps, be disturbed by them." The reply, on the 20th, was: "I have taken the necessary steps to delay the executions, and have had a favourable reception. In any case nothing will be done till General Kaulbars' arrival." This, the Chancellor observed, was entirely in accordance with the request made to the Bulgarian Government by the Russian *chargé d'affaires*. In a subsequent telegram Prince Bismarck stated to Baron Thielemann: "From your telegram of the 22nd the Chancellor has seen with satisfaction that the danger of immediate executions is removed. The purpose of his instructions, which was from the first only to delay the executions, is thereby fully gained." The Chancellor then alleged that the Opposition had tried to bring about war between Russia and Germany, and that the majority in the German Parliament was vacillating and uncertain. "We cannot," he continued, "trust the existence of the army to a vacillating majority. If the status of the army is to depend on Parliament and budget grants, we shall be compelled to say: 'Videat Imperator ne quid detrimenti capiat Respublica,' and *salus Reipublicæ* will then become *suprema lex*. We of the Government adhere to peace, but these politicians are willing to endanger it. We are to oppose the Czar, and it is suggested that even France would ally herself with us in such an undertaking. . . . But France certainly will do nothing to irritate Russia, and England could fight Russia better than we could, for we have an immensely long frontier on the side of Russia, while England, even in case of war, has nothing really serious to fear. We wish for peace. As I said in 1867 on the Luxemburg question, matters are not settled by a single war, for the defeated party will take the first opportunity of another war to obtain revenge. If we are forced to make war, it will be because another State attacks us. We shall then defend ourselves to the last drop of our blood. Should we be defeated we would still try to fight, for it is better to perish honourably than to live in shame. But for Bulgaria—for Hecuba—we shall never come into conflict with Russia. We have no interest in conquering Russian territory, and have already more Polish provinces than we want." The division took place on Jan. 14, and Baron Stauffenberg's amendment to the

Government proposal, under which the increased force of 468,409 men was to be granted for three years only instead of for seven, as asked by the Government, was carried by a majority of 183 to 154. Directly the Chancellor was informed of the result he drew a paper from his portfolio, filled in the date, and, as the President rose to put the next clause of the Bill, asked permission to speak. "I have," he said, "to communicate to the Reichstag an Imperial message." The whole House stood up, and the Chancellor then read a decree dissolving the Reichstag.

On the day after this announcement the Prussian Landtag was opened. The speech from the throne showed that there was a deficit in the Prussian Budget, as in the Imperial one. The Prussian revenue, it said, was gradually diminishing, while the contribution of Prussia to the Imperial Budget continued largely to increase. It was now necessary for Prussia to raise a loan of 28,500,000 marks in order to cover the deficit of the year 1887-8; and the revenue from the State railways was estimated to produce 2,500,000 marks less than in the previous year. In reply to this speech the Upper House of the Prussian Diet voted an address to the Emperor on the subject of the Army Bill, assuring him of its unchangeable loyalty and its confidence that "the Prussian people will be ready to make every sacrifice in order permanently to maintain the army in a condition indispensable to the safety of the Fatherland."

Both sides now exerted their utmost efforts to work upon public opinion in view of the coming elections, and great excitement was produced among the Clericals who had voted against the Government by the publication of a letter, dated Jan. 8, from Cardinal Jacobini to the Papal nuncio at Munich, in which the Pontifical Secretary of State, in view of the impending revision of the Church laws, expressed the Pope's wish that the Centre party should favour in every possible way the Government Army Bill. "It is well known," said the Cardinal in this letter, "that the Government attaches the greatest importance to the passing of the Bill. If by its adoption it should be found possible to avert the danger of a war in the near future, the Centre party will have rendered a great service to the Fatherland, to the cause of humanity, and to Europe. In the contrary case, a hostile attitude would be regarded as unpatriotic, and the dissolution of the Reichstag would cause embarrassments and uncertainties to the Centre party." In a second letter, dated Jan. 21, the Cardinal expressed regret at the Centre not having adopted the course indicated in his previous communication, and urged the Roman Catholic electors to purchase peace and liberty for their Church by returning to the Reichstag deputies who would be willing to vote the Septennate. Notwithstanding this strong remonstrance, the leader of the Centre, Dr. Windthorst, persisted in his opposition to the measure. At a meeting of the members of the party held at Cologne on Feb. 6, he said that the Pope's

wish that the Septennate should be adopted by the Reichstag had nothing to do with the merits of that measure, but was prompted by considerations of general policy. Had it been possible to carry out the Pope's wish the Centre party would have done so ; but no one could do impossibilities. He was persuaded that " the Pope would not be displeased with his faithful sons when he closely examined their reasons."

On the Government side the sittings of the Prussian Landtag afforded Prince Bismarck an opportunity of making some sharp electioneering speeches. On Jan. 24, during the debate on the estimates for the Prussian legations at the German courts, he remarked that the Federal Governments had by the Constitution transferred a very essential portion of their rights to the Emperor, and that he is therefore " not in a position to relinquish any vestige of these rights to anybody—not even to a Reichstag, and especially not to one which had shown so little confidence in the Federal Governments." The main duty, he proceeded, which is attached to the rights of the Emperor is the protection of the empire. " This also is placed by the Constitution in the hands of the Emperor, and not in those of a parliamentary majority or of certain party leaders." It was impossible that the Reichstag should be allowed arbitrarily to interfere with the regulation of military matters. By Article 60 of the Constitution the effective of the army is fixed by law ; this cannot mean that it should be fixed periodically or provided for in each budget. The Government had a perfect right to demand that the effective should be fixed permanently, but as a means of attaining a progressive development in these matters it agreed to accept a compromise for seven years. This, having been twice renewed, had become the custom, and such a development of the organisation of the army as is necessary in view of the dangerous situation on the Continent could not be attained in three years. After ironically remarking that the irreconcilables in Alsace-Lorraine would be wanted to obtain a majority in the Reichstag, the Chancellor continued : " How can we entrust to such a majority the weal or woe of the German Empire ? The dissolution of the Reichstag was an indispensable necessity in order to arrive at a sound state of things. In taking that step we have acted with perfect *bona fides*, and have once more appealed to the people's love of the Fatherland and their fidelity to the Constitution. These were the motives that impelled us, and from them no return is possible. . . . Why should I regard the members of the Progressist party as loyal to the king ? I do not believe in electroplated royalism. I ask, why is everything rejected that is demanded in the name of the king and in the interest of the kingdom ? I regard the final objects of the Progressist party as anti-monarchical and crypto-republican. The Progressist party, in the struggle for Schleswig-Holstein, were more on the Danish than on the German side ; they voted against

the North German Reichstag and the Imperial Constitution ; they proposed disarmament in 1869, and they have, in fact, been against everything which the Government had striven to obtain, and has obtained in spite of them. I believe, therefore, that I shall carry the Army Bill because the Progressists are against it."

The elections took place in the last week of February, and the result was a complete victory for the Government. The German Liberal party was almost annihilated ; it lost 88 seats out of 67. The losses of the Socialists and Guelphs (secessionist Hanoverians) were also considerable ; the former retained only 11 seats out of 24, and the latter 4 out of 11. The Centre, or Clerical party, was not much affected by the Pope's intervention on behalf of the Government ; it only lost 2 seats out of 99. At Berlin, however, the Government candidates were all defeated, and the representatives of the capital were 2 Socialists and 4 Radicals, as in the previous Parliament. The total loss in votes of the German Liberal party was 447,702 ; the Socialists, on the other hand, though they lost 16 seats, gained an aggregate of 224,192 votes. The Government parties (Conservatives and National Liberals), which in the previous Parliament had 157 seats, now had 220. The greatest gain was that of the National Liberal party, which now numbered 100 seats instead of 51. Under these circumstances the success of the Army Bill was assured, and it passed with immense majorities on March 9, the Centre having decided to abstain from voting, as they could not "for constitutional reasons" support the Septennate. Steps were at once taken to form a fourth battalion to each regiment of the line, and a third—consisting of two companies from Prussia, one from Saxony, and one from Württemberg—to the Berlin railway regiment. It was estimated that the ultimate effect of the new law would be to increase the German army by at least 170,000 men. Among other measures passed by the German Parliament in this session were Bills for regulating the taxes on brandy and sugar and the sale of margarine, for insuring sailors and men employed on buildings against accidents occurring in consequence of their work, and for providing pensions for the widows and orphans of soldiers and sailors. Besides the elections for the German Parliament, separate elections were held for the Parliaments of Bavaria, Saxony, and Baden, all of which resulted in victories for the moderate Liberal party. In Bavaria and Baden the Ultramontanes were completely defeated, and in Saxony the number of members of the Democratic Socialist party was considerably diminished.

A further step in the policy of conciliation towards the Vatican was the Prussian Church Bill, introduced in the Upper House of the Landtag on March 23. After a very conciliatory speech from Bishop Kopp of Fulda, and an attack on the Bill by Professor Beseler, Prince Bismarck said that he had changed his views on this and other matters since the May laws were passed, but

that a politician could not adhere permanently to any given line of policy; on the contrary, he must sometimes even hurt delicate feelings in order to gain great political ends. He did not, however, believe that the feelings of the Protestant population would be hurt by this Bill. His position resembled that of 1866, when it was only in the teeth of opposition that he could carry his projects. Some individuals might be displeased, but the peace of the State and of the nation must be restored. "Peace with the Catholic Church," he added, "will also strengthen our relations with foreign countries, especially Austria." The State had not given up any of its sovereign rights, and he had never dreamed of engaging in permanent strife with the Holy See. As long ago as 1875 he had called Cardinal Antonelli's attention to the danger which would arise from the formation of a Catholic political party in Prussia. From the moment when the Curia manifested a pacific disposition he had put forward a programme of peace, for the realisation of which he had now worked ten years. By the proposals before the House he hoped to obtain a lasting peace. But should that expectation not be fulfilled, the measures now proposed could at any moment be easily rescinded. It was imperative that the Centre, which constantly allied itself with all elements hostile to the State and the Empire, should be deprived of any pretext for opposition which the existing state of the law might afford. It was out of regard for the unity of the nation and the dangers with which that unity was threatened that he had initiated the present Ecclesiastical Bill, and he had done this with a full recognition of his responsibility. Whether the Bill would lead to the establishment of religious peace could not yet be known, as the leaders of the Centre party had placed themselves in opposition to the Pope. The principles of the Progressist party itself were not less dangerous than the subversive tendencies of the lower clergy, in the removal of which the Pope and the Emperor had an equal interest.

After Prince Bismarck's speech the Bill was passed by the Upper House without further opposition. The concessions it made to the Vatican were considerable. By the first clause the Roman Catholic bishops of Limburg and Osnabrück were empowered to open seminaries for the education of priests; and thenceforward students from any part of the empire could be trained in the seminaries of their own faith, instead of being obliged to go to the universities. The second clause dealt with the famous "*Anzeigepflicht*," which had been the great bone of contention since 1873. For the last fourteen years the governors of provinces had been empowered to veto the appointment of any parish priest when they had reason to believe that he would act contrary to the laws of the empire, or would in any way trouble the public peace. The Bill entirely abolished this right of veto, with the reservation that it "may be exercised when it is considered that the priest is, for civil or political reasons, unsuited

to the post for which he has been nominated." This language is, of course, designedly vague; but it appears that the reservation was accepted by the Vatican.

Other clauses freed the bishops from the obligation they had been under since 1873 to fill up vacant cures within a given period, restored to them almost complete liberty of action as regards ecclesiastical discipline, and permitted the re-establishment within the empire of certain of the religious orders. All religious congregations which existed before the passing of the law of May 31, 1875, were to be allowed to re-establish themselves, provided their objects were purely religious, charitable, or contemplative. As a matter of form, each order will have to obtain governmental authority for its re-establishment. The Society of Jesus, which is a teaching order, was not included in this permission. But Prince Bismarck's determination never to readmit the Jesuits is well known.

Thus the Bill left very few vestiges of the May laws remaining. Yet neither Dr. Windthorst nor the Bishop of Fulda were satisfied with it. They demanded that all the expelled orders should be readmitted unconditionally, and that when an understanding could not be arrived at between the Roman Catholic authorities and the civil power as to the nomination of a priest to a vacant curacy, the bishop should still have the right to instal him. It seemed as if the Bill would be defeated in the Lower House by a coalition between the National Liberals, who thought it gave too much to the Church, and the Centre, who thought it gave too little. But the difficulty was settled by a letter from the Pope to the Archbishop of Cologne, urging the Roman Catholic members to vote for the Bill. This time, the question being a purely religious one, they had no alternative but to yield; and the Bill passed the Lower House accordingly by a majority of 143 to 100 on April 27.

Of the commercial measures brought before the German Parliament during the year, the most important were the Sugar Tax Bill and the Bill for duties on corn. The former, which was passed on June 14, imposed a tax of 80 pfennings per cwt. on beetroot, and of 12 marks per cwt. on sugar. It also allowed a bounty of  $8\frac{1}{2}$  marks per cwt. on the export of raw sugar, of 9 marks 77 pfennings on that of first-class refined sugar, and of 9 marks 10 pfennings on second-class refined sugar. In the Bill for a duty on corn, which was passed on Dec. 12, the Government proposal of a 6 marks duty on wheat and rye was rejected, and a 5 marks duty was substituted at the instance of Herr Windthorst.

The principle of Germanisation, which during the past few years had been adopted with increased stringency by the Government in its policy towards the Poles, was the leading motive of two measures which greatly increased the hostility of the inhabitants of the Duchy of Posen to their German rulers. On May 7

a Bill was introduced in the Prussian Landtag for a new division of the Duchy of Posen and the province of West Prussia into administrative districts, and the Minister of the Interior openly declared that the object of the Bill was to increase and strengthen the German element in the Polish provinces of the kingdom. The measure which caused the greatest indignation, however, was a decree ordering that, from Oct. 1, the teaching of the Polish language in all the elementary schools of the Duchy of Posen should cease. This measure elicited strong remonstrances in the Polish papers, and at the beginning of December a large meeting of Poles of all classes was held at Posen to protest against it. It was remarkable that some of the most patriotic speeches made on this occasion came from peasants, showing that the national spirit is as strong in the lowest class of the population as among the nobles.

The question of the administration of Alsace-Lorraine came on for discussion on June 10, when a Bill was brought before the House conferring extended powers on the Government in the selection and appointment of burgomasters and their assistants in that province. The Alsatian members warmly opposed the Bill, which, they said, would enable the Government to appoint a dictator in every village. The Minister of the Interior replied that the measure was rendered necessary by the philo-French agitation which had recently sprung up in Alsace-Lorraine, and which was largely propagated by the burgomasters and their assistants. The Government could not, he added, be responsible for the future of the annexed territories if this propaganda were allowed to continue. The Centre party opposed the Bill, but it was, nevertheless, accepted without amendment. The consequence was the elimination from the higher local appointments in Alsace-Lorraine of men with French sympathies, and on the whole a more rigid system of administration than that which had prevailed under the late Field-Marshal Manteuffel. The new governor, Prince Hohenlohe, has entirely given up the policy of conciliation pursued by his more genial predecessor, and his unpopularity was the main cause of the entire defeat of the Government candidates at the elections. One of the first steps which gave rise to the Prince's unpopularity was the summary expulsion from Alsace-Lorraine, on April 1, of M. Antoine, the chief representative of the French party in the German Parliament, who, in 1883, had been impeached for high treason (ANNUAL REGISTER, 1883, p. 244).

Some rather high-handed measures were taken this year by the Germans in Samoa. Several robberies having been committed by the natives on the German plantations, and stones having been thrown at some Germans as they were returning from a banquet in honour of the Emperor William's birthday, King Malietoa was called upon to compensate the planters and give satisfaction for the insult to the German Emperor. No

reply was returned to this demand, and the German squadron accordingly landed 500 men, who hoisted the flag of Tamasese, the rival king, proclaimed him monarch of the Samoan islands, and declared war against Malietoa. The latter wished to resist, but the British and American consuls issued a proclamation advising submission to the inevitable. Tamasese was then installed as king without opposition, and Malietoa was sent into exile (Aug. 25).

The military measures taken by Russia at the end of 1886 had created general alarm for the peace of Europe, and it was remarked that in a formal letter of thanks which was addressed on New Year's Day by the German Emperor to his army, in return for their congratulations on the celebration of the eightieth anniversary of his entrance into military service, there was not a word expressing confidence in the maintenance of peace. The alarm was considerably increased by the news that a French police inspector, M. Schnaebelé, had been arrested on the Franco-German frontier, near Pagny, as he was proceeding to Ars-sur-Moselle to have an interview with the German police-inspector there at the latter's request. The usual dispute followed as to whether the arrest had taken place on French or on German soil, and the reason given by the German authorities for the arrest was that in an inquiry into charges of treasonable practices against a number of Alsatians, evidence had been produced that M. Schnaebelé was concerned in transmitting to Paris information as to German fortresses furnished by Alsatians in the pay of the French Government. Shortly after, however (April 28), M. Schnaebelé was released by order of the German Emperor, and in a despatch forwarded on the same day to M. Herbette, the French ambassador at Berlin, Prince Bismarck explained that, although the German Government considered that M. Schnaebelé's arrest, in view of the proofs of his guilt, was abundantly justified, it had considered it expedient to set him at liberty on the general principle that business meetings of frontier officials "must always be regarded as protected by a mutually assured safe-conduct." Another incident which produced much excitement at the time occurred on the Franco-German frontier on Sept. 25. Five French sportsmen, accompanied by a number of keepers, were shooting at La Corbeille, a spot a few yards from the frontier, when a German soldier, who had been ordered to guard the German territory at this point, thinking that the Frenchmen were poachers, called to them, and, not receiving any reply, fired, killing one of the keepers and wounding one of the sportsmen below the knee. Here, too, there was a conflict of evidence as to whether the sportsmen were on German territory when they were fired upon. The soldier swore that they were, and the Frenchmen were equally confident that they were not. The affair was ultimately settled by the German Government paying an indemnity of 50,000 francs to the keeper's widow, and



ordering the soldier to be tried for manslaughter. The trial was not concluded at the end of the year.

On Aug. 6 the German and Austrian Emperors met, as in previous years, at Gastein, but the meeting had no political significance beyond showing that the alliance between the two empires was as close as ever. Of much more importance was the visit of Signor Crispi, the Italian Premier, to Prince Bismarck at his country house of Friedrichsruhe on Oct. 2, after the latter's interview with Count Kalnoky, the Austrian Minister for Foreign Affairs, on Sept. 14. Italy had already joined the Austro-German alliance, but the meeting of her Prime Minister with the German Chancellor showed that, in view of the menacing aspect of affairs in Europe, she wished to come to a closer understanding with her allies, and to make a public demonstration of the fact that she had formed with them what was described as a "League of Peace." "Signor Crispi's visit to Friedrichsruhe," said Prince Bismarck's organ, the *Nord-deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, "makes manifest the complete agreement of the two statesmen in their resolution to maintain peace, and to do their utmost to hinder, and, in case of need, to ward off, a European war, both going hand in hand with Austria-Hungary." The Austrian semi-official organ, the *Pester Lloyd*, added that, "by joining Austria and Germany, Italy has not only won prestige such as she never before possessed, but she has also gained the certainty that she will attain all the territorial and commercial ends she must necessarily have in view in order to secure such an extension in Europe and other parts of the world as becomes a great Power of her rank." Even more significant was a statement made by Signor Crispi to a representative of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* on his way back to Rome. Replying to a question as to Russia and Bulgaria, the Italian Premier said: "There can be no doubt that Italy, like every other European State, has every reason to fear Russia's advance to Constantinople. We cannot allow the Mediterranean to become a Russian lake. As to our sympathies with the Bulgarian people and its independence, rest assured that the Italians wish prosperity to all nations, including the Bulgarians. This is part and parcel of the natural aspirations of a free people like ourselves."

The first result of these interviews was that Germany, who had previously shown some inclination to support Russia in her attempts to remove Prince Ferdinand from Bulgaria, now assumed an entirely passive attitude in that question. The internal difficulties of France had made her disinclined to take an active part in foreign affairs, though the success with which she had carried out the experiment of mobilising her army in the autumn showed that she might on occasion still prove a very formidable enemy; and Russia was, at any rate for the time being, practically isolated, while Germany and Austria had obtained a very valuable ally in Italy. These considerations

added confidence to the German nation, and suggestions were even made in the semi-official press that the support of the Poles could be gained in a war against Russia by promising, in the event of victory, to create an independent kingdom out of the Polish provinces of Russia and Austria. At the same time a very angry feeling against Russia was expressed in the German newspapers, which now gave free vent to the indignation felt by the German people at the ukase making it illegal for Germans to hold land in Russia, and at the imposition by the Russian Government of almost prohibitive duties on German goods.

On November 24, the speech from the throne on the opening of the German Parliament thus referred to the political situation:—

“The foreign policy of his Majesty the Emperor is directed with success to the strengthening of the peace of Europe, the preservation of which is our task, by cherishing friendly relations with all Powers, by treaties and alliances aiming at the prevention of the dangers of war and combined opposition to unjust attacks. The German Empire has no aggressive tendencies and no needs which could be satisfied by victorious wars. The un-Christian proclivity to take neighbouring nations by surprise is foreign to the German nature, and neither the Constitution nor the military organisation of the empire is calculated to disturb the peace of our neighbours by wanton attacks. But in repelling such attacks, and in defending our independence, we are strong, and we will, with God's help, become so strong that we can calmly await every danger.”

It is remarkable that at the very time when these words were uttered the Czar was at Berlin on his return journey from Copenhagen to St. Petersburg, and had been assured by Prince Bismarck that certain documents in the Czar's possession as to Germany's policy in the Bulgarian question were forged. The danger of the situation was still more emphatically indicated a few days after by the Emperor himself, who, in an interview with the official representatives of the Reichstag on November 27, after strongly expressing his desire for peace, added, “but if attacked—” without finishing the sentence. The position of affairs daily grew more menacing, and on December 16 the Minister for War introduced a Bill for gradually increasing the German army by 700,000 men through an extension of the liability to service in the Landsturm. The Bill was supported by patriotic speeches from the representatives of all parties in the House, and passed through the initial stages before the Christmas holidays without opposition. Thus at the end of the year Germany could look forward with some confidence to her capacity for resisting any attack that might be made upon her; but the continued and seemingly hopeless illness of the Crown Prince, and the certainty that the aged Emperor could not live much longer, cast a heavy gloom over the nation, showing how uncertain was its future in the midst of its present power and influence.

## II. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The conflict of nationalities has, as in previous years, been the chief element in the internal politics of Austria-Hungary during the year 1887, and the strain was at one time so great that it caused a serious Ministerial crisis, threatening the fall of Count Taaffe's "Cabinet of Conciliation." The withdrawal in the previous year of the German members of the Bohemian Diet was followed at the beginning of January by that of the Slovenian members of the Diet of Styria, where the Germans are in a considerable majority. A motion was brought before the Diet by the Committee of Public Instruction thanking the school council for having enforced the use of the German language in all the Styrian schools. The motion was passed notwithstanding the protests of the Slovenian members, and their chief, Dominkusch, then left the Diet with all his followers, declaring that the Government was bent on Germanising the Slovenian districts of the province. It caused much remark during the debate that the Clericals under Prince Liechtenstein, who had hitherto voted with the Slovenians, this time supported the Government.

In Hungary, Count Szapary was relieved of the duties of Minister of Finance on Feb. 14, and M. Tisza, the Premier, took charge of that department, in order that he might use all his influence with the House to obtain the credit of 8,000,000 florins which was required for the organisation of a Landsturm in Hungary. The credit was voted unanimously on Feb. 15, an agreement having been arrived at on the subject between Baron Feyervary, Minister of National Defence, and the various parties in the House. M. Tisza's position was still further strengthened by the result of the Hungarian elections on June 26, which gave the Ministerial party 291 votes, while the Moderate Opposition had only 45, and the Extreme Left 75. The Moderate Opposition was beaten all along the line, and it was reduced to a few of the wealthier nobles, such as Alexander and Ladislas Karolyi, Apponyi, Wenckheim, and Stephen Sennyey, with their personal adherents and friends. The Ministerial majority was indeed so numerous that it was feared it would become unwieldy, and break up into factions as the Déak party did in 1875; but it was necessary, in order to maintain the continuity of the commercial relations between Austria and Hungary, and to carry out indispensable reforms in the financial administration, to be able to dispense with the aid of the Croatian deputies, who had of late become very restive.

The visit of the Crown Prince Rudolph to Galicia at the end of June gave the Poles another opportunity of manifesting their loyalty to the House of Hapsburg. His reception at Cracow was most enthusiastic. The town was brilliantly decorated, and Polish noblemen and members of Parliament, dressed in the sumptuous national costume, came in large numbers to do him

homage. Among the deputations was one of Ruthenian peasants from Eastern Galicia, and their chief, M. Polanowski, a member of the Austrian Upper House, declared their readiness "at any moment to sacrifice their lives for their country and their Emperor, under whose sceptre they had experienced so many blessings." The Crown Prince, in replying to one of the deputations, declared that he had inherited a love of "this proud and noble nation" from his father, and hoped that it would always prove a firm support for the future of the empire. He was escorted by 800 horsemen in the national dress to the palace of Prince Czartoryski, who reminded the Crown Prince of what one of the leaders of the escort had said to the Emperor on his last visit: "Thirty thousand such horsemen are at the Emperor's disposal when he wants them." Similar demonstrations of loyalty on the one side and graciousness on the other occurred during the whole of the Crown Prince's progress through the province, which he traversed from one end to the other.

At the beginning of April the attitude of the Czechs towards the Taaffe Ministry became very threatening. They were dissatisfied at what they regarded as a slight on their nationality in its not having been in any way referred to in the Bank laws, and they suffered considerably in their pockets by the new duties on sugar. The "Young Czech party" were with difficulty restrained from making riotous demonstrations, while the Clericals violently attacked the new Minister of Education, Dr. Gautsch, for having shortened the hours devoted to the teaching of religion in the schools. During the Easter holidays there was a pause in the strife, and the Austrian and Hungarian Governments were able to come to a final agreement as to the proportion Hungary was to contribute to the common expenses of the empire, which was fixed at 30 per cent. The lion's share of the expenditure thus continued to be borne by Austria, and this increased the discontent among the Czechs. When, in August, the Minister of Education suppressed some schools in the Czechish districts of Bohemia, the Czechs could no longer restrain their dissatisfaction, and they plainly told the Government that if the obnoxious decree were not removed they would go into opposition. The certain result of such a step would have been the fall of the Ministry. Frequent Cabinet Councils were held, and at the end of October a compromise was arrived at by the Government promising to establish industrial schools in the place of the schools which had been suppressed. This pacified the "Old Czechs," the party led by Dr. Rieger, who had become alarmed at the dictatorial attitude taken up by the "Young Czechs"; and the Ministry thus escaped the defeat with which it had been threatened. This showed that the Czechs were not, as they thought they were, masters of the situation; and the consequence was that the Germans once more strove to assert their position in the empire, and attempted to establish a

Ministerial party together with the Poles and against the Czechs, whose Russian proclivities had, in view of the threatening attitude of Austria's northern neighbour, made them generally unpopular.

The negotiations for the conclusion of an Austro-Roumanian treaty of commerce were continued without result; notwithstanding which the most friendly relations were maintained between the two Powers. It was stated that when the king and queen visited Vienna at the end of March, they received assurances from Count Kalnoky as to the maintenance of the integrity and independence of Roumania in the event of her neutrality being violated. With Servia, too, Austria remained on very cordial terms. The king was received at Vienna on June 24 with every mark of distinction, and showed himself faithful to his alliance with Austria, notwithstanding the changes of Ministry which occurred during the year. As to Bulgaria, the Austrian Government manifested more inclination than the other European Governments to support Prince Ferdinand, but it joined them in refusing to recognise him as the lawful ruler of Bulgaria, while it steadfastly adhered to the policy of opposing any Russian interference with the internal affairs of that country.

The main question that absorbed the attention of the statesmen of Austria-Hungary throughout the year was the danger of a Russian war. The whole army was supplied, by means of extraordinary efforts made in the gun factories, with the new Männlicher repeating rifles; the number of horses of the cavalry, artillery, and transport corps was increased by one-fifth; and the recruits for the year joined their regiments in April instead of October, thereby adding nearly 100,000 men to the fighting strength of the monarchy. At the same time the Ministry strove to calm the general anxiety by pacific declarations. On Jan. 31, M. Tisza, the Hungarian Premier, said in the Lower House of the Parliament at Pesth that "no change had occurred in Austria-Hungary's relations with foreign States, and least of all with Germany," adding that the military measures which were to be taken were only of a precautionary character, so that if, contrary to his hopes, peace should be disturbed, Austria should be in a position to protect her interests. Towards the end of February it became known that a treaty had been signed by Italy, Germany, and Austria-Hungary, renewing the alliance between those Powers for a further period of five years. It was understood that by this instrument the three Powers guaranteed to each other their present territories, and that Italy reserved to herself the right of contracting special engagements with England as to the Mediterranean. On March 2 and 4 Count Kalnoky, the Foreign Minister, made a similar statement in the Austro-Hungarian Delegations to that above quoted from M. Tisza, but he added that the Bulgarian question had not lost "its serious character," and that "the general position of

Europe, with its workings and counter-workings between East and West, bore so strongly the stamp of uncertainty that all States were, for the sake of precaution, strengthening their powers of defence." Overtures were now made by Russia to detach Austria from the German alliance by representing to her that both Powers are interested in maintaining the position of France in Europe; but these suggestions did not meet with any response at the Austrian Court.

While Germany and Austria-Hungary were thus consolidating their alliance, an article in Prince Bismarck's organ, the *Nord-deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, surprised Europe by making revelations whose object it was difficult to understand, unless it was to create an estrangement between the Cabinets of Vienna and Berlin. The purport of these revelations was that the occupation of Bosnia by Austria-Hungary formed part of a formal agreement with Russia which had been concluded long before the Turkish war. This article created great excitement in Hungary, and the Opposition stigmatised M. Tisza, the Premier, as a traitor to his country, because he either knew of the agreement with Russia—in which case he should at once have protested against it—or the agreement was kept secret from him—in which case he should have resigned directly it came to his knowledge. An inquiry was made of M. Tisza on the subject in the Hungarian Parliament by M. Iranyi (May 22), upon which the Premier admitted that a treaty was concluded between Russia and Austria on Jan. 15, 1877, but denied that the occupation of Bosnia was in any way a consequence of that treaty. The treaty was broken by Russia in the San Stefano Convention, upon which Austria secured the co-operation of England, and compelled Russia to accept the decisions of the Berlin Congress, one of which was that Austria should be given a mandate to occupy Bosnia and the Herzegovina. Austria, therefore, owes those two provinces to the will of United Europe, and not to the arrangement she made with Russia in 1877. Moreover, that arrangement had been communicated to several friendly Powers, including Germany. The semi-official *Pester Lloyd* thus describes the provisions of the treaty in question:—"There are seven conditions laid down for Austria's neutrality, with three supplementary stipulations, the violation of any one of which would constitute a *casus belli*. They stipulate, in the first place, that no Christian Power shall assume the exclusive protectorate over the Christian population of the Balkan Peninsula; secondly, that whatever the issue of the war, the final settlement shall require the assent of all the European Powers; thirdly, that Russia is not to acquire any territory on the right bank of the Danube; fourthly, that Roumania shall not be made a dependency of Russia, still less be incorporated in the Russian Empire; fifthly, that no secundogeniture shall be established in the Balkan States; sixthly, that Constantinople shall not be occu-

pied by Russia; and seventhly, that no large Slavonic State shall be established in the Peninsula, the utmost concession under the new order of things being the autonomy of the then existing Balkan States under native rulers. At a later date it was added that Russia shall not permanently establish herself in Bulgaria or anywhere on the right bank of the Danube; and lastly, that Russia shall not march troops into Servia even as a temporary measure. Under clause 5 Austria promised that she would likewise refrain from establishing a secundogeniture in the Balkan Peninsula."

This somewhat lame explanation, was accepted by the House, and the revelations of Prince Bismarck's organ were soon forgotten in the incessant anxiety caused by the development of events in Bulgaria and the menacing attitude of Russia. Further steps were taken to cement the Austro-German alliance during Count Kalnoky's visit to Prince Bismarck at Friedrichsruhe (Sept. 15), and especially by the subsequent visit to the German Chancellor of the Italian Premier, Signor Crispi. One of the first results of the latter event was a friendly agreement between the Austro-Hungarian and Italian Governments as to certain questions of frontier between the two States. The Commissioners who negotiated the agreement celebrated its conclusion by a banquet at Roveredo, in the Trentino, a province which only a few years ago the *Italia Irredenta* party was loudly claiming as the rightful property of Italy. But this strengthening of the Austro-German alliance only seemed to increase the arrogance of Russia, which again demanded that the Bulgarian question should be settled in accordance with Russian views. On this subject Count Kalnoky made some significant remarks at the sitting of the Foreign Committee of the Hungarian Delegation on November 5. He said that "all isolated intervention in the Bulgarian question was absolutely precluded; foreign interference had been averted hitherto, and he hoped for ever." Prince Ferdinand of Coburg had, he added, gone to Sofia not as the candidate of any Power, but as the Bulgarian candidate. The Berlin Treaty guaranteed to Bulgaria a free right to choose a prince, and that was a right which Austria-Hungary had always recognised without question, but the selection required the assent of the Porte and the acquiescence of all the Powers. Austria-Hungary had recognised the Bulgarian Government as existent *de facto*, but could not at present recognise Prince Ferdinand as the lawful ruler of the country nor hold official intercourse with him. The Imperial Government lent its support to everything which was calculated to advance the interests and welfare of the Balkan peoples, and was loyally striving to make the other Powers their friends also. The Bulgarian question was not the sole ground of the prevalent uncertainty. He (Count Kalnoky) believed that Austria-Hungary and Germany had, by the peaceful policy which they had pursued for years past, carried on a

propaganda full of blessing to the world; and the adhesion of Italy, as well as the identity of England's aims, which permitted of the hope of support for their peaceful policy in the East from that quarter also, should be considered as the most gratifying factors in the present situation. The Count added that he did not abandon the hope that Russia would be induced to join the other Powers in their efforts to maintain peace.

This speech produced great irritation in Russia. The semi-official *Journal de St. Pétersbourg* pointed out that "Count Kalnoky's opinion that Prince Ferdinand's position only requires confirmation by the Powers differs essentially from that of the Russian Government, which has never recognised the legality of the election by the Sobranje, as that assembly is itself the result of violence and illegality;" and it remarked that the Austrian Minister's endeavour to win Russia to the cause of peace "could be better addressed elsewhere, since Russia neither threatens the peace of Europe nor the independence of the Balkan nationalities."

The year ended with a series of military councils at Vienna, in which the Emperor, the Archduke Albert, Commander-in-Chief, the Minister for War, and other distinguished officers of rank took part. The object of these councils was to take steps, in view of the advance of the Russian troops towards the Galician frontier, to protect Galicia against a sudden attack, without making any such demonstrative preparations as might be construed into a provocation. The exposed position of Galicia, with an expanse of plain and easily fordable rivers on the side of Russia, and the Carpathian range dividing it from the remainder of the Austrian Empire, would have rendered these precautions desirable even if Russia had not had an overwhelming force within a short march of the frontier, ready to cross it at a few days' notice.

### CHAPTER III.

#### EASTERN EUROPE.

##### I. RUSSIA.

AN important change in the Russian Ministry was made on the Russian new year. M. Vischnegradzky, a railway contractor, who had acquired a great reputation for business capacity, was appointed Minister of Finance in the place of M. Bunge, who was at the same time raised to the post of President of the Ministerial Council, an office of great dignity, but in Russia of less power than the nominally subordinate position of Minister. The new appointment produced great satisfaction in business circles at St. Petersburg, as it was hoped that the talents which had enabled M. Vischnegradzky to make a large fortune (said to amount to 20,000,000 roubles) in business would be successful in



retrieving the shattered finances of the empire. He was a protégé of M. Katkoff, the all-powerful editor of the *Moscow Gazette*, and was believed to be an advocate of radical financial measures, such as the introduction of Government monopolies of tobacco and brandy, and the acquisition of all the railways by the State. It has also been stated that he was of opinion that in the event of a war Russia should stop the payment of interest to her foreign creditors, which naturally made his appointment less popular among business men abroad than at home. But even in Russia itself his popularity gradually waned. Since his accession to office the paper rouble fell eight per cent., and the deficit increased until the finances of the empire were thrown into the greatest disorder. Scarcely a month passed without the announcement of some new increase of taxation, and the peasants had to pay nearly three times as much in taxes relatively to income as the landowners. The roads were neglected in order to provide for military communications, so much so that in some districts it became almost impossible to convey the corn for purposes of exportation. A tax was imposed on those who were physically incapable of military service, and various prohibitive imposts were levied which strangled native staple industries and harassed foreign commerce, forcing several foreign houses in Southern Russia to close their contracts and remove their offices to Vienna, Berlin, or Paris.

During the early part of the year the Nihilists were again very active. On March 13, the anniversary of the assassination of Alexander II., the Emperor and the Court attended the usual commemoration service in the Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul, where are the graves of all the Czars since Peter the Great. After the service the Emperor and his eldest son were about to start in a sledge through the Nevsky Prospect on their way to Gatchina, when the police arrested six young men near the spot through which he was to pass, and took them off to the police headquarters. Three of the young men carried bombs, made to look like books. The largest of these bombs contained five pounds of dynamite and 251 small leaden cubes filled with strychnine, the slightest injury from any one of which would have caused immediate death. Shortly after the Czar received a letter from the Revolutionary Committee informing him that it had decreed his death, and that fifty persons had been entrusted with the execution of the sentence. The usual wholesale arrests and domiciliary visits followed, and another Nihilist meeting-place, with a printing press and appliances for the manufacture of infernal machines, was discovered in a street at St. Petersburg. The so-called "Russian Constitutional party," in a manifesto issued on March 19 at Vienna, repudiated any connection with the attempt on the Czar's life, but vehemently attacked the Russian Government, especially on account of its having "humiliated itself before Bismarck," and demanded the

summoning of a consultative chamber, the freedom of the press, and an amnesty to political prisoners. A further manifesto, purporting to proceed from the "Russian Free Confederation," set forth a programme of constitutional liberties for the country, including a provision that the head of the State should be either an hereditary Emperor, subject to the control of Parliament, or "a freely-elected temporary President."

A further attempt was stated to have been made on the life of the Czar on March 29, but no details of it transpired. The trial of those concerned in the previous conspiracy began on April 27 with closed doors, and continued till May 10. The number of the accused was fourteen, including some students, several noblemen, a peasant, and two women. According to the Crown prosecutor, these persons had formed a conspiracy to kill the Czar in the previous autumn. Schevyreff, the son of a merchant, was the leader of the conspiracy, and he and four others were sentenced to be hanged, while the remainder were condemned to various terms of imprisonment. Another trial of twenty-one Nihilists took place on June 7 and 16, and on this occasion none of the death sentences were confirmed; and on November 8 eighteen officers were sentenced to various degrees of punishment for having taken part in the Nihilist propaganda.

These Nihilist trials had the usual result of increasing the stringency of the measures taken to prevent the spread of liberal ideas. The "Woman's Higher Educational Institute" at St. Petersburg was closed, and Professors Dityatin and Kowalewski, of the Universities of Kharkoff and Moscow respectively, were dismissed on a charge of liberal tendencies. Both of these professors (the latter was Professor of International Law) are among the most distinguished and respected *savants* of Russia; they had not in any way broken the law, and their dismissal produced a very painful impression.

But the most remarkable consequence of the revival of Nihilism was the issue of decrees forbidding certain classes of the people to be educated. On learning that several of the persons who were implicated in the attempt of March 13 were professors and students who did not belong to the class of nobles, the Czar wrote on the report with his own hand the words, "Perekrashtchay obrasowanye"—education to be abolished. In consequence of this decision the Minister of Public Instruction issued a decree on June 18 (30), under which "the children of dependents," including servants of all kinds, are to be forbidden admission to the middle and high schools. As the term "dependents" is very elastic, it was variously interpreted at the pleasure of each official, and the decree practically gave him the power of excluding from the schools nearly all the children in his district. The result was to withdraw from the lower classes all opportunity of improving their position, and thereby immensely to increase those dis-

contented elements from which Nihilism is chiefly recruited. Two imperial ukases, issued at the end of October, greatly added to the general dissatisfaction. The first ordered that only cadets of noble families should in future be eligible for commissions in the artillery and engineers, and that all officers, of whatever rank, at present attached to these arms of the service, and not belonging to any grade of nobility, should be gradually transferred to the infantry. The second ukase made persons not belonging to the class of nobles ineligible for every branch of the civil service in all future appointments. The full significance of this extraordinary measure will be understood when it is stated that nearly one-third of the men of the educated lower class, against whom it is directed, now hold civil service appointments, and that hitherto the competitive examinations for such appointments have been open to everybody.

The two ukases above described may be regarded as the consequence of the discovery in the month of September of a new Nihilist society in Southern Russia, composed mainly of workmen, railway servants, and educated tradesmen. Among the means of action prescribed by the society were—(1) agitation among labourers and mechanics for the purpose of upholding strikes and “checking the continual encroachments of capitalists”; (2) “agrarian terror, which is already being developed by the people themselves, thanks to the alliance which is being formed between workmen and peasants, to be, wherever feasible, directed and controlled by social revolutionists;” (3) “defensive terror” to be “unconditionally recognised;” (4) “offensive terror,” considered as a means to be employed in direct warfare with the Government, to be recognised only “in the form of isolated facts”; and (5) “recognising the army as the chief instrument of monarchy and of the governing classes.” The propaganda was to be carried on among officers and soldiers, “in order to undermine their passive attachment and fidelity to the throne, to draw them intellectually nearer to the people, and in case the Government should be overthrown to use their services to ensure the victory of the people.” Revolutionary circles were formed in each city, communicating with each other by means of elected representatives; no new member was to be admitted unless elected unanimously; and each circle was to have its own funds for the purchase of books forbidden by the censure, for subsidising workmen engaged in strikes, and for sending pecuniary assistance to political offenders in Siberia.

It is not such societies, however, which constitute the real danger to the Russian State, but the prevalence of Nihilistic ideas among all classes of the population. There are Nihilists, i.e., people who wish to upset the whole of the existing system of government in Russia, in the civil service, in the universities, among the officers of the army and navy, among the merchants and tradesmen, as well as among the peasants and working men;

and those who are not Nihilists only tolerate the existing system without approving it. The Nihilists are, in fact, a great political party, and it has its moderate and extreme elements, the former hoping to attain its object by pacific means, the latter convinced that it can only be attained by main force. Russians who look forward to the coming revolution fix the beginning of the revolutionary movement at the year 1877, when occurred what is known as "the trial of the 193," just as the great French revolutionary movement is generally considered to have begun with the convocation of the *Etats généraux* in 1789. Side by side with the Nihilist party is that of the Panславists, which is based on the same consciousness of the evils of despotic government, but strives to attain its object by a war, ending in a union of all the Slavs in a federal State, with free institutions, under the rule of a Czar who would merely be the instrument of the popular will. The result of the war of 1877-8, which has shown not only that Russia is not strong enough to bring about such a union, but that the Slavs themselves would not consent to a federal connection with her, has somewhat weakened the Panславist party; but it still had powerful advocates at court, the most distinguished of whom, M. Katkoff, editor of the *Moscow Gazette*, was buried with great ceremony at Moscow on August 6, in the presence of the Minister of Public Instruction and the governor of the town; and the tendency to an internal change of system, which the Panславists pursue in common with the Nihilists, is continually manifesting itself by sporadic risings among the peasants and riots in the universities. As an instance of the increasing boldness of the peasants may be cited the case of the steward Stanislavski, who was murdered by the members of his commune in the government of Pensa in pursuance of a degree issued by the communal council. Although the Government sentenced the murderers to death, the commune refused to give them up. This is one of numerous instances which occurred of communes refusing to carry out the decrees of the Government authorities; and the restiveness of the students in all parts of the empire was shown in the last week of December by the riots which broke out almost simultaneously in the Universities of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kazan, Odessa, and Kharkoff. The result was that at the end of the year these establishments were closed, and that all university education was suspended in the empire except at Warsaw, the Polish capital, though that city has hitherto been looked upon by the Russian authorities as a hotbed of revolutionists.

Great consternation was produced in Germany and Austria by the ukase of May 25, prohibiting foreigners from inheriting, acquiring, or in any way possessing real property in Russian Poland. This measure was chiefly directed against the Germans, whose success as merchants and manufacturers had excited the jealousy of the Russians, and who in Russian Poland had

obtained almost a monopoly of industry and trade. In Austria the ukase chiefly affected the Poles, many of whom held property in Russia as well as in Austria, or had relatives in Russian Poland. The measure, so far as the Poles were concerned, was in direct opposition to the Treaty of Vienna, which expressly stipulates that the inhabitants of the whole of ancient Poland should, though under the rule of the three States among whom it was divided, be treated in regard to matters of personal property as if they belonged to one and the same State; but the Polish articles of the treaty have so often been violated by the three Powers, that it was no longer possible for any of them to protest against a further non-fulfilment of it by one of their accomplices in the partition. In consequence of the new decree numerous German factories were closed, and the persons employed in them returned to Germany, as the only way of acquiring a right to possess property in Russia was now to accept the Russian nationality and creed. Some idea of the number of people who were affected by the ukase may be obtained from the fact that during the year 1886 741,630 foreigners entered Russia, that of these 662,056 were either German or Austro-Hungarian subjects, and that about 90,000 of the latter seem to have permanently settled in the empire in the course of the year. A further cause of dissatisfaction in Germany was the issue of decrees in the middle of October, under which the German language in the provinces of Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland was to be treated as a "foreign language." Hitherto German was the language used by the educated classes in these provinces, which belong to the German nationality, while the other inhabitants are Finns or Letts. These Germans have furnished Russia with some of her best generals and diplomatists; but the Russian Government, feeling that in its next war Germany will be its principal antagonist, now no longer favours the German element in the empire, and applies to the German provinces the same principle of Russification as it pursues in Poland. The new measure taken against the German language in these provinces naturally excited great indignation among the German minority, but the peasants, who, as above stated, are either Finns or Letts, seem to have readily accepted the new policy, and the governor of Livonia recommended the members of several of the communal administrations for rewards for having sent back letters that had been addressed to them in German.

The measures above referred to had their natural effect also on the political relations between Russia and Germany, and the latter Power did not show any inclination to help Russia out of the humiliating position into which she had fallen in Bulgaria. The two States grew more and more alienated from each other. There had long been an end of the three Emperors' alliance, and Italy was drawing into the new League of Peace which was being formed by Prince Bismarck against the two would-be disturbers

of European peace—Russia and France. In February the Government of St. Petersburg issued a circular to its representatives abroad announcing that Russia had resumed her freedom of action, and suggesting the appointment of an International Commission to inquire into the condition of Bulgaria. This circular remained without effect, and the inaction of the Powers increased the ill-humour in the Russian capital. M. Katkoff, the editor of the *Moscow Gazette*, violently attacked Germany for not having shielded the officers paid by the Pan Slavist Association who took part in the conspiracy at Rustchuk, and although M. de Giers, the Foreign Minister, strongly represented to the Czar the impolicy of such attacks, M. Katkoff was allowed to continue them with impunity, and even to write against M. de Giers himself. The direction of foreign affairs was, indeed, taken up entirely by the Emperor, and the functions of his Minister were limited to the writing of despatches in accordance with the minutes of his imperial master. Alexander's political leanings—like those of the Pan Slavists, headed by M. Pobodonoszeff, procurator of the Holy Synod, and Count Tolstoi, Minister of the Interior—were strongly in favour of an alliance with France, but he was deterred from making any formal arrangements on the subject by the toleration extended by the French Republic to the revolutionary and anarchist parties. The demonstrative reception given by the Pan Slavists in August to M. Déroulède, the leader of the *Ligue Patriotique*, during his visit to Russia after the death of M. Katkoff, increased the ill-will of Germany towards her northern neighbour. There seemed to be no real intention, however, in official Russian circles to seek an alliance with France; as was stated by Prince Mestchersky in the *Grashdanin*, France was distrusted "because she is too weak, and Germany because she is too strong." But it was Germany that had incurred the Czar's displeasure, which was significantly expressed by his neglecting to visit the German Emperor in September at Stettin when the Czar was at Copenhagen, to which place he had gone to see the royal family of Denmark; and the bad impression produced at Berlin by the incident was increased by a speech made by the Czar's cousin, the Grand Duke Nicholas, at a French banquet, in which he spoke of France and Russia as brothers in arms. An outbreak of measles in the imperial family of Russia, however, prolonged the Czar's stay at Copenhagen so far into the cold season that it became necessary for him to return to St. Petersburg *via* Berlin, and thus to pay the visit which he had sought to avoid. He arrived in the German capital on November 18, and curiously enough, almost at the same time when it was announced that he was about to leave Copenhagen, the Imperial Bank of Germany declared that it would no longer lend money on Russian securities, which had hitherto fetched about 50 per cent. of their nominal value. The coincidence was probably accidental, for the Czar was received at Berlin with great cordiality, and Prince

Bismarck took the opportunity of proving to him that certain documents which had been handed to Alexander while at Copenhagen, and which made it appear that Germany was playing a double game with regard to Bulgaria, were forged. Alexander seemed completely satisfied with this explanation, but when he returned to St. Petersburg the attacks of the Russian press on Germany grew more violent than ever, and large masses of troops began to move towards the Austrian frontier. The *Invalide Russe* attempted to account for this movement by representing that the German and Austrian military preparations on the frontier had been much more extensive than the Russian ones; but the statement was easily refuted by the military papers at Berlin and Vienna, and it did not touch the fact that the number of Russian troops within striking distance of the Austro-Russian frontier was already considerably greater than that of the Austrian ones. The movement continued up to the end of the year, when the danger of war seemed more imminent than at any time since the Treaty of Berlin.

With England the relations of Russia were on the whole tolerably friendly throughout the year. The Afghan frontier question was arranged in July by a compromise. Khojah Saleh, the district in dispute, was recognised by Russia as part of Afghanistan, but on the other hand some territory in the valleys of the Kushk and the Kashan, which under the protocols of September 1885 was to belong to the Ameer, was given up to Russia, thereby bringing the Russian frontier nearer to Herat.

The following account of this arrangement was given by the Russian *Official Messenger*:—"The differences of opinion between England and Russia on this subject contributed to confirm the Imperial Government in the conviction that the most practical mode of solving the litigation would be to apply a project of delimitation which had already been elaborated. In execution of this project, of which the English plenipotentiary had had knowledge since the beginning of the negotiations, the part in dispute on the Oxus should remain to Afghanistan, but on the other hand there should be a rectification of the southern frontier of the Penjdeh oasis, by which would be included in our territory the lands on the Kushk, Kashan, and Murghab, formerly in the possession of the Sariks, and the loss of which had been the more prejudicial, inasmuch as 400 families migrated from Afghanistan and swelled the population of the Penjdeh oasis. The negotiations were interrupted by the departure of Colonel Ridgeway from London, but on his return the English delegate communicated to M. Zinovieff another project for rectifying the southern boundary of Penjdeh to which his Government could give its assent, and which was in essential agreement with the imperial scheme. By this plan we acquired a territory extending between the Kushk and the Murghab of a superficies of almost 2,000 square versts, and in which is included the greater part of

the lands held by the Sariks before the delimitation, as well as the mouths of their irrigation canals and extensive pasturages. There was no obstacle on our part to the acceptance of this project, and then an agreement was easily attained with regard to the eastern part of the Afghan frontier between Douktchi and the Amu Darya. As the Commission had recognised the Afghan rights over Djar Kondouk on the high road between Andkoi and Kham-i-Ab, the new frontier should be traced some distance north-west of that route to its junction with the boundary between Bosaga and Kham-i-Ab. Thus was completed the delimitation of the Russo-Afghan frontier between the Heri Rud and the Amu Darya, the details of which are indicated in the Protocol of July 10 (22)."

In the question of the Egyptian Convention, Russia sided with France in opposing the ratification of the Convention, (June 20); but although the struggle for influence between the Russian and British ambassadors at Constantinople continued with varying results, no actual disturbance took place in the relations of the two Governments.

## II. TURKEY AND THE MINOR STATES OF EASTERN EUROPE.

During the whole of the year political interest in the East of Europe was centred in Bulgaria and Servia. Bulgaria remained in a very precarious and unsettled state, and though before the election of Prince Ferdinand the Porte repeatedly pointed out to the Powers the necessity for recommending to the Bulgarian people some candidate for the throne who would be likely to obtain the support of all parties, nothing was done in the matter. Serious risings, ascribed to Russian agency, took place at Silistria and Rustchuk in March, but though they were easily put down by the Government, it did not possess sufficient confidence among the masses of the population to afford any guarantee for the preservation of order. The relations between the Regents and the Ministers caused incessant friction. M. Radoslavoff, the Premier, held that the attitude of the Regents should be that of substitutes for a constitutional sovereign; that they should reign but not govern; and that all real power should be exercised by the Ministry. The Regents, on the other hand—M. Stambouloff especially—claimed to act as dictators, using the Ministers as their secretaries; but the Premier, nevertheless, carried out several sweeping changes in the administration without consulting either M. Stambouloff or his colleagues in the Regency. Colonel Nicolaieff, Minister of War, and the other Ministers naturally followed the Premier's example, and this led to unseemly disputes which were not calculated favourably to impress the people with the existing *régime*. An attempt was made by the Porte to bring about the appointment of a coalition



Ministry at the beginning of the year. M. Zankoff, the head of the Russian party, went to Constantinople at the invitation of the Turkish Government on Jan. 9, but the conditions which he laid down for his entrance into the Bulgarian Ministry showed that he was merely the mouthpiece of Russia. He demanded the resignation of the Regency, the grant of three portfolios to members of his party and the appointment of a Russian as Minister of War, the election of the Prince of Mingrelia, and the restoration to their former rank of Grueff, Bendereff, and the other conspirators who had carried off Prince Alexander. It was, of course, impossible to come to an arrangement with the National party, whose delegates had come from Vienna (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1886, p. 381) to Constantinople, on these terms. It was agreed, however, that the Sobranje should at once proceed to elect a prince from the Princes of Mingrelia, Oldenburg, and Leuchtenberg; and a special envoy, Riza Bey, was appointed to represent the Sultan on the occasion.

The delegates had scarcely returned to Sofia when news came that the garrison of Silistria, numbering several thousand men, had risen and declared themselves against the Regency (Feb. 27), and that a similar rising had taken place at Rustchuk. Both risings were speedily put down; the commander of the garrison of Silistria was killed, and at Rustchuk most of the rebels were so seriously injured that they had to be removed to the hospital. These events were followed (March 3) by the arrest at Sofia of a number of persons implicated in the movement, including the ex-Ministers Karaveloff and Tzanoff. The Rustchuk rebels were tried by court-martial, and ten of them were condemned to be shot. All were executed except Captain Bollmann, who was claimed by the German consul as a Russian subject. These executions produced a considerable sensation in Russia, and the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, which had for some time kept an ominous silence on Bulgarian affairs, issued a circular to the European Courts inviting them "to join in preventing further bloodshed in Bulgaria." Meanwhile further arrests were made both at Sofia and at Philippopolis, and the information elicited by the police showed that the plot had been of a very extensive and dangerous character. The rising was to have been simultaneous in the two Bulgarias, and the date fixed was the anniversary of San Stefano, but fortunately for the Government the conspirators at Silistria and Rustchuk spoiled the whole plan by commencing operations before the others were ready. The leaders were all known agents or partisans of Russia. The French and German consuls, however, and even Riza Bey, the special envoy of the Sultan, intervened on behalf of the culprits, and most of them were released on bail. The general uncertainty was still further increased by the attempted assassination at Bucharest, on April 1, of M. Mantoff, the Prefect of Rustchuk, who had been invited to the former town by M. Jacobson, the

dragoman of the Russian Consulate, to have an interview with M. Hitrovo, the Russian envoy. M. Mantoff was walking in the street with M. Jacobson when the assassins fired upon him.

On April 6, the anniversary of Prince Alexander's birthday, a *Te Deum* was sung in the cathedral at Varna, and enthusiastic congratulations were sent to him from all parts of Bulgaria. It was even attempted to make demonstrations in favour of his recall, but the idea was abandoned at the urgent request of the chief members of the Government. Shortly after the two most popular members of the Regency, MM. Stambouloff and Mutkuroff, made a tour through Bulgaria, and were everywhere received by all classes of the population with the greatest enthusiasm. The condition of the country, however, was anything but satisfactory. Commerce and industry were at a standstill; the Government found it impossible to raise money either at home or abroad to provide for the wants of the administration, and the army was seriously demoralised. Nearly 100 officers out of a total of 700, many of them of high rank, had been cashiered for active or passive participation in the various military conspiracies of the past nine months, and the troops had lost the only chief who could unite them and command their devotion. There was a very general feeling that the only alternatives before the country were either subjection to Russia or the return of Prince Alexander; and people could not understand a Government which did not give them back their prince, and at the same time refused to have anything to do with Russia.

While the situation thus daily became more menacing in Bulgaria a Ministerial crisis was preparing in Servia. M. Garaschanin, the adventurous Minister who had precipitated Servia into the disastrous war with Bulgaria (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1886, p. 374), had become more unpopular than ever through his extravagant expenditure, and although he had a majority in the Skouptchina, the king felt that he could not much longer be continued in office without danger to the monarchy. It was difficult, however, to obtain another statesman who would be willing to undertake the responsibility of office with a discontented population. M. Nicolas Cristitch, the "iron Minister" of 1884, was applied to, but declined the task; and it was not until the beginning of June that the king succeeded in obtaining a new Prime Minister in M. Ristitch, who last held that post in 1880. M. Ristitch is the representative of the Servian Chauvinists, whose political programme is the union of all the territories inhabited by Servians, including Bosnia and Herzegovina, under the sceptre of King Milan. As this programme involved the annexation of considerable territories which are now in the possession of Austria, M. Ristitch was naturally more inclined to side with the Cabinet of St. Petersburg than with that of Vienna, especially as it was through Austrian influence that he fell in

1880 ; and it was said that he had found in Queen Nathalie, the wife of Milan, a warm supporter of his views, while the king had long been the *protégé* of Austria, to whom he looked as the guide of his policy. The new Ministry—the fourth under the leadership of M. Ristitch—professed decidedly Liberal principles, while its predecessor's policy was Conservative. Its programme, which was announced on June 14, comprised the revision of the Constitution, the maintenance of friendly relations with all foreign States, economy in the public expenditure, and the honourable fulfilment of all engagements entered into with other countries. The accession of M. Ristitch to power was received with great enthusiasm by the people, who went through the streets of Belgrade with cries of "Long live Ristitch and Russia!" and "Down with Garaschanin and Austria!" Some sensation was created by the appointment of Colonel Gruitch, the Servian envoy at St. Petersburg, and a well-known Russophile, as Minister of War.

In Bulgaria the Regents had at length found a candidate for the throne in Prince Ferdinand of Coburg, whose mother, the Princess Clémentine, was the daughter of Louis Philippe, and who thus had powerful relations at many of the European courts. The prince, a young man of adventurous temperament and restless spirit, though with the qualities of a diplomatist rather than of a soldier, had already been in negotiation for the Bulgarian crown in Dec. 1886 (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1886, p. 381), and M. Stambouloff, fearing that the Radoslavoff party and the army would be successful in their efforts to persuade Prince Alexander to return, thereby exposing the country to the danger of a Russian invasion and the Regents to that of a fall from power, renewed his overtures to the Prince at Vienna. This time he was successful, though Prince Ferdinand made his candidature conditional on the approval of the Powers, and especially of Russia. M. Stambouloff then lost no time in convoking the Sobranje, or great assembly, whose members, when they arrived at Sofia, were far from favourable to the new candidate. M. Stambouloff, however, represented the candidature as a means of forcing the hand of the Powers and obtaining for the country a legal status in Europe, and his arguments, backed by his great influence and reputation as Bulgaria's leading statesman, finally prevailed. On July 4 Prince Ferdinand was proposed to the Sobranje as a candidate for the vacant throne, and was unanimously elected. The election, however, produced a Ministerial crisis. M. Radoslavoff, the Premier, and Colonel Nicolayeff, the Minister of War, insisted that Prince Alexander should be given an opportunity of returning to the country before another prince were allowed to take his place. Upon this M. Stambouloff and the other Regents at once sent in their resignations to the Sobranje, which refused to receive them, and M. Radoslavoff and Colonel Nicolayeff then had no alternative but to resign themselves (July 10). A new Ministry of men

without any strong party colour or party ambitions, under M. Stoiloff as Premier, was then appointed.

On July 15 the Porte officially communicated to the Powers the election of Prince Ferdinand, but Russia declined to accept it, declaring that the election was illegal, and demanding the withdrawal of the Regents and the convocation of a new Assembly. In these circumstances the election could not, under the Treaty of Berlin, be regarded as valid, one of the Powers who signed that treaty having refused its consent to Prince Ferdinand becoming the ruler of Bulgaria. Notwithstanding this the Prince, after striving in vain to bring about a reconciliation with Russia, determined finally to accept the crown, and he left Vienna for that purpose on Aug. 9. He was enthusiastically received on his arrival in Bulgaria (Aug. 11), and the day after he issued a proclamation to the Bulgarian people, in which he stated that, being unanimously elected by their representatives as their sovereign, he had considered it a sacred duty to set foot at the earliest possible moment in his new country in order to devote his life to its happiness and prosperity. He took the oath and signed the Constitution at Tirnova on Aug. 14, having previously telegraphed to the Sultan that he had accepted the Bulgarian crown in order to terminate a period of uncertainty which was as detrimental to the Great Powers as to Bulgaria, and that he requested the support of the suzerain in his difficult task. The Porte then recalled Riza Bey, and appointed Artin Effendi, Under Secretary of State of the Turkish Foreign Office, in his place as Imperial Commissioner. Meanwhile Russia formally protested against Prince Ferdinand's election and his acceptance of the Bulgarian crown. On Aug. 16 the Prince dissolved the Assembly, and then proceeded on a tour through his new dominions, though the Powers, in view of the opposition of Russia, were more indisposed than ever to recognise him as the lawful ruler of the country. On Aug. 24 the Porte telegraphed to him expressing its disapproval of his action in entering Bulgaria without having first obtained the sanction of the Ottoman Government and the other Powers to his election, and on the following day Russia and France proposed to the Porte that steps should be taken for sending General Ernroth, a Russian officer who was Minister for War at Sofia in 1882, to Bulgaria as Regent in order to bring about the election of a new Assembly and that of a new prince. The Porte, however, refused to do anything without the concurrence of the Powers, and the latter took no steps in the matter beyond withholding their recognition of the Prince and instructing their representatives not to hold any official communication with him. Russia, Germany, and France withdrew their consuls altogether, and on Aug. 22 the former Power issued the following circular letter to its representatives at the European Courts:—

“The Imperial Government has been unable to recognise the

validity of the Prince of Coburg's election. The Prince brought his election to the knowledge of the Emperor, and requested permission to come here to learn his Majesty's wishes before proceeding to Bulgaria. The Emperor, however, caused the Prince to be informed that his election could not be recognised, and that his journey to Bulgaria could not be justified on any pretext. Similar advice has since been given to the Prince by the majority of the Great Powers, and first of all by the suzerain Court. His Highness having, in spite of these warnings, thought it advisable to acquiesce in the wishes of the so-called representatives of Bulgaria, and to proceed to the Principality, we find ourselves under the necessity of declaring that Russia can admit neither the validity of the Prince's election nor the legality of his appearance in Bulgaria for the purpose of placing himself at the head of the Government of that country. We are glad to hope that the — Government will share this view, and will not tolerate this flagrant infraction of the Berlin Treaty. Russia cannot constitute herself the sole guardian of those stipulations on which rests the present state of affairs, now threatened with final subversion."

The Prince made his state entry into Sofia on Aug. 23, and though he was well received, his somewhat haughty manner and dictatorial tone seemed to displease the people. His efforts to form a strong Ministry, too, were not successful; the personal antagonism between M. Stambouloff, the late Regent, and M. Radoslavoff, the late Prime Minister, grew more bitter than ever, and the provisional Ministry of officials, which was formed after the latter's resignation, still held office in the absence of any abler men to take their place. Some alarm was also caused by the arrival at Bucharest, the headquarters of the Bulgarian revolutionists, of numerous Russian agents, and by the open hostility shown to Prince Ferdinand by Archbishop Clement, the Metropolitan of Bulgaria. These events occurred shortly after the Powers refused the Russian proposal, which had been communicated to them by the Porte, to send the Russian general Ernroth to Bulgaria as Regent, and it seemed as if Russia were now preparing to gain her ends by more violent means. The elections for the new Assembly were held at the beginning of October, and it is characteristic of the crudeness of political ideas in Bulgaria that, though the Government solemnly proclaimed that there would be perfect freedom of election, all the Opposition papers were suppressed a week before the elections began, and the Opposition leaders were kept within the capital and watched by the police to prevent their communicating with their constituents. The elections resulted as usual in an overwhelming majority for the Government and the existing *régime*, though there were disturbances accompanied with bloodshed in some of the country districts. In the capital barely a third of the voters went to the poll, and among them there was only one peasant out of the rural

population comprised within the municipal district. Many of the adherents—200 at Sofia alone—of M. Radoslavoff and other members of the Opposition were put under arrest on the day of the elections, and the voting took place all over the country in that presence of military detachments. Shortly after a new arrangement was negotiated between Russia and Turkey. It was that the Sultan should order Prince Ferdinand to leave Bulgaria; that General Ernroth should be sent to Bulgaria as Russian Commissioner, and govern the country for four months with a Turkish Commissioner, over whom the Russian would have precedence; that the existing *Sobranje* should be dissolved, and that a new one should be called to elect a prince from two candidates to be nominated by Russia. This arrangement, however, fell to the ground like the previous ones. At the end of the year the attitude of Russia became so menacing that war seemed inevitable, and, though the official politicians of Bulgaria supported Prince Ferdinand, the masses of the people were unwavering in their attachment to Prince Alexander and their hope for his return.

While Bulgaria was thus placed in the awkward dilemma of having elected a ruler whom all the other European States refused to recognise, M. Ristitch, the new Servian Premier, endeavoured to strengthen his position by ordering a general election for the Servian National Assembly (*Skouptchina*). The state of affairs in the country was far from satisfactory. The king, who had with great skill and persuasive eloquence managed to play off each party in the State against the others, felt that power was slipping from his hands, and that he was becoming unpopular. His most formidable adversary was the queen, who, since the Bulgarian War, had pursued a policy of her own, and had become more and more alienated from her husband. The Premier, too, though the most eminent statesman in Servia next to M. Garaschanin, was under the stigma of having caused the disastrous war of 1877, as Garaschanin had that of 1885. The result of the elections was that not a single adherent of the latter statesman (whose party, the Progressist, was in favour of an alliance with Austria) obtained a seat, while the Liberals, or adherents of M. Ristitch, were beaten by the Radicals. Out of 156 members elected to the *Skouptchina*, 78 were Radicals, 58 Liberals, and the rest were more or less independent men whose support could not be relied upon by either party. The Crown, however, has the right of nominating 52 members, and of these it appointed 16 Radicals and 36 Liberals, thus placing the two parties on an equality. It was, of course, impossible that such a state of things should long continue. The Radicals daily grew bolder in their demands, and M. Ristitch had not the power to resist them. Then the king himself interfered; he soundly rated the Radical members, who were chiefly peasants, and for a time they ceased their opposition. They were very demonstrative,

however, in their sympathy for Russia, and on Dec. 18 the king again interfered, declaring that in a conflict between Russia and Germany or Austria the Servians should remain neutral, as otherwise they might disappear in a Slavonic empire. "Panslavism," he added, "is the enemy of Servia and of those who wish to see her restored to her former position as a great Danubian State." At length the inevitable split between the Liberals and Radicals took place. M. Ristitch resigned (Dec. 29), and the king, after having again vainly attempted to induce M. Cristitch to form a Ministry, appointed as Premier the Minister for War, Colonel Gruitch, a notorious adherent of Russia, who chose as his colleagues some of the most prominent members of the Radical party. Thus did the Radicals, after being eighteen years in opposition, during which they pursued an anti-dynastic and revolutionary policy, at length come into power. While giving them an opportunity of taking a share in the government, however, the king reserved to himself the direction of foreign policy, and retained as his representative in the Cabinet the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Colonel Franassovitch, a warm adherent of the Austrian alliance.

The policy of reserve announced by the King of Servia in view of the contingency of a Russo-Austrian war was also adopted by Greece and Roumania. The Greek Ministry remained on the best terms with Turkey, and carefully avoided expressing any opinion on the Bulgarian question, while M. Pherekydes, the Roumanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, declared in the Chamber at Bucharest that Roumania would preserve her freedom of action, and was not bound by any foreign alliances.

In Turkey the only notable incident of the year, so far as home affairs are concerned, was the settlement of the Cretan difficulty. On July 19, Mahmoud Pasha, the special Ottoman Commissioner in Crete, issued a proclamation notifying the concessions made by his Government to the Cretans. These concessions are comprised in the following points: (1) the renunciation by the Ottoman Government for the benefit of the Cretans of half of the customs revenue of the island; (2) the budget deficit in bad years to be made up from the surplus in good years; (3) the resolutions of the Cretan Assembly to be ratified by the Imperial Government within three months of their being passed; (4) a larger share in local government to be given to the Christian element in Crete. With regard to foreign Powers, the Porte maintained the same cautious attitude as in the preceding year, showing itself most conciliatory towards Russia, but at the same time determined not to take any step which would alienate the other Powers. It accordingly agreed to the Russian proposal of sending a Russian Commissioner to Bulgaria in the event of Prince Ferdinand leaving that country, but it declined to call upon him to do so. Its refusal to ratify the Anglo-Egyptian Convention, though it was strongly supported in this step by Russia and

France, seems to have been chiefly caused by the unwillingness of the Sultan to sanction any further curtailment of his sovereign rights.

## CHAPTER IV.

### MINOR STATES OF EUROPE.

I. BELGIUM. II. THE NETHERLANDS. III. SWITZERLAND. IV. SPAIN.  
V. PORTUGAL. VI. DENMARK. VII. NORWAY. VIII. SWEDEN.

#### I. BELGIUM.

PLACED by its geographical situation between two powerful and formidably armed nations, which sooner or later must come to blows, it is of vital importance to Belgium to be in a position to protect her frontiers and to defend her neutrality. Throughout the year, therefore, military questions above all others occupied public attention. Shortly before the close of the previous year (1886), a member of the Catholic party had proposed a law establishing personal military service. This project, whilst giving satisfaction to one of the best founded complaints of the working classes, who hitherto had borne almost the whole burden of military life, promised at the same time to raise the general tone and level of the army. Unfortunately, electoral or political considerations and differences took the lead over all truly patriotic ideas, and when discussed by the House of Representatives, this project of law was rejected by 69 against 62, the whole of the Liberal party unanimously voting in favour of the proposal. Few questions during the past few years have so much stirred public opinion as that of personal service, and before the Bill was rejected eager and often violent discussions took place in the Chambers between its supporters and its opponents. Probably one of the chief reasons which led to the ultimate rejection of the measure lay in the determined opposition of two former Catholic Ministers, M. Jacobs and M. Woeste, whose anti-military views were notorious. These leaders of the Catholic party, over which they exercised the most powerful influence, were not to be persuaded into modifying their opinions.

The rejection of this measure was the origin of two incidents, slight in themselves, but highly significative, and which created a great sensation. Whilst holding a review at Brussels on the occasion of the king's anniversary, Lieutenant-General Vander Smissen, one of the most brilliant Belgian officers, expressed in strong terms to the assembled officers the bitter disappointment the army had experienced by the rejection of a project of law so necessary to its most vital interests. A still higher authority, the king himself, speaking at the inauguration at Bruges of the statues of two ancient Belgian heroes, deplored, with as much discretion and tact as energy, the rejection of a project which he



had long since considered as indispensable to the welfare and security of the country.

This was not, however, the only step taken in order to assure the security of the country in case of war. The Government obtained from the Chambers, although somewhat reluctantly, an extraordinary credit of 40 millions of francs, the larger part of which sum was to be applied to military expenses. Antwerp had hitherto been regarded as the centre and key of the entire defensive system of Belgium, and for many years everything had been done to increase the strength of that position, to the neglect of the strategically very important valley of the Meuse. It was universally admitted that the fortresses of Liège and Namur were wholly out of date, and incapable of holding in check forces coming either from France or from Germany. It was, therefore, necessary greatly to strengthen these two points, and, according to Lieut.-General Brialmont's advice, it was decided to complete the defences of these two towns by the adjunction of a series of small though powerful forts. As soon as the required sum had been voted by the Chambers the military engineers set to work with the utmost energy, and it is thought that in a couple of years the fortifications of the Meuse will be completed.

It was not, however, without violent discussions that even the principle of the fortifications was adopted. The leader of the Liberal party, M. Frère-Orban, greatly opposed the idea, as being at once dangerous and useless: dangerous because the advanced forts would not be strong enough to preserve the important towns of Liège and Namur from an inevitable bombardment; useless, because the Belgian army was not numerous enough to garrison the new forts. This view was formally opposed by the Minister of War, General Pontus, who declared emphatically that the 180,000 men composing the Belgian army would amply suffice for any emergency.

Strikes, similar to those which had marked the beginning of the previous year, again broke out in the provinces of Hainaut and Liège. To the causes which had brought about the former crisis, and which had in no way ceased, a fresh one was now added which gave the signal to the outburst. This was the vote of the Chambers, by 69 against 54, of a measure imposing a heavy tax on foreign grain, cattle, and meat. The riots, however, were happily not so serious as the preceding ones, and the troops had not to resort to firearms to maintain order. On the other hand, a rather alarming symptom, that had not been noticed before, caused some uneasiness. The strikes on this occasion showed signs of a powerful organisation; all the workmen implicitly obeyed the orders of one or two chiefs, and circumstances alone prevented the strike becoming widespread and general.

This new and menacing aspect of the question impressed upon public men the necessity of taking efficacious and prompt

steps in favour of the working classes. The Commission of the previous year had revealed that there was much to be done, but very little was even attempted, and the ill-feeling against the upper classes has been allowed to rankle in the working class unchecked by legislative action.

Hardly had order been restored in Liège and the Hainaut before fresh riots broke out at Ostend, between the Belgian and English fishermen. The former refused to allow the latter to sell their fish in the Ostend market, and upon the English insisting, their boats were boarded and plundered. The police and gendarmes were unable to maintain order, and the civic guard hastened to their aid. The attitude of the Belgian fishermen then grew so menacing that the troops were ordered to fire, which they did with fatal effect, killing seven men and wounding several others. This, and the subsequent energetic attitude of the authorities, put an effectual stop to these scenes, although the animosity against the English fishermen was increased rather than allayed. The latter, it was admitted, had never given the slightest cause of irritation to their Belgian comrades, and it was generally considered that extreme misery coupled with ignorance and evil suggestions from Socialist leaders were the principal causes of these deplorable incidents, which did not in the least, however, alter the friendly relations existing between the two Governments.

The long-protracted struggle between Catholics and Liberals continued as severe as ever, as did also the more recent misunderstanding between the two fractions of the Liberal party. At the elections that took place throughout Belgium for the renewal of the communal councils, the results were in the main rather more favourable to the Liberals than to their adversaries, the former succeeding in carrying their candidates in several districts where they had hitherto always been defeated, and their majority was considerably increased in most of the large towns. But the great interest of the communal elections centred in the electoral contest at Brussels, where the Radicals and Liberals had a very hard struggle, in which the former were finally defeated by a large majority. The schism between the two fractions of the Liberal party arose out of a proposed revision of certain articles of the Constitution concerning electoral matters. The Radicals had wished to substitute, as a condition of the franchise, intellectual capacity for the payment of certain taxes, and so far did the rest of the Liberal party. The misunderstanding arose on the question of the moment at which the revision should be effected, the moderate Liberals desiring to postpone the measure until the nation at large accepted the view, deeming it inexpedient to force the electors to accept a reform for which they were not ripe; the Radicals, on the contrary, insist that the measure must be proposed within two years, however unfavourable may be the circumstances of the moment.

The communal councils, to which these elections referred, exercise in Belgium more extensive powers than are possessed by similar bodies in other countries. They have complete control of the police, public instruction, and public works within their respective communes. At the head of each is the burgomaster, who personally is chief of the police, and a number of aldermen (*échevins*) in proportion to the number of taxpayers, of whom one is practically responsible for one or more departments of the communal service. On the present occasion there were three lists of candidates, Clericals, Liberals, and Radicals, the last including the Socialists, Republicans, and Communists. The elections were conducted by *scrutin de liste*; but in Brussels and its suburbs the Clerical Conservatives did not come forward with any list, so that the Liberals and the Radicals found themselves face to face. The result showed that not only were the Liberals able to hold their own, but that they were returned by greatly increased majorities, and in the final balloting (Oct. 22) gained two seats from their opponents.

The Radical leader, M. Janson, to whom the overthrow of the Liberal party had been attributed, found himself so weak in the new Council that he threatened to resign; but this was understood to mean that he was disposed to reconsider the tactics of his party. At Ghent the Socialists only polled 800 votes against 5,000 given to the Liberal candidates; but at Liège the Socialists, combining with the Clericals, inflicted a temporary check on the Liberals. At Ypres and Luxembourg the Clericals obtained a decided advantage; at Mons the parties were about equally divided; but at Antwerp the Liberals defeated the Clericals by a large majority.

The only change in the composition of the Ministry was occasioned by the resignation of M. Thonissen, the Minister of the Interior and Public Instruction, who was replaced by M. Devolder, the Minister of Justice; M. Lejeune, a highly distinguished barrister without a seat in Parliament, succeeding to the vacant portfolio.

## II. THE NETHERLANDS.

The revision of the Constitution, which had been pending for several years, was at length accomplished. The leading points of this revision bore on the eventual order of succession to the throne, and on a modification of the electoral law. With regard to the former, the Chambers definitively and nominatively settled the order of succession to the throne at the reigning king's death, that, in case of failure of direct descendants, the legitimate heirs should be—first, the Princess Sophia of Saxony and her issue; secondly, the three branches of the issue of the late Princess Marian of Prussia; and lastly, the descendants of the late Princess Mary of Wied.

As to the electoral reform, its essential feature consisted in

the addition of intellectual capacity or social position to the hitherto established electoral tax; the only exception to this rule being soldiers below the rank of commissioned officers of the regular army. In accordance with an amendment proposed by M. Rosenboorn, and adopted by 42 against 41, non-commissioned officers and privates were excluded from the franchise. In the course of the debates upon the Bill various propositions were made in view of granting universal suffrage, but these were all rejected by crushing majorities, in accordance with the views expressed in the project of law proposed by the Government in the course of the preceding year. At the same time the proposal to increase the number of representatives in the two Chambers was adopted, and the number of members was raised from 86 to 100 for the second Chamber, and from 39 to 50 for the first.

A scarcely less important question with which the Chambers had to deal was that of public education, which gave rise to much acrimonious debate. The Opposition strongly urged that public schools should be conducted on religious principles, or at least that certain hours should be granted during which the pastor or priest should have access to the schools. To this the majority would not consent, and definitively pronounced that public schools must remain strictly neutral and outside of all religious questions. On the other hand, a proposition of a few members of the majority, leading to the separation of Church and State, was rejected, and the Chambers decided that the clergy should continue to be salaried by the State.

After the vote on the revision of the Constitution, the king proclaimed the dissolution of the second Chamber, but the subsequent elections took place in accordance with the old system, and without reference to the increased number of representatives. The electoral contest was severe, but fruitless, inasmuch as both parties exactly maintained their former positions: the Liberals, before, as well as after, the elections, disposing of 47 seats, whilst the Opposition, composed of the Catholics united to the ultra-Protestants, returned 39 members, as in the previous Chamber.

The rumours of war which in the course of the year kept Europe in suspense produced their effect in Holland, and the Government deemed it necessary to propose to the Chambers the serious measure of maintaining under arms for a year longer the military and naval militia belonging to the class of 1882, who in ordinary circumstances would have been disbanded during the year. According to the Dutch Constitution, this step could be taken "in time of war or in case of extraordinary circumstances." In submitting this proposition to the Chamber the Minister, M. Heemskerk, declared his opinion that war would not break out, but that, on the contrary, general peace would be maintained. It was therefore in view of "extraordinary circumstances" that

the Government made this proposal, but without giving any explanation as to the circumstances which determined it. The Ministry only declared that they had to be ready for any emergency, in view of the vast armaments of the other European States, urging that the proposed measure owed its origin to the necessity of having possibly to defend the country's neutrality. A secret note was, moreover, given to the Chambers, in which the Government gave special information concerning the state of the Dutch army and navy. From this it appeared that the military forces were not in a satisfactory condition, in spite of the important sacrifices made annually by the country for the support of the army and fleet; and the note added further that the proposed measure was but the first step taken towards a serious reorganisation of the military forces of the kingdom. That the proposed law was in perfect accordance with the state of the public mind was proved by the fact that it was voted by a large majority, 40 against 19.

The year 1887 also witnessed the renewal of the riots which had so unfortunately marked its predecessor, but happily they were not of quite so serious a character. The leader of the Socialist party, Domela Nieuwenhuys, had been condemned last year to one year's imprisonment for insult towards the king. His influence over his partisans was nevertheless noways diminished, and numerous petitions were addressed to the king requesting the prisoner's liberation. Several large and tumultuous meetings, with the same object in view, also took place, but without success. At some of these meetings it was seriously feared that fresh riots would occur, but owing to the energy of the party of order these were avoided, and no more bloodshed had to be deplored. But hardly had tranquillity been obtained when new troubles broke out on the occasion of Nieuwenhuys' liberation; the Socialists made great demonstrations in his honour, the anti-Socialists answered by counter-manifestations, and severe collisions ensued between both parties, ending in the stoning and pillage of several houses in Amsterdam belonging to known Socialists.

The situation thus disclosed was, however, considered sufficiently alarming to induce the Government to take special measures in favour of the working classes, and a most important step was taken at the close of the year, to regulate the work of children in various branches of industry. All work in factories was forbidden to any child under thirteen years of age, an exception being made in favour of agricultural work, where children might be employed at twelve years old. No child or youth under eighteen was to be employed more than ten hours a day, and work at night and on Sundays was strictly forbidden.

The financial Budget for 1888 disclosed a deficit of 12,300,000 florins, which added to the deficit of the preceding years amounts to a total sum of 25,000,000 florins. This deficit was principally

caused by the great public works in course of execution. The Government, however, declared that no fresh loan would be contemplated, and no new taxes imposed.

The Colonial Budget also showed a deficit amounting in this case to 5,000,000 florins, but the Minister declared that the services from 1885 to 1887 would show a substantial excess of revenue over expenditure. The outlay on account of railway construction was estimated at 6,750,000 florins, and the new telegraphic cable connecting the islands of Java, Bali, and Celebes was calculated to cost 1,100,000 florins. Among the public works to be carried out were the improvement of the navigation of the waters east of Sourabaya at an estimated cost of 3,000,000 florins, the construction of two steamers for the military marine, and the reorganisation of the staff attached to the railway service, which had been suppressed as a special branch. The Government moreover asked for authority to utilise for the special benefit of the native population the annual surpluses of the personal tax which had been substituted for the seigniorial services. Alluding to agriculture, the financial statement declared that the depressed condition of that industry in the East Indies had visibly affected the resources of the Treasury.

### III. SWITZERLAND.

At the close of the year 1886 the Federal Chambers had unanimously voted the law establishing a *Landsturm*, destined to form a solid reserve to the regular army, but the definitive organisation of the new force was not settled until some months later. The *Landsturm* was to be composed of all the valid men, between seventeen and fifty years of age, who belonged neither to the regular army nor to the *Landwehr*, and the primary objects of this additional force were to support the army in case of need, to protect certain parts of the country against incursions of the enemy's scouts, and to give aid in the construction of new fortifications. All classes of the population, by their enthusiastic adhesion to this appeal by the Federal Chambers, showed themselves thoroughly determined to defend the neutrality of their country at any cost. According to the plan ultimately adopted for the organisation of the *Landsturm*, one-third only of this reserve, amounting to above 80,000 men, would be armed and regularly drilled, the remaining two-thirds being employed in the transport service or in garrison duties.

Next to the military reorganisation of the country, the elections for the renewal of the National Council were the most interesting feature of the year. The result of these elections did not materially modify the relation of parties in the National Council. The three sections into which the members of that body grouped themselves underwent certain personal changes,

but their numbers were scarcely altered; the Left, or Radicals, retaining 85 seats, the Right 45, and the Centre 15. The electoral struggle, however, had nowhere been very keen, and in several districts there had been no contest at all. For some years past the Swiss electoral body has been divided into Radicals, Conservatives, and Democrats, or Moderates; these last-named opposing the Ultramontane pretensions of the Clericals, and defending Liberal principles against Radical intolerance. These shades of political opinions are, moreover, somewhat modified by religious questions. On the present occasion there being no burning issue before the public, and religious questions having been put aside by common accord, nothing arose to disturb each party in the possession of its acquired positions. For the first time, however, a new party made its appearance on the political scene, that of the Socialists, under the inspiration of disciples of the Anarchist Most. Their object was to impose on the candidates the obligation, if elected, to exact numerous economical measures, such as the reduction of the day's work from eleven to ten hours, the suppression of all work on Sundays, the right of initiative of the nation in questions of penal legislation—in a word, they were to pledge themselves to an energetic advocacy of the rights of the working classes. This party failed altogether to make its influence felt, but this might have been due to the various measures passed during the ten previous years by the Federal Chambers in favour of the working classes. Amongst these the most noteworthy were the new laws regulating the hours of factory labour, those for rendering employers responsible towards their workmen in case of accidents, for the insurance of workmen, &c.

The Bill regulating the sale of alcohol, which had been discussed by the Federal Council and voted by a large majority in the previous year, was submitted to the popular vote. The result of the *referendum* was not less decisive, and the proposed law was adopted by 252,791 against 127,474.

Another interesting question was also solved by a *referendum* in the course of the year, and by 189,000 against 56,000 the people decided that it was necessary to introduce into the Federal Constitution a law giving the Legislature the right of protecting industrial inventions. By this vote the electoral body condemned a contrary decision taken only five years before, and indicated its intention of putting a stop to the strange anomaly by which Switzerland, alone of all other European countries except Holland, had refused to guarantee to inventors the property of their inventions.

During the current year the canton of Soleure experienced a most serious financial and political crisis. For a long time the finances of this little canton had been in a deplorable state. In the hope of remedying this condition of things the Government had instituted a Cantonal bank, under the direction of the State. Unfortunately, the anticipations of success were not

realised. The industrial crisis, so long protracted, grew worse, and the numerous failures which followed dealt a heavy blow to the new official undertaking. In addition, several acts of dishonesty on the part of a large number of functionaries were brought to light. The delinquents were arrested or obliged to resign their posts, but the result was that the public administration was completely disorganised. At this juncture the Government resorted to an exceptional measure, which, authorised by the Constitution, had practically fallen into desuetude. They decided to confide to the people the task of wholly and simultaneously renewing all the Cantonal authorities. The idea of this extreme measure had been adopted in some of the Cantonal Constitutions during the troubled period between 1830 and 1848. During that time of political crisis the Radical party, after overthrowing the previously existing aristocracy, had obtained for the people the right of revoking at any moment the existing authorities, but since then this rather revolutionary measure had not been put into practice, and only the serious situation of the Canton decided the people to bring it again in use.

The last interesting event that took place on Swiss soil during the year was the foundation of the Workmen's Federation. This vast association was designed to group all trade societies which, apart from all political or religious questions, busy themselves with the interests of the working classes. They held this year a meeting, where 200 delegates represented above 100,000 workmen belonging to the three Swiss nationalities, and representing every kind of industry. According to the statutes that were adopted, these delegates will assemble every three years, in order to elect a central committee composed of 23 members, who will assemble in conference twice every year, when the Federal Department of Trade will be represented officially. The secretary of the Workmen's League, chosen by the committee, will be salaried by the Federal Government, and will be the direct and authorised interpreter of the interests and wishes of the working classes, thus forming an official link between the Workmen's League and the Federal Government.

At the close of the year M. Gavard and M. Schoch, both Radicals, were respectively elected President and Vice-President of the Swiss Confederation for 1888.

#### IV. SPAIN.

The new year opened auspiciously for Spain. The abundant vintage of the year before promised a marked increase of material prosperity. The dynasty was growing stronger daily. The elections of 1886 had given a large majority to what may be broadly termed the Liberal party, and Señor Sagasta's Govern-



ment had maintained its position in the country. The Cortes opened on January 17. At a meeting of Ministerialists held on the previous day, Señor Sagasta created a considerable impression by urging his followers to give a ready support to the Budget, on the plea that by voting the Budget they would leave the Queen Regent more free to change the Government whenever it seemed to her advisable to do so. The Premier met the Cortes with the announcement that the Government intended to introduce afresh all the Bills submitted to the last Legislature which had not received the sanction of both Houses. The programme on which it was understood that the Cabinet were agreed included several important Bills, and, among other measures, proposals to establish trial by jury, to reform the penal code, and to legalise civil marriages. In the Senate, the Bill for the reform of the penal code met with very strong opposition, but Señor Alonzo Martinez, Minister of Justice, declared that the Government staked their existence upon the passing of the Bill. At the same time Ministers pressed forward their other measures, and before the end of the second week in March they were able to announce that the terms of a convention on civil marriage had been satisfactorily arranged with the Vatican, and that on the question of trial by jury, a compromise Bill had been prepared. A Bill embodying the compromise was shortly afterwards submitted to the Cortes. But more important debates arose out of the proposals submitted by the Minister of Finance. The definitive financial statement for 1885-6 showed a deficit in the revenue of over three millions sterling. The returns for the current financial year were rather more satisfactory, but Señor Puigcerver, the Finance Minister, admitted that he had to provide by means of extraordinary resources, not accruing from regular taxation, for a deficit of some three million two hundred thousand pounds in 1886-7. In order to meet this necessity the Government introduced a Bill for leasing out to private enterprise the monopoly of tobacco, and the efforts made in behalf of the proposal by the Finance Minister in the Senate ultimately succeeded in getting the measure sanctioned towards the end of March. Some opposition was encountered by another proposal of the Government, which had for its object the levying of a tax of one per cent., under the form of a stamp duty, upon the coupons of the interior Four per Cents. Señor Camacho protested against the proposal as involving a breach of faith, in view of the engagements entered into by the Government in previous years with the holders of the national debt. But Señor Puigcerver was firm, and the Government were successful in carrying their financial proposals through the House. Shortly after the passing of the Tobacco Monopoly Bill, the Bank of Spain presented a tender offering to form a company to take over the lease of the tobacco monopoly, and even succeeded, contrary to the general expectation, in inducing Señor Camacho to accept the chairmanship of

the new company, although he had opposed the measure under which the company was formed.

The shifting of political groups during the year has scarcely affected the stability of the Government. The schisms in the Republican party appear to multiply day by day. Señor Castelar has been contented to maintain a friendly neutrality towards the Government, and has even gone out of his way to declare in public his esteem for the high conduct and courage of the queen. But among the more advanced Republicans very marked divergences of opinion have appeared. Early in January Señor Figuerola, the late president of the Zorillists, published a letter to Señor Ruiz Zorilla in which he announced his retirement from political life. His example was followed by other members of the party. Very shortly afterwards an assembly of the Advanced Republican party was held at Madrid, which in two divisions reasserted its general assent to the policy of force, with which Señor Ruiz Zorilla is identified; and in consequence of this pronouncement Señor Salmeron, the leader of the more moderate section of that party, soon afterwards resigned his seat in the Chamber of Deputies. Other manœuvres among the Parliamentary groups have been equally void of danger to the Government; for although the dissident Conservatives, under the leadership of Señor Romero y Robledo, early in the year completed their compact with the Radicals of the Dynastic Left, and began to style themselves the Liberal Reform party, this somewhat unnatural coalition has so far borne little fruit, and has not exercised any considerable influence in the division lists. The great bulk of the Conservative party, under Señor Canovas, have, on the whole, like the followers of Castelar, maintained a not unfriendly neutrality towards the Government, although in the later months of the year they have assumed a more antagonistic attitude, and showed themselves more inclined to play for their own hand.

Towards the end of June a political crisis of some acuteness arose out of the proposals made by the Government for military reform. Señor Sagasta's Cabinet had shown signs of a fixed intention to strengthen the fighting forces of the kingdom. Bills had been introduced into Parliament, providing for considerable additions to the navy, and in March General Cassola, a comparatively young officer, bearing a very high reputation, was appointed Minister of War. Towards the end of April General Cassola introduced into the Cortes a measure of great importance, containing proposals of a very sweeping character. He proposed to render military service compulsory upon every born or naturalised Spaniard who attained the age of twenty. There were to be no exemptions, except on the score of physical infirmity, either in time of peace or in time of war. The duration of service was to be twelve years in the Peninsula, and eight in the colonies. No pecuniary redemption was to be permitted, except to facilitate an exchange from service in the colonies to

service at home. The Bill, of course, encountered considerable opposition, emanating largely from the jealousies and rivalries of the political generals, which form so dangerous a feature in Spanish public life. General Cassola, anxious for the success of his Bill, endeavoured to meet objections and to conciliate his opponents. Encouraged by General Cassola's action and by the attitude of the Cortes, General Primo de Rivera, the Director General of Infantry, determined to attack his chief. On July 2, he rose in the Senate, and assailed the military policy of the War Minister, at the same time practically defying General Cassola to remove him from his post. Cassola was ill with fever, but he determined to face the storm. Rising from his bed, he came to the Chamber, and at once rose to defend his Bill. After saying that his illness would not permit him to speak at any length, he came directly to the point. He had, he said, for some time past intended to remove General Primo de Rivera from his post, and had only delayed in order to give him an opportunity of interpellating his policy in the Senate. As it was essential that a department should be in accord with its chief, he should now forthwith carry out his intention of dismissing the general from his post. The Minister's speech was loudly cheered, and produced a great effect. Next day General Primo de Rivera was relieved of his post. The success of the Government was complete, and shortly afterwards, to prevent further parliamentary intrigues, Señor Sagasta put an end to the session.

The Cortes did not reopen until December 1, but the opening day was made the occasion of an imposing ceremony. The little king for the first time occupied the throne, and a brilliant reception was given to the Queen Regent, who read the speech from the throne in the Senate. The Government once again declared its intention to carry out the articles in the Liberal programme, placing in the forefront fresh proposals for the establishment of trial by jury, for military reform, and for the extension of the suffrage. At the meeting of the Liberal party held on the eve of the opening of Parliament, Señor Sagasta made a firm and temperate speech which produced a very favourable impression; but it soon became apparent that the Government would have to face a very strong opposition in both Houses. There was a decided tendency to attack the commercial and economical policy of the Government, and to condemn the recent commercial treaties; signs of this tendency had appeared before, when the subvention granted in the previous spring to the Spanish Transatlantic Steamship Company for the mail and transport service had been bitterly attacked. Before the session opened the Government had lost even the neutral support of Señor Camacho, who had resigned the presidency of the Tobacco Monopoly Company, which he had unwisely been induced to accept; and the Conservatives had declared their intention of offering active opposition to the Ministerial programme. A

scandal arising out of a breach of confidence, by which a private report made to the Minister of Public Works by an official of the section of Mines had been published as an official document, occasioned further difficulty to the Cabinet; but the Government was able to absolve itself of all complicity in this proceeding. Nevertheless the position of the Sagasta Cabinet at the end of December was scarcely perhaps so secure as it had been at the opening of the year.

The history of the foreign policy of Spain has been by no means uneventful during the year. Spain, like other European Powers, looks to other continents for the extension of her dominions. On April 7 a brief royal decree appeared in the official *Gazette*, placing all the Saharan coast between Cape Blanco and Cape Bojador under the governorship of the Captain General of the Canary Islands. The terms of the decree were inaccurate and misleading, but it afterwards appeared that the Spanish Government had taken possession of Greyhound Bay, under the lee of Cape Blanco, and joining on the south the Bay of Arguin, and of a territory extending inland and northward towards Cape Bojador for a very considerable distance. The highest estimate put the area of the annexed territory at 75,000 square miles, but the limits of the new Spanish possessions inland are not very clearly defined. It is certain, however, that the Spanish Government acquired some hundreds of miles of coast-line, in which there is only one shallow harbour at Rio de Oro, where Spain already possesses a factory. By this action, and by treaties made with the chiefs somewhat farther east, Spain introduces a wedge between the French in Senegal and the southern flank of Morocco, besides gaining an important flank position upon the projected line of railway from Algeria to Senegal, if that proposal is ever accomplished. In her colonies, too, Spain successfully maintained her authority, in spite of attempts made by the natives in one or two quarters to disturb it. The most alarming of these outbreaks was the attack made by the natives of Ponape, in the Philippines, upon the governor and garrison there; but before the close of the year the Government subdued the rebels and vindicated their authority in the place.

A more important question of foreign policy, and one more vital to Spanish interests, is involved in the precarious condition of the empire of Morocco. Early in the year some excitement was caused in political circles in Madrid, where feeling on the question of Morocco is very jealous, by rumours of intrigues in that country on the part of M. Férand, the French Minister at Tangier. It was stated that France was endeavouring to procure a rectification of her Algerian frontier, and the tidings of these French intrigues naturally caused considerable uneasiness in Spain, where the policy pursued by France on the African continent has for long been viewed with some distrust. On March 14, General Lopez Dominguez addressed an interpellation

in Congress on the subject to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Señor Moret's reply, though studiously moderate, showed that the Government were fully alive to the gravity of the question. The subsequent illness of the Sultan complicated the situation, and considerable hostility on both sides animated the discussions on the subject in the press of Paris and Madrid. By August, however, a complimentary embassy from the Queen Regent had been received with the most marked courtesy by the Sultan, and the firm but watchful attitude of the Foreign Minister had somewhat lessened the public excitement. On October 1 Señor Moret advised the Governments of England, Germany, Italy, Austria, and France of the intention of the Spanish Government to send troops to the Spanish fortresses on the coast of Morocco, in view of complications that might arise in the event of the Sultan's death; and this memorandum was followed by a concentration of Spanish troops in the ports adjacent to the African coast. The British Government at the same time sent two ships of war to the coast of Morocco, and invited the other Powers to adopt a similar course. Meantime the feeling gathered strength that, whether the Sultan recovered or not, some steps must be taken by the Powers interested in the question to secure the better government of Morocco. At this juncture it appeared that the Sultan had appealed to the Spanish Government to re-assemble the Conference which, in 1880, had met to regulate the political relations of his empire. In accordance with this request Señor Moret issued an invitation to the signatory Powers of the Conference of 1880, which include the United States and most of the States of Europe, to meet and reconsider the whole question, and a further circular, sent out in the middle of December, stated that all the signatory Powers had consented to accept the invitation of Spain. The successful conduct of these negotiations so far reflects great credit on the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the approval of the Powers has been appropriately shown in the diplomatic movement emanating from Germany and Austria, which has resulted in the recognition of Spain officially among the Great Powers of Europe.

The year has not passed entirely without internal troubles and rumours of conspiracy and discontent. In March the arrest of several personages at Madrid, and among them of some of the palace officials, caused some temporary alarm. Riots also took place in the autumn among the cigar women at Madrid; and more serious riots were occasioned in Valencia and Tarragona, earlier in the year, by the excessive octroi duties. The burning of the famous Alcazar of Toledo, which ever since the fourth century, it is said, has dominated that city, must be chronicled too among the calamities of the year. But none of these troubles have assumed serious proportions. The authorities have shown themselves fully equal to cope with disorder; and in one respect, in the suppression of the notorious gangs of brigands, who for

years past have been the terror of Andalusia, they have achieved a distinct triumph. All through the year the Queen Regent, who has taken a far more prominent part in public affairs, has been steadily gaining in popularity and public esteem. Her visits to different parts of the kingdom have been the occasion of enthusiastic demonstrations. Her courage and high conduct have won her the respect of all parties, and the loyalty with which she is regarded augurs well for the prosperity of Spain.

## V. PORTUGAL.

The speech from the throne at the opening of the Cortes in January began by declaring that the king's relations with foreign Powers were satisfactory, and went on to express his appreciation of the courteous welcome extended to him during his recent tour by the sovereigns and peoples of the countries which he had visited. It alluded in complimentary terms to the conduct of the Pope in arranging the terms of the Concordat which had been concluded between Portugal and the Holy See, and described at some length the conventions which had been negotiated with Germany and France, defining the boundaries of the possessions of the three countries on the East and West African coasts. The terms of the German convention were fully set forth. The speech then referred to the restoration of tranquillity in Mozambique, and concluded with an announcement of a reform which the Government proposed to introduce into the customs tariff, with a view to solving the great problem of Portuguese statesmanship, the difficulty of maintaining an equilibrium between the expenditure and the revenues of the country.

But it very soon became apparent that the Government could not remain in power without a dissolution. In February 1886 the Liberal or Progressista party had taken office under Senhor José Luciano de Castro, on the fall of the Conservative Cabinet, and during the session that followed had succeeded in passing their measures through the Chamber without encountering much opposition. During the recess, however, they had provoked loud protests from their opponents by the sweeping reforms which they had effected in a series of dictatorial decrees; and when the Cortes met the opposition in the Chamber of Deputies was unmistakably strong. Two days after the opening of the Parliament the Opposition carried the election of a member of their party as President, and thereupon the Government dissolved the Chamber of Deputies and the elective portion of the Chamber of Peers. The date of the assembling of the new Cortes was fixed for April 7. Before the elections came on the Conservative party were weakened by the loss of their leader, the late Prime Minister, Senhor de Fontes, who had retired from office nearly a

year before. Senhor de Fontes had enjoyed a long tenure of power, having been in office, with the exception of three years, ever since 1872, and owing to his peculiar position he exercised more influence, perhaps, than any other statesman in Portuguese affairs. It was generally admitted of him that he had been a singularly successful party leader; but his success in monopolising political power was not entirely without danger to the throne. His constant efforts were directed towards preventing the formation of any party of Monarchical Opposition to alternate with his own in power; and thus, in the event of any disaster overtaking his Government, the Crown might have found itself in opposition to popular feeling, and without any stable party to appeal to for support. That danger has, however, now been obviated by the formation of a compact Liberal party. Senhor de Fontes' funeral was made the occasion of an imposing demonstration, in which all parties exhibited their respect for the deceased statesman. The strength of the new Liberal party was proved at the elections, which followed some weeks after, when the Government secured the return of a considerable majority of their supporters to the new Chamber. On April 7 the Cortes met, and, having made good their position, the Government lost no time in submitting their proposals to the House. The Budget was introduced by the Minister of Finance on April 15, and showed a considerable deficit. To remedy this deficit several schemes had been devised. Since the dissolution the Government had already issued a decree raising the duties upon tobacco, and the Minister now proposed to confer upon the State a tobacco monopoly. The other financial expedients laid before the Cortes included a new customs tariff, a proposal to establish a bank for the issue of notes, the conversion of the Three per Cent. exterior debt, and a reformed system of collecting the direct taxes. By these measures it was hoped that the national expenditure would be reduced, and the revenue of the country augmented to the extent of twenty million francs. These proposals of the Government were in substance agreed to by the Cortes, and on Aug. 20 the Council of State submitted them for the approval of the king. Before the session terminated the Cortes sanctioned the new treaty of commerce with China, which recognised the cession of Macao to Portugal, and the establishment of the new opium regulations there; and the ranks of the Conservatives were somewhat reinforced by the appointment of Senhor de Serpa Pimental as leader of the party, in succession to Senhor de Fontes. The choice was generally popular, and was undoubtedly the best which the Conservatives could make, for Senhor de Serpa Pimental is very widely esteemed. He is more moderate in his views than was Senhor de Fontes, and has had considerable experience in Ministerial life.

The foreign policy of Portugal has not been wholly free from incident and friction. Early in the year Senhor de Castro took

the opportunity of emphasising the view, in opposition to rumours which had been circulated to a different effect, that Portugal's position in the Peninsula and abroad make it necessary for her security that she should preserve a strict neutrality and maintain equally good relations with all the European Powers. Shortly after this, however, considerable excitement was occasioned by the news of the sudden rupture of diplomatic relations between Portugal and the Sultan of Zanzibar. The Portuguese authorities seized on a portion of the Zanzibar coast, Tungi Bay and Cape Delgado. The fortress of Tungi was bombarded, only twenty-four hours' notice being given to the inhabitants. Two detachments of infantry were disembarked. The village of Massingane was occupied and burned, and two Portuguese gunboats were stationed at Tungi to establish the Portuguese administration there. The cause of these high-handed proceedings appeared to be this. In 1885 Germany agreed to join France and England in guaranteeing the independence of the State of Zanzibar, and a commission, containing representatives of the three Powers, was appointed to delimit the boundaries of Zanzibar. The dominions of Portugal 'march' with those of the Sultan, and the commission adjudged to Zanzibar the settlements upon the northern half of Tungi Bay. This arrangement, however, was not satisfactory to Portugal, who considered that her claims had been overlooked; and, apparently with the tacit connivance of Germany, Portugal decided to press her claim to the whole district of Tungi Bay. A correspondence having that object was accordingly opened with the Sultan of Zanzibar; but, as the negotiations did not progress to the satisfaction of Portugal, the Portuguese representative presented an ultimatum, and the Portuguese authorities resorted to the summary method of seizing by force what diplomacy took too long to give. The result of the action of Portugal was that considerable alarm was caused to the British-Indian subjects, of whom there are several thousands settled in the district, and that further complications and hostilities were apprehended. A British cruiser was despatched to protect British interests on the coast. Happily, however, further trouble was averted. The Sultan agreed to adopt diplomatic methods of settling the difficulty. No more acts of war occurred, and by the middle of March the Sultan had consented to the appointment of a commission to settle with the Portuguese authorities the matters in dispute.

The action of the Portuguese at Tungi Bay nearly resulted in serious trouble to them in Mozambique. Taking advantage of the absence of the Portuguese Governor-General, who had gone to effect the occupation of Tungi, some of the natives in that province rose against the Portuguese authorities, attacked several houses and stores, and created for a time a very general alarm. It subsequently appeared, however, that the revolt was confined to one of the native tribes, the Namarrals, and before long the



authorities in Mozambique were able entirely to suppress the rising.

Two events of very great importance to the future prosperity of Lisbon marked the early months of the year. One was the establishment of a series of trains which will enable passengers to travel from Lisbon to London in  $35\frac{1}{2}$  hours, thus bringing the Portuguese capital nearer to London by 17 hours. The new service, which runs straight through from Calais to Lisbon, will very greatly accelerate the South American mails; and, from a commercial point of view, it is even more important, as facilitating the development of an Anglo-Spanish parcel-post. The other undertaking is the long-contemplated scheme for the improvement of Lisbon, which the present Liberal Government has brought into practical shape, and for which a contract was concluded in the beginning of April last. The scheme authorises an expenditure of over two millions sterling. It embraces plans for completing harbour works, docks, railways, warehouses, avenues, and roads along the river bank, and when it is fully achieved Lisbon will possess a port and facilities for commerce scarcely second to any in the world.

## VI. DENMARK.

The principal event of the year was the General Election (Jan. 28), inaugurating a change in the tactics of the Liberal party, which may lead a way out of the disastrous political deadlock under which the country has so long suffered.

When the Rigsdag adjourned for the Christmas holidays the committee in the Folkething (the Lower House), to whom the Budget had been referred, had not made their report, but it was generally expected that this would be done as soon as the Rigsdag reassembled. Accordingly, on the first day after the recess (Jan. 2) the report on the Budget was distributed, and it at once became apparent that greater reductions than usual had been made in the Government proposals. No less than 13,000,000 kroners in all had been refused by the committee, mostly in the army and navy estimates. Prominent among the items struck out was the amount to be paid for guns ordered from the German firm Krupp, for which the Government was liable under its contract. The Government, seeing no hope of coming to any agreement with the Lower House on the Budget, decided, therefore, to dissolve it at once. A message from the King was read (Jan. 8) in the Folkething, dissolving the House and calling for an immediate election "in order that the new Assembly might have ample time to reconsider and pass the Budget before the financial year expired." In the interval pending the new election (Jan. 28) both parties displayed great activity all over the country, the Ministerialists being very hopeful of the issue. In this they were not disappointed, for the result showed a gain of

eight seats for the Conservatives, of which three were the seats lost in Copenhagen in 1884, when the Liberals made their first effort to "conquer" the capital. Copenhagen was, therefore, wholly represented by Ministerialists, except in one division, where the late member, a Social Democrat, was re-elected. The Ministerial party, however, was still in a great minority in the Lower House, the elections resulting in a return of 76 Liberals and of only 26 supporters of the Government.

The new Rigsdag was summoned forthwith (Feb. 1), and the Minister of Finance at once presented (Feb. 8) the Budget for 1887-88, which, to a great extent, was identical with that proposed to the Folkething in the previous session. Having been read a first time (Feb. 10) it was referred at once to the Budget Committee. The proceedings of this body are not published, but it was speedily rumoured that the Liberals intended to make reductions similar to those effected on former Budgets, thereby leaving very little prospect of an agreement between the Government and the Lower House. When the report on the Budget was brought up (March 1) it was found that these anticipations were fully realised, and that the committee had made very few concessions, while they had reduced the various estimates in the same proportion as in previous years. The second reading having been taken (March 4), the Budget was sent up (March 25) in its amended form to the Landsting. There being now scarcely eight days left of the financial year, the Upper House had little time at their disposal to discuss the Budget in detail. The first reading (March 26) was followed by a more formal debate on the second reading (March 30), when the Ministry and their supporters in the Landsting amended it in such a way as to form a basis for the administration of the public revenue.

While the Landsting was thus occupied an event of some importance occurred in the Lower House. M. Berg, the leader of the Liberals, announced (March 30) that he, from "political reasons," wished to resign his place as President of the House. M. Berg had, it was generally assumed, decided on taking this step in consequence of what had taken place between him and the other leading men of the Liberal party during the recess, when it will be remembered (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1886, p. 404) that a considerable section of the party had agreed to give up their old "withering" policy, as it was called, and which they had carried on for so many years against the Estrup Ministry, and to discuss the proposals of the Government in a more conciliatory and moderate spirit. M. Berg strongly objected to this new departure from his favourite policy, but soon found that he could not any longer depend upon the absolute obedience of the party he had so long represented, and, with the exception of a few solitary friends and ardent supporters in the House, no one attempted to urge him to alter his decision. It was only too evident that the other leading men of the Liberal party had

worked for his downfall, and the day after his resignation (March 31) the Folkething elected M. Högsbro, the Vice-President as its new President, and M. Bojsen, another prominent Liberal, was elected Vice-President. This was the last event of the last day of the session. The Rigsdag was forthwith prorogued (April 1), and the same day the Government issued a new "provisional" Budget, this being the third year in succession that these means had been resorted to by the Estrup Ministry.

During the first two months of the recess both political parties remained comparatively quiet. A discussion meeting was held (April 18) between members of the Copenhagen Conservative Club and the Progressive Club, this being the first attempt to discuss matters in a temperate and rational manner; but although the meeting passed off quietly enough it failed to inaugurate a new era. During the summer months numerous meetings were held all over the country. At the Liberal meetings it became apparent how serious was the breach between M. Berg and his former supporters. Not only was he violently attacked at these meetings, but also in the Liberal press, to which he replied with no less acrimony. In the course of the summer it leaked out that during the last session several of the leading Liberals had directly approached the Prime Minister with a view to an agreement on the principal questions at issue, and that these negotiations, which were broken off as soon as the Liberals discovered that they had come to M. Berg's knowledge, were the "political reasons" which had induced M. Berg to resign his presidency of the Lower House. At a meeting at Kolding he openly attacked the new leaders of the Left, accusing them of treachery to the "people's cause," and at several successive meetings he continued these attacks. His former friends were rather taken aback at this, especially as they had not as yet been able to ascertain what influence M. Berg still possessed in the country districts among the sturdy Danish peasantry, who, for so many years, had faithfully stood by him and believed in his "withering" policy as the surest means of finally overthrowing the Ministry. The advanced Liberals were afraid that he might succeed in raising an agitation against them, which might sweep them away at the next election. Instead of openly acknowledging the necessity, which they now admitted, of discussing urgent matters such as the "provisional" laws and the national defences with the Government, with a view of finding some way out of the desperate position at which the politics of the country had arrived, they attempted to shield themselves by silence and afterwards by explaining away matters. The new tactics of the Liberals did not therefore help to advance matters during the present year, any more than if their old policy had been adhered to. M. Berg, however, met with several disappointments during the autumn campaign. Two of his supporters were defeated at by-elections,

and the candidates of the advanced Liberals were elected in their stead. In the press he also lost support, and the desertion of the *Morgenbladet*, which he had founded, was a heavy blow to him. The editor of this paper was a great friend and supporter of M. Berg, but in August a majority of the directors of the paper decided on discharging him from his position, and it was only in October that M. Berg again succeeded in making himself heard in the Copenhagen press by starting a new paper of his own, the *Aftenbladet*, an insignificant paper, of which he appointed his friend, the late editor of the *Morgenbladet*, as editor. The breach in the Liberal party was now complete, the the Ministerialists of course viewing it with great satisfaction.

On the reassembling of the Rigsdag (Oct. 3) the Government seemed disposed to meet the Liberal party under its new leadership in a conciliatory spirit with a view to facilitate legislation. The Ministry, therefore, repealed the "provisional" arms law promulgated in 1885, having, as they maintained, succeeded in the object for which it had been issued. Besides removing in this way one of the barriers to a better understanding with the Lower House, the Government, moreover, in the Budget for 1888-89, as laid before the House (Oct. 4), asked for no new "extraordinary" grants for the proposed defences of Copenhagen, and the total expenses were 6,000,000 kroners less than in the preceding Budget. At the same time the "provisional" Budget of the last session was also laid before the House for ratification. On former occasions the Opposition had complained because the "provisional" Budget had not been introduced at once at the opening of the session, maintaining that a neglect of this was an open breach of the Constitution. This time when their wishes had been complied with, and the "provisional" Budget introduced at the same time as the regular Budget, they seemed displeased at its early appearance, and announced through their organs that it would be thrown out at once without being referred to the Budget Committee. In the meantime the Budget for the coming financial year had been read a first time and was sent to the Budget Committee (Oct. 14). The debate on the "provisional" Budget was then taken (Oct. 17) and lasted for three days, when it was refused a second reading and thrown out.

The Rigsdag was thereupon prorogued for seven weeks, and a new "provisional" Budget was at once issued. During the recess considerable agitation was fostered throughout the country. The advanced Liberals, under the leadership of Count Holstein-Ledreborg and M. Hörup, decided on holding a series of meetings of delegates in various parts of the country with the intention of ascertaining the attitude of the electors towards their old leader, M. Berg. Count Holstein-Ledreborg and M. Högsbro, the President of the Folkething, were elected to represent the advanced party at these meetings. The newspaper reports of the meetings varied according to the party they represented.

Mr. Berg's organ asserted that these deputies met with great opposition at nearly all the meetings, while the papers of the advanced section represented the political crusade almost as a "triumphal tour." The delegates, however, arrived at the conclusion that, although M. Berg would be able to get some of his supporters elected, he would be unable to return with a majority to the Rigsdag after a new election.

On the reassembling of the Rigsdag (Dec. 5) the new "provisional" Budget was not laid before the House. The King was abroad at the time, and the Government thought it would be advisable to postpone until his return a decision which might necessitate a dissolution. In the meantime the Opposition availed themselves of this opportunity to introduce, through one of their own party, the "provisional" Budget in the Folkething, where it was rejected (Dec. 8). On the King's return (Dec. 16) the Government introduced their "provisional" Budget in the Lower House. The Bill on its first reading (Dec. 21) was at once referred, after a short discussion, to the committee. As the rejection of the Budget on its introduction by a private member was held by the Government, according to the judgment passed in the High Court of Justice in 1886, not to be of any legal import, the sittings of the Rigsdag were continued. The Liberals were, moreover, anxious to avoid a dissolution at that moment for several reasons, especially on account of the strife between the two sections of the party to which an election would lead. The advanced and most numerous section—the Holstein-Hörup group—hoped, no doubt, that with a little more time they would destroy altogether the influence which M. Berg still had in the country, and that they would meet with little or no opposition at the next election. Both Houses, therefore, adjourned for the Christmas holidays without any definite step having been taken. No legislative measure of any importance had been passed, and the present year stands as barren in this respect as if the old policy of the Liberal party had been carried out. The political excitement in the country was considerably less than in 1886. Some farmers still refused to pay taxes to the present Government, but no riotous scenes like those of previous years occurred. The fortifications of Copenhagen progressed considerably during the year, part of the money expended thereon having been subscribed privately among the Conservatives, and part from the National exchequer, to the extent proposed in the "provisional" Budgets issued during the year.

Great discontent continued to prevail in Iceland, owing to the refusal of the Danish Government to sanction a Bill which the Althing passed in 1885 for the appointment of a responsible Minister for Icelandic affairs, on the ground that the interests of the country were totally neglected at Copenhagen. Large numbers of the inhabitants of the island continued to emigrate to America.

## VII. NORWAY.

The present year has been one of considerable political excitement and interest to the Norwegian people. The origin of the split in the Liberal party which took place last year has already been related. This schism the events of 1887 have only tended to widen. The main charge by the advanced Liberals against M. Johan Sverdrup, the Prime Minister, was that he, the responsible author of parliamentary government in the country, was the first to renounce and repudiate it. Moreover, having turned his back upon his principles and broken with his former colleagues, he has, under the influence of his nephew, M. Jakob Sverdrup, Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs, deliberately forced upon the country and the National Assembly a reform which he knew must be distasteful to the country, and which could only widen the breach already existing between the two sections of the Liberal party. The year may, in fact, be said to be the beginning of an epoch in Norwegian history that will decide how parliamentary government can best be firmly established and carried on according to the Constitution of the country and the wishes of the people.

A matter which in the very beginning of the year tended to make the Government unpopular with the advanced Liberals, and indeed with a considerable part of the people, was the confiscation of a book called "Albertine," of which the author was an artist, M. Chr. Krohg. The book was written with the purpose of exposing the evils of State-protected prostitution, and of showing how poor girls are often helplessly forced into this mode of life. The confiscation was based upon a couple of passages, which the Minister of Justice pronounced obscene. In addition to having his book confiscated, the author was ordered to pay a fine, which on appeal was reduced to a trifling amount. Meetings protesting against this attack upon the liberty of the press, as it was generally considered, were held in various parts of the country, and in the capital a large procession, chiefly consisting of members of the Working Men's Union, proceeded one Sunday with flags and banners to the residence of the Prime Minister for the purpose of petitioning the Government to rescind the order for the confiscation of "Albertine." The Prime Minister received the deputation, but he replied that it was a matter which concerned his Minister of Justice, to whom he would refer it. The Government ultimately decided not to revoke their previous decision, and thereby aggravated the ill-will they had provoked. The book, however, greatly assisted in the agitation which was set on foot in the capital for the suppression of State-protected prostitution; for it became known towards the end of the year that the Government had decided on abolishing the control of prostitution in Christiania at an early date.

The earlier months of the year were moreover marked by a number of meetings held by the Liberal party to protest against the proposed reform in Church matters, and in favour of upholding the right of Norway to participate on an equal footing with Sweden in the conduct of diplomatic affairs with foreign countries. Both these resolutions were also passed at an important meeting of the Council of the Christiania Liberal Union. In view of expressions of public opinion throughout the country, it was generally expected that the Government on the assembling of the Storting would by some outward act show its desire to reunite the Liberals on the old party lines.

The Storting having formally assembled on the following day (Feb. 1), the Prime Minister opened its proceedings on behalf of the King. In the Speech from the Throne no reference was made to the Church Reform Bill, to the satisfaction of the advanced Liberal party and its press. The speech, in fact, contained nothing of importance beyond a reference to Bills for trial by jury and for the reorganisation of the army, both of which had long been in preparation and were waiting to be passed into law by the Storting. The Budget proposed an expenditure of 44,100,000 kroners (2,450,000*l.*) and a revenue of the same amount, which the Government hoped to obtain without imposing any new duties.

The discussion on the Jury Bill in the Odelsting (the Lower Chamber) was opened (May 5) by M. Qvam, the foreman of the committee, who in a long speech explained how fully and thoroughly this Bill had been considered in the committee, adding that it was high time Norway accepted an institution which had now become a mark of civilisation among the European nations. While more than 500 millions of people enjoyed the privileges of the jury system, there were less than 14 millions of civilised people who were deprived of it.

The Bill was feebly opposed by the Conservatives, who tried only to delay its progress by proposing that the Government should first prepare and lay before the Chamber a specified estimate of what the introduction of the jury would cost the country; a suggestion which was promptly rejected by the whole Liberal party. The Bill, consisting of 495 clauses, was a bold and carefully constructed scheme, although its operation, strange to say, was limited to criminal cases. The procedure in civil cases, which is at present conducted by means of written pleas, according to an antiquated and distressingly slow system, was as much in want of a radical reform as the criminal procedure, but its claims were ignored. The discussion on the Bill occupied thirty sittings of the Odelsting.

During the debate, when the Bill had been more than a week before the House, M. Sörenssen, the Minister of Justice, by whom the Bill had been introduced on behalf of the Government, declared himself opposed to the jury system. He had only sup-

ported the Bill in consequence of the general feeling in the Storting in its favour in order to have the question settled. This expression of the Minister of Justice created considerable surprise and dissatisfaction in the Liberal ranks, especially as he made no sign of resigning his portfolio. The Bill, nevertheless, passed (June 7) the Lower Chamber, and was sent up to the Lathing (June 14), where, after a couple of days of discussion, it was passed without any amendments. On the Bill being laid before the King for his sanction a few weeks later he desired the Ministry to append to the Bill a decree for an estimate of the expenditure, consequent upon the adoption of the jury system. The Ministry protested against such a procedure, but the King insisted on accompanying his sanction in any case by a personal request to the same effect. This singular proceeding by a constitutional sovereign was allowed by the Ministry to pass, although the Liberal press took up the matter and protested against the personal interference of the King in such matters. Nevertheless the great measure of reform, for which the Liberal party had striven for so many years, was finally passed.

Another reform included in the Liberal programme which was to be settled during the session was the organisation of the army. The Bill which the Government laid before the Storting was identical with the proposal M. Sverdrup (then in the Opposition) and M. Hjorth had introduced in 1879, upon which the Liberal party was practically agreed. The Bill only occupied three sittings, when it was unanimously passed after the rejection of a few amendments. The leading principle of the Bill was an economical retrenchment in the military expenditure of the country. The corps of Jægers, consisting of voluntarily enlisted and well-trained men and the regiment of Norwegian Guards quartered in the Swedish capital as a guard of honour to the King were alike dissolved, and the military defence of the country was committed to an army based upon universal compulsory service. This principle was in complete consonance with the Norwegian character, and the success of the Government measure was mainly owing to the recognition it made of this feeling.

It was far otherwise with their Church Reform Bill, which, although not referred to in the King's speech, was laid before the Storting during the month of June. It will be remembered (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1886, p. 406) that the Liberal party had long been in favour of placing the election of clergymen in the hands of the parishioners, and for throwing open the churches to others besides parish ministers; but the Minister of Ecclesiastical affairs, M. Jakob Sverdrup, would not agree to the mere adoption of these reforms, and proposed at the same time the establishment of parish or congregational councils. These bodies, among other things, were to exercise a supervision over the register of the electors, and were empowered to strike off the names of any who had openly broken with the Church or were



leading an immoral or depraved life. It was to this latter clause, involving the erection in every parish of a mediæval inquisitional tribunal, that the advanced Liberals objected. The Bill in the first instance was put forward as urgent, "a matter which could not be postponed." Upon its introduction, however, in the Odelsting (June 15) Mr. Sivert Nielsen, a prominent Liberal, proposed its postponement, and was supported by the Prime Minister and two of his colleagues. It thus appeared as if the Government at the last moment had seen the danger of bringing forward a measure so antagonistic to popular feeling, and it was generally assumed that M. Nielsen had done the Government a friendly service in proposing its postponement. The leaders of the advanced Liberals, however, protested against this course, and M. Nielsen's motion was rejected by 42 against 39 votes. The discussion of the Bill began forthwith (June 17), in spite of the obvious wishes of the Government. During the debate that ensued the Prime Minister declared to the Odelsting that he could not consent to the passing of the two sections of the Bill on which he believed they were all agreed, without the third part, which related to the parish councils, and he added that he would use all means at his command to prevent the Bill becoming law in any other shape than this. Several amendments to the Bill were proposed which were all negatived; yet when the division on the Bill itself was taken it was thrown out by 84 votes against 1.

In presence of such a decided expression of opinion it was generally expected that M. Jakob Sverdrup, the author of the Bill, at least would resign; and the organs of the advanced Liberals intimated that, in that case, and if the Prime Minister reconstructed his Ministry in harmony with the majority of the Liberals, the party would rest satisfied. The existing Ministry was the first parliamentary Government the country had had, and the Liberals were naturally anxious that it should uphold the dignity and principles of constitutional rule. M. Jakob Sverdrup, as a clergyman, had taken an active part in the impeachment of the late Conservative Ministry in 1884, and in one of the debates on that occasion had said, "If a Liberal Ministry found itself in discord with the majority of the people and the majority of the Storting, the Ministry would resign at once, and of its own accord. Should, however, it attempt to remain in office, thousands of its friends throughout the country would cry, 'Down with you!'" Notwithstanding this declaration, uttered only four years previously, and in the face of the crushing defeat he had suffered on the Church Bill, M. Jakob Sverdrup decided to remain in office; and when the organ of the advanced Liberals again urged on the Prime Minister to take some step in the matter, the ministerial organ answered that the Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs had expressed his willingness to retire, but that the Prime Minister had replied that he could not accept his resignation, as they were both equally responsible for the Church

Bill. The same paper also went on to explain that the Prime Minister had never made a Cabinet question of this Bill, and that consequently its fate would not necessitate any change in the Cabinet. In view of these declarations all chance of a reunion of the Liberal party was for the time regarded as hopeless.

Amongst the minor incidents of the session may be noted the treatment of *M. Alexander Kielland*, the novelist, who, in the previous session, had been granted 1,600 kr. as compensation for the losses he might have sustained through Norway having no copyright treaty with foreign countries. This year, when the grant came on for renewal, it was, to the surprise of everyone, refused by 58 to 54 votes. On the former occasion the proposal had been made by *M. Björnsterne Björnson*, the poet, in the exercise of his right as a private citizen, while this year it was proposed by the Government together with the stipends to other native authors, and consequently no one expected that the grant would be refused. The refusal, it was subsequently stated, was due to an agitation set on foot by a religious faction of *M. Jakob Sverdrup's* supporters, known by the name of "*Oftedöler*," so called after *Pastor Oftedal* in *Stavanger*, a firm friend and supporter of the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs. A few words from the Prime Minister would probably have carried the vote; but on its being proposed not a single member of the Government stood up in defence of the grant which they themselves had placed upon the estimates. On the first occasion (see *ANNUAL REGISTER*, 1885, p. 305) when a stipend was proposed for *M. Kielland* by *M. Björnson* and *M. Jonas Lie*, it had been urged against the novelist that his books expressed anti-Christian views, and that the Storting ought not to support this kind of literature. On that occasion the grant was refused, and when *M. Björnson*, in the following year, again proposed a grant to *M. Kielland*, he maintained that "if the Storting refused *M. Kielland* a stipend on such grounds, they ought also to withdraw from him the 'poet's stipend' which for many years past he had received, inasmuch as he (*M. Björnson*) had publicly announced himself as a Freethinker, and expressed his views as such, which *M. Kielland* had not done. The stipend must be granted without any condition as to one's spiritual liberty, otherwise he would not receive it. If they refused *M. Kielland* a stipend on religious grounds, he would, as a matter of course, renounce his." When, therefore, the news of the refusal reached *M. Björnson*, who was then in Paris, he at once telegraphed to the Storting and renounced his stipend. By its vote in *M. Kielland's* case the National Assembly thus indirectly deprived the poet of a slight acknowledgment of his services to his country as a writer, and of the invaluable service he had rendered the Liberal cause during the constitutional struggle in 1884.

A Bill, substituting affirmation instead of oath in all cases where any person, by his convictions, was prevented from taking

an oath, was passed unanimously. A Government proposal for a convention of literary copyright with foreign countries, giving the authors protection for a term of ten years, was rejected, the time being considered insufficient. Several other minor measures were passed before the Storthing was prorogued (July 7) after an unusually long session.

The controversy between the two sections of the Liberal party was, however, continued in the press and at public meetings. The advanced Liberals maintained that the Prime Minister ought not to have created any dissension in the party by introducing a Bill to which the great majority were opposed, and which they had even entreated him to abandon, while there were so many reforms on their programme, on which all were agreed, and which would fully occupy their attention for several years. As matters now, however, stood after the defeat of the Bill, they insisted on the resignation of M. Jakob Sverdrup, whom they regarded as the "evil genius" of the Ministry. They would only continue to support the Ministry if, after its reconstruction, it showed a desire to reunite the party on the old party lines, and work in harmony with the wishes of the majority of the Storthing. The ministerial organs replied that the leaders of the advanced Liberals were ambitious agitators, who found that things did not move quickly enough for them; they were, in fact, "dangerous people," who only caused dissension in the party for their own ends. It must, however, be remembered that it was these very men with whom M. Sverdrup had worked for years, and by whose assistance he was enabled to lead the Liberal party to victory in the late constitutional struggle. In the autumn it was rumoured that there were serious dissensions among the Ministers themselves, that three or four of them were insisting on the responsibility of Ministers being upheld and respected as it should be in a parliamentary Government. In October the delegates of the Stockholm Ministry arrived at Christiania for the ostensible purpose of conferring with their colleagues there and settling the ministerial difficulty. Several councils were held, but evidently without any arrangement being arrived at, as the Stockholm delegates left in a few days, although with the intention, as was said, of returning to Christiania, accompanied by the King, as soon as possible. There was now no longer any doubt in the public mind as to the disagreement among members of the Government, and it was openly asserted that the dissentient Ministers referred to would resign if the Ministry were not reconstructed in such a way as to secure the full support of the Liberal party again.

The King and the three Ministers from Stockholm arrived (Oct. 18) in Christiania, and a preliminary conference was held at once at the Palace. It soon became known that three of the Norwegian Ministers had tendered their resignation, but in a Cabinet Council (Oct. 20) the King intimated his wish that they

should remain in office until the meeting of the Storting in the following February. The retiring Ministers thereupon complied with his Majesty's wish, and thus the ministerial crisis came to an end for the time; and in this unsatisfactory state were political matters left at the close of the year.

During the summer a number of political meetings were held in various parts of the country by the Liberal party, the most important of these being held in Thronhjelm, the ancient capital of Norway, when the programme for the elections in the autumn of the ensuing year was agreed upon, the principal points being : 1, the maintenance of parliamentary government; 2, a satisfactory settlement of the transaction of diplomatic affairs; and 3, universal suffrage.

M. Björnstjerne Björnson, who had been living in retirement in Paris for the last five years, left France towards the end of the year to settle again among his countrymen. His return home may not be without significance in connection with the coming political struggle, which seems unavoidable, and which is likely to culminate when the general elections take place in the autumn. On his way home M. Björnson remained for a few weeks in Denmark, and delivered in the principal cities a lecture, 'Polygamy or Monogamy,' to large and enthusiastic audiences. This lecture, which advocated strongly greater morality among men, he proposed to deliver in the principal towns in Norway and Sweden during the winter.

The trade and the commerce of the country seemed to be reviving after the long and depressing spell under which it has been suffering.

## VIII. SWEDEN.

Political matters in Sweden have during the present year taken a more interesting turn than for some time. The great question of protection has again occupied the attention of the people, and has been discussed with thoroughness by all classes; whilst a curious event in connection with the Stockholm elections in the autumn suddenly aroused the people from their political apathy.

The Riksdag assembled at the usual time (Jan. 15) and was formally opened three days later. In the Speech from the Throne no reference was made to a protective tariff, nor was any indication given of legislative measures of any great importance. Its chief features were certain measures of public utility—a new Bank Bill, a Bill for the amendment of the press laws, another for the amendment of the Education Act, and one for the re-organisation of the *personnel* of the navy.

The finances of the country were declared to be in a very satisfactory condition, and it was proposed to balance the Budget for the present year by the surplus of 1885.

Amongst other features the Budget included an appanage of 26,000 kr. (1,445*l.*) a year for each of the three princes, while a reduction of the like amount was to be made in the grant to the King. It will be remembered that in 1886 the Government had been refused a dotation of this amount for the King's second son, Prince Oscar (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1886, p. 412); but this year the Government proposal passed through the First Chamber without difficulty, although it met with considerable opposition in the Second Chamber. Several of the Liberals urged that if the Riksdag agreed to the proposal it might lead to the granting of appanages to an unlimited extent; but the Prime Minister set their minds at rest by stating that the King had entered on the Minutes of the Council that only the sons of the King and of the Crown Prince would have a right to appanages. Upon this the proposal was finally agreed to by 105 against 95 votes.

In the previous year a motion to impose protective duties on corn, flour, butter, and other agricultural produce, had been brought before the Riksdag, but had been defeated at the joint meeting of the two Chambers (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1886, p. 411). The protectionists were not, however, discouraged by this rebuff, and at the very commencement of the year renewed their efforts most vigorously. Their agitation was so successful that towards the end of February they were again able to bring the question before the Riksdag. The debate lasted several days, and created much excitement both in and out of the Riksdag. Meetings to protest against protection were held all over the country, whilst the Government, which was strongly in favour of free trade, declared that it would stake its existence upon the question. On the conclusion of the debate (March 8) the proposal was rejected in the First Chamber by 70 against 68 votes; but in the Second Chamber the protectionists obtained a significant victory—111 votes for, and 101 against, the proposed duties on the necessaries of life. The King, who was staying in the Norwegian capital, no sooner heard of this division than he left Christiania by special train, in the middle of the night, for Stockholm, where a Council was held at once. It was there and then decided to dissolve the Second Chamber of the Riksdag, in order to ascertain, by means of new elections, the feeling of the country on the protectionist proposals. This was the first time since the passing of the new regulations for the formation of the Swedish Diet, in 1866, that the King had made use of his right to dissolve the Riksdag; but the country seemed to approve of the course which the King had taken on this occasion. It was generally believed that the free trade party would be successful at the polls, and public interest was keenly aroused. During the recess, meetings were held all over the country, and were numerously attended, the question of protection being the only one that was discussed. The result of the elections was more conclusive than the most hopeful free-traders had dared to antici-

pate, for 140 of their party were returned, against 80 protectionists. In Stockholm the 22 Liberal candidates were elected by an overwhelming majority.

The new Riksdag was forthwith called together (May 4), and the protectionists slightly varied their programme by substituting duties on bacon and cheese for those previously proposed and negatived. They were not, however, more successful on this occasion, and their motion was rejected by both Chambers. The cry for increased armaments found little echo in the Swedish Parliament. The building of a new ironclad was agreed to by a very small majority, but the Government's demand for a grant for erecting a couple of forts was refused, and the Riksdag likewise refused to provide any money for expenses incurred by carrying out certain clauses of the new law of conscription. The Minister of War had proposed the appointment of special registration officers, but the Riksdag was of opinion that it was part of the duty of the officers in the army to attend to the registration of conscripts in their respective districts. On the rejection of this vote the Minister of War, M. Ryding, who had strongly insisted upon the importance of the clause, forthwith resigned, and General Peyron was subsequently appointed his successor.

A Bill dealing with the manning of the navy was also passed. Hitherto the necessary crews for ships of war had been provided on the same system as that by which the "indelta" army was maintained (see ANNUAL REGISTER, 1882, p. 280), each occupier or holder of land along the coast being called upon to supply a recruit to the navy. In many cases these men proved most unsuitable for a seafaring life. Under the new Act the Government was empowered to man the ships with paid recruits suitable for the service. A yearly tax of about 5*l.* is in return imposed upon the estates or farms thus relieved of the old obligation to furnish navy conscripts. The Riksdag also decided, in view of the general depression in prices, that a reduction of ten per cent. in their rents should be granted to all tenants of Crown property devoted to agriculture, to meet the great depression in agriculture in the country.

The general elections for both Chambers began in the early part of August, and were not concluded until the end of September. The agitation commenced by the protectionists had in the meantime been energetically continued; and, as the result showed, with considerable success, owing to the continued distress and depression among the agricultural classes. The result of the elections gave to the free-traders a majority of only 20 votes in the Riksdag, showing a remarkable change of opinion since the elections in the spring. Even with this reduced majority the free-traders thought to hold the protectionists in check in the Riksdag and to maintain the Ministry in office. But almost immediately after the elections a matter of trivial importance

in itself threatened the Stockholm election and to bring about a political crisis of some duration.

The Swedish capital is represented in the Second Chamber of the Riksdag by 22 members, the election being by *scrutin de liste*. Each party selects its own 22 candidates—for whom the party as a rule vote as a group, according to the list agreed upon and distributed among the electors—but independent lists are, of course, also frequently used. According to the Constitution, every voting ticket which may happen to contain the name of one or more persons who may be judged unfit for election is cancelled and annulled in its entirety. Persons in arrear with their taxes are amongst those thus disqualified for election. Now among the names of the 22 candidates of the Liberal party in Stockholm was included that of M. O. Larsson, formerly a workman in a foundry, who had become manager of a public kitchen in the capital. The editor of the leading Conservative newspaper became aware that M. Larsson had not paid his taxes in 1881–82 (amounting in all to about 13 shillings in English money), and was therefore disqualified to take his seat. A petition was at once lodged with the *Overstathallare*, a kind of sheriff and returning officer, who also adjudicates upon all points of electoral procedure and dispute. The petition claimed that M. Larsson was ineligible for election, and prayed that all the voting tickets with his name should be considered null and void. If this contention could be sustained, it followed that nearly all the 6,700 voting papers by which the Liberal party had carried the day would be null and void, as on most of them M. Larsson's name had figured. After much consideration the *Overstathallare* finally declared the election of the 22 Liberal members to have been irregular, and fresh counting of the voting papers was ordered to be made. The result then showed that the Protectionist list had carried the election by about 2,900 votes. An appeal against the decision of the *Overstathallare* was at once lodged in the High Court of Justice.

Pending the result of the appeal, the political situation remained at a deadlock ; for, whilst the electors of the capital had returned by an overwhelming majority 22 members of strong free-trade principles, they were actually represented in the Lower Chamber of the Riksdag by the same number of Protectionists because one Liberal candidate had neglected to pay taxes to the amount of 13 shillings some seven years before. The existence of the Cabinet, the free-trade policy, and the legislation of the country were thus endangered by too strict an adherence to a forgotten and almost obsolete law. The Liberals in return attempted to prove that one of the candidates of the Protectionists was also disqualified on the score of being an alien, but he eventually proved himself to be a naturalised citizen of the country. Had he also been proved ineligible the election of the Protectionists' candidates would, in turn, have been annulled, and the list

of the Socialists, who had polled between 600 and 700 votes, would have been substituted, and 22 Socialistic members would have been seated in the Riksdag, to the dismay of the Conservatives, but by their own act. It was, however, generally expected that the King would again dissolve the Riksdag and appeal to the country in this unsatisfactory state of things; but it soon became apparent that he declined to take this step, actuated doubtless by the fact that there had already been two general elections during the year. The Ministers therefore formally tendered their resignations, but pending the appeal to the High Court of Justice on the Stockholm election, the King commanded them to retain their portfolios and temporarily conduct the business of their different departments. This was the situation at the close of the year, everyone looking forward with hope that the new year would bring some satisfactory solution of the anomalous position in which political parties found themselves.

During the summer a conference of working men was held in Stockholm, which was numerously attended. Its most important act was the passing of a resolution in favour of universal suffrage.

## CHAPTER V.

### ASIA.

#### INDIA, CENTRAL ASIA, AFGHANISTAN, CHINA, AND JAPAN.

EARLY in the year the Amir had reason to fear a revival of the Ghilzai insurrection, which, it is said, caused by over-taxation, received an impulse and a fanatical complexion from the adhesion of some influential priests. A sudden outburst of fanaticism is the chief danger to which the Amir is exposed in his alliance with the English, and although good feeling at present exists, this is a matter in which the Afghans cannot be depended upon for some time. The Amir took prompt measures to reinforce Kandahar, Ghazni, and other strongholds of importance, and summoned the headmen of the several sections of the Ghilzai tribes to meet him at Kabul. Those who attended remained as hostages, while those who neglected to come were marked as disaffected. The Ghilzais hold a most important position in Eastern Afghanistan on important lines of communication, and as they were both numerous and had many interests in common a general revolt among the tribes was to be feared and guarded against with prudence. The Hotaks gained some small successes and killed the Governor of Maruf, but early in April suffered a reverse, which apparently had the effect of checking the spread of insur-



rection and confining it to certain sections of the southern Ghilzais. An attempt to incite the tribes at Khost failed, while the Amir's troops concentrated themselves in the disaffected districts, and after a considerable period of apparent inaction engaged and defeated the Ghilzais on June 13 and 16 with considerable loss. At this juncture, however, the Ghilzais were reinforced by 450 regular troops, who had deserted from the Herat garrison after an unsuccessful revolt against the Governor of that town, and had made their way across country to the help of their fellow-tribesmen. The Amir had laid waste the Hotak country, and had cut down the crops and orchards on which they mainly depended; the Ghilzais, therefore, reduced to despair, gathered at Atarghar for a final struggle. On July 26 they were attacked at Sura, and after severe fighting thoroughly defeated and dispersed, large numbers of fugitives finding an asylum in British territory, and the Amir's power was more firmly established than ever. Perhaps induced by this prolonged revolt to try his fortunes in Afghanistan, Ayub Khan, who had hitherto been a refugee at the Court of Persia, maintained by the Government of India, suddenly escaped from surveillance and entered Afghanistan, near Herat, at the head of a handful of followers. He was, however, promptly attacked by a party of Afghans and forced to turn back into Persia, where he continued in hiding until (Nov. 6) he surrendered himself to the British representative at Meshed. His surrender removed a serious danger to the maintenance of peace, and it is understood that he will be removed to India.

One of the chief results of the Penjdeh incident and the Russian scare which followed has been the placing of the army in India on an efficient footing, and the demands made by the war in Burma obliged Government to complete the sanctioned strength without delay. It now numbers 70,000 English and 140,000 native troops, perfectly equipped, and the difficulties of transport to Afghanistan have been avoided by the construction of the railway to Quetta, whence it will be further carried through the Khoja Amran range of mountains, which lie between Quetta and Kandahar, to the outpost at Chaman, about a hundred miles from Kandahar. While war is averted by energetic measures of defence the Boundary Commission has worked zealously to secure to the Afghans a well-defined frontier. It was to be expected that great differences would be encountered, and in settling the boundary at Khoja Salar these differences appeared to be insurmountable. The name applies not to a village but to a tract of country, and the Russians boldly claimed the whole tract. On the other hand, the boundary had been settled in 1873 by the local Afghan and Bokharan officials, among whom there was no dispute as to its correctness. However, the negotiations were finally concluded in favour of Afghanistan, but Russia obtained a modification of the boundary in the Khusk Valley, over which Russian subjects had rights of water and pasturage. The new

boundary runs from Zulfikar to Khushk, thence to near Maruchak, and on to Dukchi and Bosaga, on the Oxus. Boundary pillars were erected on the line agreed upon, and the Commissioners returned to India, receiving the hearty thanks of the Amir for their difficult and prolonged labours. While the boundary was in dispute an affray occurred between the Afghans and Bokharans at Kham-i-ab, which induced the Russians to occupy Kerki, on the frontier, and it was feared they would occupy the whole of the tract in dispute. Inquiries, however, showed that the matter was merely a local quarrel, unconnected with the boundary, and the dispute was quietly settled.

*Kashmir*.—In Kashmir the new minister, honestly bent on reforms, unfortunately came into collision with the Maharaja, who for a time refused to sign any papers presented by the Dewan. The difficulties were, however, tided over.

*Sikkim*.—At the close of the year affairs in Sikkim were beginning to get involved. The Thibetans, it will be remembered, had occupied the direct road from Sikkim, *viâ* the Jailapla Pass, to oppose the British mission, and they have continued to hold it in force, to the great inconvenience and interruption of traffic. Late in the year the Raja of Sikkim returned to his territory and was followed by a swarm of Thibetans, to the dismay and annoyance of his own subjects, and it appeared to be in contemplation to annex Sikkim to Thibet. The influence and authority of the Chinese Government will probably be exercised to restore quietness and security, and may bring the Lamas to reason; but matters are still very unsettled.

*Nepal*.—Considerable excitement was caused in Nepal by the detection of a conspiracy against the Government in favour of Rambir Jung, who had been driven from Nepal about two years ago; and it was rumoured that large numbers of soldiers had deserted their regiments and were hastening to meet Rambir on the English frontier. That prince was accordingly directed to promise the English authorities he would not leave British territory without permission. But these proceedings appear to have been a cover to others of a more serious nature, which the Minister of State energetically repressed by the arrest and practical banishment of his own brother, the Commander-in-Chief, his uncle, and a daughter of the late Sir Jung Bahadur, who, it is said, were implicated in a plot against the minister's life. The discontent against the minister, however, continued to smoulder, and again broke out on several occasions, the most serious being the revolt of four regiments, who were, however, surrounded and disbanded without bloodshed. In December Rambir Jung made a raid into Nepal, and seizing a post to the north of Motihari was marching on Katamandu when he was repulsed at Kale Barero, and his followers dispersed; but the rising had not been altogether suppressed at the end of the year.

*Gwalior*.—The importance of interesting the native States in

the stability of the Empire received a happy illustration when the Gwalior's durbar invested three-and-a-half millions sterling in a Government of India loan for public works. It was known that Sindia had amassed vast treasures, but this was the first public announcement of the use to which the money had been applied.

*Haiderabad.*—The appointment of Colonel Marshall as private secretary to the Nizam appeared to have been very successful, for in a short time a better feeling between the Nizam and his minister became apparent; but Sir Salar Jung, finding his health failing, placed his resignation in the hands of his Highness, and proceeded to England, where he took part in the celebrations at the Jubilee. Bashir-ud-dowlah was appointed minister, and pending his return from England the Nizam satisfactorily conducted the duties of the State in person. He intended to associate two other distinguished nobles with the minister as chief secretaries, to form a Cabinet for the disposal of public business; but the scheme was finally dropped, and the new minister succeeded to office on the usual conditions. One of the first acts which signalised his administration, although the credit belongs to the Nizam himself, was the communication of the spontaneous offer of his Highness to give 600,000*l.* to the Government of India, to be applied to the defence of the north-west frontier. As the oldest ally, he wrote, of the English in India, his Highness offers a free gift of this money to secure the peace of India, believing that the Empire benefits by the measures taken to obtain security against external attack. This splendid offer was thankfully and cordially acknowledged by the Viceroy, but had not been definitely accepted by the close of the year. The Nizam's example incited other princes to offer donations for the same object, the reply of the Viceroy being very suggestive in pointing out that the Nizam had been the first among the princes of India to recognise the principle that the native States are as much interested as British subjects in assisting the Government upon a military emergency.

*The Jubilee.*—The Jubilee of the Queen-Empress was celebrated in India on Feb. 16, 1887, and called forth extraordinary manifestations of devotion and loyalty to the throne, and an earnestness to contribute to the objects of the celebration, which was significant. The Viceroy at Calcutta and the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors in their several administrations held magnificent ceremonials, at which the delegates of all public bodies, cities, and chiefs were received and their loyal addresses were accepted. Durbars were held at all political agencies, and throughout the Empire there was a unanimity and spontaneity in the efforts of the people to mark the occasion in a becoming manner, which was singularly impressive. Illuminations on a vast scale with displays of fireworks delighted the multitude, the poor were fed, and thousands of prisoners were released as a

mark of the royal clemency, while her Majesty was graciously pleased to bestow honours on a long list of meritorious public servants. The Viceroy's speech was most impressive. After thanking the delegates and acknowledging the great outburst of enthusiasm on the part of the people, he continued: "The great princes in their durbars, the municipalities in their cities and halls, the soldiers in their barracks, the zemindars in their country houses, the citizens in their pavilioned streets, and the rayats in their humble homesteads—feel, and justly feel, that the close of half a century which has encompassed and endowed the land with universal peace, which has brought justice to every cottage door, which has bridged the flood and pierced the jungle, and which has converted millions of barren acres into well-watered plains, which has sensibly diminished the risks both of famine and of pestilence, which has lit a hundred lamps of learning in every chief centre of the population and placed before the humblest of Indian students the accumulated wealth of Western learning, science, and experience; every English and Indian subject of the Queen, I say, justly feels that such a day of retrospect as this is indeed a fitting occasion for commemoration and mutual congratulations." The permanent memorials of this great day will endure in the form of schools, hospitals and halls, and public buildings, which will convey to another generation the recollection of a day held in honour throughout her Majesty's wide dominions. Among these buildings the Imperial Institute in London, for which liberal subscriptions of more than a million sterling have been collected in India, cannot be passed unnoticed, and will secure for the arts and industries of India a suitable representation in England. After the close of these celebrations numbers of the most eminent chiefs and princes of India, among whom Sindia was most conspicuous, crossed the sea to be present at the celebration of the Jubilee in England, where they were received and entertained in a manner befitting their high rank and the interest attaching to their historical position.

*Miscellaneous.*—The so-called National Congress was held at Calcutta at the beginning of the year, and was attended by over 350 native delegates from all parts of India, the Mohammedans of Bengal alone abstaining from attending. The inaugural address was loyal, but its effect was marred by the extreme character of some of the speeches and of the resolutions which were subsequently passed. It was contended that political reform should precede social reforms, which might be deferred until the time the people became ripe for them. The chief resolutions adopted were a demand for representative institutions as an important practical step towards the amelioration of the people, the reform of the legislative councils, in which natives should be largely represented, the extension and improvement of the system of trial by jury, and the formation of native volunteer corps as an assistance in the defence of the Empire.

Another congress was held at Madras at the close of the year, which many Mohammedans abstained from attending. The character of the resolutions was similar to those adopted at the Calcutta Congress, but, in addition, the discussion of social reforms was advocated, and it was decided to send delegates to England to help to carry out the resolutions formulated at the congress. The Public Service Commission, which was organised in 1886, visited the chief cities, and recorded a mass of evidence of an extremely conflicting and divergent character, but had not completed its report at the end of the year. It is understood, however, that they will recommend raising the limit of ages for the competitive examinations from nineteen to twenty-three, and that the covenanted service will be greatly restricted and form an imperial service, while the provincial service will be greatly enlarged, and will include many appointments now reserved for the covenanted service. A sub-committee also recorded evidence as to the practicability of appointing natives in larger numbers to the higher appointments in the public works of the Post Office, Customs, Education, Surveys, Forest, and other minor departments of the Government. The propriety of amending the Hindu law relating to infant marriages was brought prominently to notice by the Rakhmabai case, which had occupied the attention of the Court; and it is significant that some of the leaders of native opinion should have boldly proposed to the Government to appoint a commission to inquire into and report upon the propriety of providing by legislation for an amended Hindu marriage law. Other matters which engrossed public attention were the extension of primary education and the provision of funds by curtailing the grants to higher education. The establishment of a suitable technical college at Bombay was carefully considered, and the buildings will be erected when a proper site is fixed upon. Other towns are also providing colleges and schools for similar objects. The forest rights of the villages in the Koukan formed the subject of an inquiry by a commission, and action has been taken to protect and extend those rights in their interest. The Abkari (excise) policy of the Government has been subjected to much criticism. The revenue has greatly increased, and has led to the belief that it has been obtained by fostering the love of drink and encouraging intemperance. It has, in fact, been increased by raising the excise duty, and by a careful and systematic protection of the licensed contractors against unlawful competition; but many minor reforms have been found possible and have been made. The municipal acts of the presidency towns were under revision, and excited a good deal of hostile criticism against the withdrawal of privileges enjoyed by the corporation and the increase of the executive power. Concessions were, however, made to popular privileges, and the Bills were well advanced for the consideration of the legislatures. The propriety of a Medical

Registration Act to restrict unauthorised and incompetent practitioners was under discussion, and may be ripe for legislation before long.

*Burma.*—The pacification of Burma proceeded apace. The large force at the disposal of the generals enabled them to occupy and entrench a number of posts on the chief lines of communication or covering important towns, and by a vigilant watch and constant patrol of the country to keep the dacoits in check and to gain informations of their movements. Hitherto the dacoits had generally been the assailants, but with the resources available vigorous aggressive measures were undertaken with marked success. The new year opened auspiciously. On Jan. 1 the Kyemendine prince was attacked and killed, and his followers dispersed in a series of actions, while straggling bands of dacoits, unable to avoid the fortified hosts and pressed by an unrelenting pursuit, submitted in large numbers and gave security for good behaviour. The expedition to the Ruby Mines hardly encountered any opposition, and occupied Magonk, while another expedition occupied the capital of the Wountho Tsawbwa, who had failed to pay his revenue or to submit to the British Government. These successes, coupled with the employment offered to the people in making and clearing the roads and in laying out the railway to Mandalay, made a marked difference in the aspect of affairs, and it was expected that military operations would be practically ended by February. Sir Frederick Roberts accordingly left Burma, and was succeeded by Sir Charles Arbuthnot.

But perhaps the most encouraging sign was the revival of trade, which was made possible by the security of the roads to the Chinese frontier, and the arrival of caravans laden with tea. It was our policy to extend our protectorate over the Shan States, and to take securities for the maintenance of internal peace and order and for the preservation of the trade routes. To secure these objects the Thebaw Tsawbwa was invited to Mandalay, and was received with marked consideration, and his influence helped to attain these ends. Suddenly a plot was discovered in Mandalay itself against the British Government, but the conspirators were arrested before they had made any preparations, and were punished by transportation, while the young prince in whose favour the plot was conceived was sent as a student to a college in Lower Burma. The withdrawal of troops was carried out very gradually and almost imperceptibly, their place being taken by strong bodies of armed police of almost equal strength; but notwithstanding all precautions an impression got abroad that the English were retiring from the country, which was not without its influence in inviting and maintaining further disorders. But the vigilance of the troops and the pursuit of the robbers were never relaxed, and the country was evidently settling down to peaceful pursuits in a manner more marked than had obtained for some years previous to King Thebaw's deposition. Boshwe,

Hla-oo, and Budha Yaza, it is true, were still at large, but they were fugitives in the country where a short time before they had held undisputed sway, and most of their lieutenants had either been killed or had surrendered. As all the guns and about 5,000 stand of arms had been captured, and most of the places where powder used to be manufactured had been occupied by the British, it began to be known that the dacoits were running short of ammunition, and this still further increased the chances of peace. From the north alone anxiety was still caused by the attitude of the Tsabwa of Wuntho. He had retired with a force, reported to be 2,000 strong, with elephants and guns, on the approach of the British, but stirred up attacks upon the British posts whenever an opportunity offered. It was of great importance to avoid driving him to extremities, for it was in his power to create confusion on the frontier and to give the Chinese an opportunity to make encroachments under cover of protecting their own boundary. Hence the news of his submission in March was received with much satisfaction, and he was confirmed in the state of semi-independence which he had enjoyed under Burman rule. The Kubo Valley, which was claimed by Manipur, was annexed by the British. It was inhabited by Shans who have nothing in common with the Manipuris, and who threatened to abandon the valley if they were put under the dominion of the latter. In May the death of Hla-oo was reported, murdered by one of his own followers, and shortly afterwards news was received of the capture of Budha Yaza. Boshwe was not overtaken and killed until Oct. 1, and in the meantime the number of engagements with dacoit bands, though they had not ceased, continued to decrease. One of the first measures which was taken as indicative of a more peaceful time was the establishment of hospitals and dispensaries in a large number of important centres, which speedily became popular. A municipal committee was formed for Mandalay, and in August the Chief Commissioner held an imposing durbar in that city, where Burman chiefs or officials whose service to the Government had been important were suitably rewarded with honours and distinctions. Mr. Crosthwaite alluded to the great changes which had been made in a year. Order had replaced disorder, and security had taken the place of fear and anxiety; trade was increasing, and buildings were rising up on all sides. He noticed with appreciation the excellence of the monastic schools, and stated the desire of the Government to extend their influence and to employ fit persons in the service of the State. He ended by declaring the determination of the British Government to hold the country: "Of this be assured that, come what may, if God so wills, the British flag will continue to fly over Mandalay, and the Queen of England, and no other, will be the Queen of Burma." Shortly after this durbar another conspiracy at Mandalay was discovered. It was intended to proclaim the Pakhan prince, a brother of the late

King Mindon, but information had been received, and the prince with a number of his followers, chiefly monks, were arrested without any disturbance. With the death of the last of the great dacoit leaders it was expected that the opposition to the Government would not be long continued. Disorders there must be for some time, but anything like organised opposition is not likely to continue. It is about two years since Mandalay was captured, and the Government has been able to administer Burma with success. Roads and telegraphs have been pushed in all directions and the railway laid down for a part of the way from Tounghoo to the capital. Headmen have been appointed to villages with considerable criminal powers, and hospitals and dispensaries established. It might be fairly expected that when the country is thoroughly pacified and trade has revived it will more than repay the outlay made upon it. Meanwhile a strong military force, assisted by an equally strong armed police, holds the country, and at the close of the year a powerful expedition was on its way to the Yaw country and the Lower Chindwin, which is still unsettled, and another expedition is on its way to the Shan districts to extend our influence among the Shan States, of which very little is known.

*Legislative.*—Passing over several minor Acts which amend previous Acts or which are designed to improve the administration, the Legislative Council of India passed the Provincial Small Cause Courts Act, by which these petty but very useful courts have been placed under the administrative control of the District Judge, and made subject to the superintendence of the High Court. For the purpose of satisfying itself that a decree or order in any case decided by a court of small causes is according to law, the High Court may call for the case and pass such order as it thinks fit. The working of these courts has been highly conducive to the good of the people, who have thereby been able to obtain speedy and substantial justice. Their popularity and importance may be gathered from the fact that one-third of the civil suits decided by the courts in Bengal and Madras is disposed of by small cause courts.

The Native Passenger Ship Act is intended to secure that ships carrying passengers shall be seaworthy and properly equipped, and also that they must have a proper complement of officers and seamen, and be sufficiently stored with provisions and water. The growing use of electricity for lighting has made it necessary to pass a short Act for the protection of persons and property from the risks incident to its use. In the Indian Marine Act the importance of a service which had been in existence for many years has been legally recognised. Its duties are of a non-warlike character, such as the transportation of troops, the suppression of piracy, and generally the police of those parts of the seas which are not reached by her Majesty's ships. The Act provides for the discipline of the force, and in form closely re-



sembles the clauses of the Marine Discipline Act and the articles of war which govern the Royal Navy, and will have effect in Indian waters and the Red Sea; but in case of war the whole service will, if necessary, be brought under the authority of the Royal Navy and be qualified to act as a combatant force. With the gradual withdrawal of troops from Upper Burma a powerful body of police was organised for the suppression of crime, and was recruited principally from Northern India. A special regulation was passed in January for their control, and as the disturbances and dacoities spread into Lower Burma it was found that the ordinary local police were insufficient to cope with the rioters. The police in Lower Burma were therefore also strengthened by recruits from Northern India, and as the number of Indian police in Burma is over 10,000 men, it was thought necessary to have one Act for the discipline of the whole police. The death of the King of Oude obliged the Government to pass a short Act to secure his property and to provide for its distribution without exposing it to the risk of robbery by his dependants or the delays and costs of litigation. His Majesty had several wives and a large number of children, besides a host of about 3,000 dependants. During his lifetime he had been exempt from the jurisdiction of the civil courts, and after his death special measures were necessary to administrate the estate in an equitable manner. But the Panjab Tenancy Act and its complement, the Panjab Land Revenue Act, are the most important measures of the session. They are consolidations and amendments of previous Acts, and form part of a long series of regulations which the Government in its capacity of State landlord is obliged to frame with infinite care, affecting as they do the principal source of revenue in India and the prosperity and contentment of the Empire. Moderation in assessment is the guiding principle, but, large as India is, forms of tenure prevail in certain parts which are not known in others, and each province has its Act which regulates the relations of the landholders to the Government, and, where the relation of landlord and tenant exists, provides a record of rights by which the demands of the landlord and the dues and privileges of the tenant are ascertained and settled. The Panjab Tenancy Act reaffirms the main principles and policy of the previous Act of 1868, but corrects oversights and defects, and adopts some of the suggestions made by the Famine Commission with a view to improve the relations of landlords and tenants. A privileged right of occupancy has been extended to cultivators who rendered assistance to the landlord in the foundation of the village by clearing and reclaiming lands and cutting trees and making houses and wells at their own expense; and on the other hand the landlord is enabled to obtain an equitable enhancement of rent with a certain amount of facility. The main principle kept in view is that the occupant of the soil is entitled to remain in

his holding as long as he pays to the Government or a landlord the share of the produce fixed by custom or the decree of the ruling power, and that the capricious expulsion of an old tenant is condemned by public opinion as unjust; but sections have been introduced which give to the landlord the right of making improvements on privileged tenancies with due provision for the protection of the tenant and of obtaining an increase of rent on their account. The Panjab Land Revenue Act is intended to regulate the administration of the land revenue, and to secure the preparation and maintenance of the records which are essential to this end. A correct record of rights is indispensable to the administration, and provision is made for the annual correction of the record which will be available as evidence, and when the time comes for revising the assessment there will be at hand the materials for a revision which are now obtained at great cost and infinite trouble by a special department. The Act for the protection of wild birds and game is designed to check the indiscriminate and wholesale slaughter of birds for their plumage to satisfy the demands of the European markets. As this destruction usually takes place in the breeding season many breeds were rapidly becoming exterminated, and hence the necessity for their protection.

*Financial.*—Although the imminence of war had been averted, the disturbing effect of war preparations in the expenditure of the year 1885-86 is seen in the final accounts of that year, which have closed with a deficit of 2,801,700*l.* The extra expense due to this cause is put down as over two millions in the year, and the permanent effect is seen in the increase in the Army Estimates and the charge for the Frontier Strategic Railways. The Delimitation Commission and political charges cost more by 412,900*l.* than was expected, and the charges of the expedition to Burma in the same year were 604,900*l.* The loss by exchange was 709,700*l.* greater, and the receipts from opium were less. These were the principal reasons which explain the heavy deficit of 1885-86. But the deficit is more apparent than real, for the expenditure includes 1,459,000*l.* spent on the reduction of debt and the construction of protective railways and irrigation works. The accounts for the next year, 1886-87, show an expenditure of 76,169,200*l.*, and a surplus of 642,100*l.*, but this has been obtained only after appropriating 1,049,400*l.* which had been assigned for railways designed to secure the country against famines. The revenue is in excess of the estimate, but the unsatisfactory position of the finances at the close of the year has been caused by a decrease in the receipts from opium, while the loss by exchange has been nearly half a million higher than was expected, while the net charge for the prolonged military operations in Burma and for the new Burma Police has been 1,741,400*l.*

War and exchange have for two years upset financial calcula-

tions and retarded the progress of protective railways against famine, and it was necessary to determine whether the railways should be pushed on as originally designed or whether the funds should again be taken to supplement the ordinary revenues in the current year. It has been decided to appropriate the Famine Insurance Grant to the ordinary revenue, and by this means a narrow surplus of 16,700*l.* has been obtained on a proposed expenditure of 77,443,500*l.* The alternatives of deficit, fresh taxation, or this appropriation had to be faced, and the Government decided to face the difficulty by taking the money which they required from the Famine Insurance Grant. It is not that the revenue shows any signs of decay, for the main heads exhibit a moderate and healthy increase, but the strain upon the finances has been so prolonged that it has become necessary to take an extraordinary step to restore equilibrium. On the revenue side the land revenue is estimated at 22,937,600*l.*, and is on the whole better by 327,100*l.*, mainly in Upper Burma and in Bombay. The salt tax is expected to yield 6,604,600*l.* It sustained a temporary check in 1885-86, from which it has recovered. The annual amount of revenue abandoned when this tax was lowered was estimated at 1,400,000*l.*, but partly by increased consumption and partly by the growth of population and facilities of communication about 600,000*l.* of this loss has been recovered. Stamps and excise show a small decrease, and the receipts from opium are also placed lower. Customs and assessed taxes are expected to yield better results. The income-tax receipts for 1886-87 were estimated at 1,458,000*l.*, but as it was determined to assess the tax on the surplus and not on the gross receipts from interest on the guaranteed railways the actual receipts are smaller. In the current year, however, the receipts are expected to be 1,406,000*l.* The income from the Post Office, Telegraph, and Mint is steadily growing, and on the whole is expected to be 48,600*l.* more than in the past year. The receipts by civil departments, such as Law and Justice, Police, Marine, Education, and others, are put down as 1,425,300*l.*, and on the whole show an increase. The increase from railways is estimated to be 14,892,500*l.*, which is 625,600*l.* better than in the past year, and this although a lower estimate is taken of the net traffic receipts of guaranteed companies. The gross earnings of the State railways, however, are fast improving. From irrigation more is expected, but less from the army and from buildings and roads. The whole account gives an estimate of 77,460,200*l.* of revenue.

The proposed expenditure is set down at 77,443,500*l.* The charges for collection, 9,650,600*l.*, are a little less than in the past year, the chief decrease occurring under opium. The interest on debt is 4,412,200*l.*, which of course does not include the interest on railways and irrigation works. The Post Office, Telegraph, and Mint will cost 2,264,500*l.*, which is somewhat larger than

their receipts. The salaries and expenses of the Civil Department will cost 13,179,700*l.* Most of the departments appear to show small increases, but the increase under police is most noticeable, and is due to the organisation of a large force for Burma Superannuation pensions, and other miscellaneous charges amount to 4,856,200*l.* The army, which has been increased to the extent rendered necessary for the security of the Empire, will cost 19,197,000*l.* and ordinary buildings and roads will cost 5,553,200*l.* Then the charge for working State railways and the interest on the debt incurred in their construction and on the guaranteed railways and subsidised railways absorb no less than 16,481,900*l.* Irrigation works likewise, with the charge of interest, absorb 2,441,300*l.*, and in order to meet the interest on these works and on railway works it has become necessary to appropriate the Famine Insurance Grant, which had been raised some years ago, for the special purpose of prosecuting protective railways and irrigation works without interruption. The ordinary account, therefore, exhibits little more than equality between revenue and expenditure; but the necessities of India require a liberal application of borrowed capital for the construction of railways and irrigation works, and close on five millions of capital outlay will be incurred in the current year on these works, besides nearly half a million on the special defence works of frontier posts and harbour defence, which, however, will be built from the surplus of the past year.

The occupation of Burma has considerably increased the difficulties of Indian finance. The net charge in 1886-87 on account of Upper Burma is 1,741,400*l.*, and in 1887-88 it is expected to be over two millions. No doubt it has added materially to the revenue, but the unsettled state of the country has required the presence of a large military force, which is in course of being relieved by a strong body of police, and there is naturally a large deficiency. Yet it is confidently hoped that at no remote future, Burma, instead of being a burden, will pay its way, and may possibly be a source of profit, although some time must elapse before that consummation is brought about. The permanent increase in the Indian army is 22,600 men—about 10,700 British and 11,900 Indian troops—and has caused a permanent increase in the army charges of 1,147,000*l.* Exchange also is an uncertain but an increasing item, and has risen from 4½ millions in 1885-86 to 5½ millions in the current year; an increase of one million sterling in two years. A royal commission is sitting to investigate the subject of the currency and the relation of gold and silver, and its recommendations are anxiously awaited; yet the financial position is not insecure. The Finance Committee after a thorough and careful investigation of the expenditure of the local Governments, has made proposals which embrace a very large reduction of expenditure. Some of these proposals have already been accepted and acted upon, and many others are

impending. The Public Service Commission will probably indicate reductions in the cost of the civil administration, and while economy is practised and the receipts from the principal sources of revenues are slowly increasing there is the satisfaction of knowing that the interest charge on the ordinary debt of the Government of India is decreasing and has decreased from 4,799,448*l.* in 1877-78 to 3,943,600*l.* in 1886-87. If on the other hand the charge for interest on capital borrowed for the construction of railways and irrigation works has increased, it is met in a very great degree by increased earnings of the lines as they are opened and extended for traffic. The outlay is in fact a profitable investment, and the percentage of net receipts on the capital expended has been in the last three years 5·27, 5·84, and 5·90. The profit is, however, swallowed up to meet the charge for interest upon outlay on lines which are still under construction, and upon some of the old guaranteed lines which do not pay the full dividend. This drain, however, will not be permanent, and as year after year the network of railways approaches completion, the burden will be lightened and the railways will probably be turned into a source of profit. To economy and to increased railway receipts must also be added the credit of the Government of India, which stands next after that of England and the United States, and which has enabled the Government to convert nearly 48 millions of its 4 per cent. debt into an equivalent amount of 3½ per cent. stock, by which an annual saving in interest of 240,000*l.* will be made.

The provincial contracts were revised in this year with the result of reducing the annual assignment to the local Governments by 640,000*l.* The original plan was to assign fixed sums to local Governments to meet certain local charges, but as this charge was greater than the assignment the obvious effect was to oblige local Governments to economise unduly or to raise the difference by local taxation, and the latter method was generally tried. "If it is necessary or desirable to spend money," said Lord Mayo, "that money must come from some source. It is possible that the wants of the local Governments may increase, but if they do we believe that these wants can better be supplied within the limits of the provinces themselves than they can be by adding to the imperial taxation of the Empire and the general burdens of the people." The effect of the Local Taxation Acts was not encouraging, and subsequently, in addition to fixed grants for certain services, local Governments were allowed a share in certain revenues, and were stimulated to make them more productive. These revenues were excise stamps and law and justice, and a further improvement was afterwards made by making certain revenues imperial, others provincial, and others were equally divided. The results of this system of decentralisation are apparent in the large increase in the revenue. In stamps and excise the increase in five years has been 1,488,400*l.* and

the local Governments have had the control of their share of this increase during the time of the contract. The financial position is, however, too strained to admit of very liberal concessions to local Governments, and in the contract just concluded their advantages have been curtailed, and 640,000*l.* have been reduced from their resources. Their shares in the increase in the stamps and excise revenue have been altered, and also in the land revenue, and the allotment for public works has been considerably reduced. The sums taken from local Governments have been added to the imperial revenues and made available for those charges for which the Imperial Government is directly responsible. With the same object the Famine Insurance Grant has been absorbed. Between 1881–82 and 1886–87 the total sum spent on famine relief, protective railways, irrigation, and reduction of debt has been close upon 800,000*l.*, and 4,199 miles of State railways have been opened, besides 1,354 miles in course of active construction, for the most part running through provinces exposed to famine. These results have been achieved without borrowing, so long as there was a sufficient surplus to devote to this purpose; but recent events have encroached upon and dissipated the surplus, and hence if this rate of progress must be continued and the money provided from revenues it will be necessary to borrow either for these works or for the ordinary administration. It is very desirable that there should be a surplus which might be employed on railway construction; but to raise fresh taxes in order to create a surplus is obviously objectionable, and on the inexpediency of increasing taxation there is probably no disagreement. On the other hand it would be extremely injudicious to stop or to postpone the construction of lines now in progress, and Government have determined to borrow the amount necessary for their prosecution. It is, however, hoped that when the necessity ceases for making extraordinary provision for the military operations in Burma, the surplus will reappear from which the ordinary grant for protective works might be defrayed. The conclusion seems to be that when there is a surplus to devote to railway construction it should be employed for that purpose; but when there is no surplus, and it is not considered advisable to impose fresh taxation to obtain it, the only judicious course is to obtain the money by loan.

#### CHINA.

The diplomatic victory which China gained in 1886 by the removal of the French Cathedral at Pehtang from its site (where for twenty years it had overlooked the grounds of the Imperial Palace) was followed by an attitude of marked toleration towards Christian missionaries and their converts. Proclamations were issued throughout the empire calling on the people to live peaceably with Christian missionaries, and reminding them that Chinese subjects who became converts were still Chinese. The Christian

religion was declared to be entitled to respect—since it taught men to do right—missionary chapels were to be protected, and all interference with them or their congregations was to be promptly punished. Such declarations, moreover, had a twofold meaning. As messages of conciliation they offered to missionaries and converts a recognition of their faith and a defence against all violence, but they were also intended as a warning against the pretensions of any foreign Power on Chinese territory. The Chinese Government was prepared to act fairly towards all, but neither French nor other missionaries would be permitted to interfere in future in matters outside their religious sphere. The building of the new cathedral at Peking was begun during the summer, and it was agreed that the height should not exceed 50 feet, or 30 feet lower than the old building. Several objects of antiquarian interest were found in digging the foundations, including war implements, porcelain, and lacquer of the Ming period. The Marquis Tseng attended the ceremony (May 30) of laying the foundation-stone and signing the parchment. M. Constans, with the whole of the French Legation, signed after him, and gave a dinner, at which he proposed the Marquis Tseng's health, commenting on his presence as a proof of Chinese friendliness towards the missionaries.

The commercial treaty with France concluded in 1886 had met with so little favour in Paris that its ratification was refused, and M. Cogordan, who had acted for France, was recalled and replaced by M. Constans. Negotiations were reopened by the new envoy on his arrival, and a new treaty was ultimately arranged. By the former treaty France would have gained but little, although China had consented to open two places for trade above Langson and Laokai, through which France might have dealings with the provinces of Yunnan and Kwangsi, and to reduce the import duties on goods passing inwards from Tonquin in favour of French goods. On the other hand China had firmly refused to admit a French agent to reside in Yunnan, while insisting on the right to send Chinese consuls to Tonquin, and had forbidden the importation of opium from Tonquin, to the disappointment of the numerous French capitalists, who hoped to destroy the Indian opium trade. These terms, the outcome of a costly, tedious, and inconclusive war, were so ill-proportioned to the cost and effort France had made that her representatives unhesitatingly refused to ratify them. M. Constans was therefore sent to try and obtain greater privileges. Nor was he wholly unsuccessful. By the new treaty China obtained the disputed promontory of Pak-lung, which both sides had claimed with much energy, secured the right to appoint consuls throughout Tonquin, and retained the valuable salt monopoly, whilst France obtained the withdrawal of the prohibition to the opium trade, and Tonquin will in future compete in the Chinese markets with the products of Patna and Malwa. The south-western provinces of China were

also made more accessible to France by China undertaking to open four inland ports to trade instead of two, whilst the duties of export and import were reduced somewhat below the tariff stipulated in the abortive treaty of 1886. Other nations, however, will probably gain but little by the opening of these new routes, for protective tariffs form an important feature in French finance. To meet, however, these concessions to France, the British Minister at Peking was instructed to request the Chinese Government to give such facilities for the navigation by foreign steam-vessels of the Canton river and other waterways of Southern China as would enable British trade to compete on fairly equal terms with the trade across the frontier of Tonquin, which was opened to France by the commercial Convention of Tient-sin. No definite arrangements were concluded, and meanwhile British merchants looked elsewhere for an outlet for their goods. By a clause of the Chefoo Convention of 1882 it was stipulated that the port of Chung King should be opened to foreign trade so soon as a steamer should have ascended the river Yang-tse as far as that place and should have surmounted its formidable rapids. For various causes, including the long delay in the ratification of the convention, no steps were taken to carry out this condition, although the town of Chung King, situate in the prosperous province of Szechuan, 1,400 miles up the river, and 400 beyond Tchang (the highest port at present opened by treaty), is wealthy, populous, and a most important commercial centre. The obstacles in the way of navigation had, it was said, been greatly exaggerated. Mr. Archibald Little, a merchant settled at Tchang, after visiting them declared the river to be easily navigable by flat-bottomed steamers. In the course of 1886 he succeeded in arousing some interest in the project in England among the trading community, and raised 10,000*l.* for starting a pioneer steamer specially constructed. The vessel was sent out in pieces to Shanghai. He returned this year to induce the British Minister to obtain the consent of the Chinese Government to the project. The authorities demurred at first, on the ground of the natural dangers attending the experiment, but, in view of the Chefoo Convention, could not raise any more serious objection than that the voyage should be postponed until the officials in the districts through which the steamer would pass had been duly instructed. The steamer arrived in Shanghai in October, and the Chinese Government, by an act of grace and goodwill, remitted the import duty on it, amounting to 400*l.* Sir John Walsham, the British Minister at Peking, greatly interested himself in Mr. Little's scheme, and, by giving it his official aid and countenance, smoothed away many of the inevitable initial difficulties. The steamer was to be afloat on the Yang-tse in January 1888, and the ascent to Chung King was to be commenced as soon as the river reached its normal spring level. Both Mr. Little and his supporters firmly believed the river could be navigated all the year round,



but as so much depended on the success of the pioneer trip, it was thought advisable to conform to the wishes of the Imperial Government.

The negotiations with Portugal which had been carried on at Lisbon for some time resulted in the signing of a preliminary protocol (March 6) defining the bases upon which a treaty of friendship and commerce would be negotiated later on at Peking by Portuguese and Chinese plenipotentiaries. Moreover a royal decree signed at Lisbon (March 28) authorised the Governor of Macao to put in force a system of co-operation in collecting the opium revenue identical with that to be established from the same date (April 1) at Hong Kong. The arrangement was, however, to be provisional, and only to become definitive upon the ratification of the treaty to be concluded and signed at Peking, which event took place early in December, Senhor da Rosa, Governor of Macao and Portuguese Minister to Peking, acting on behalf of Portugal. It had been, moreover, stipulated in the Lisbon protocol that China should cede to Portugal the fee simple or full rights of sovereignty over Macao, of which for about two centuries she had only a lease at an annual rental of 500 taels. About 40 years ago Portugal refused to pay this rent any longer, and the claim for these arrears as well as the ultimate rights of China were to be abandoned to Portugal, the latter agreeing on her side to aid the Chinese Customs authorities in the prevention of smuggling from Macao and in the collection of the opium duties. This agreement met with much hostility in Peking, and was described as "selling the sovereign rights of China for a mess of Customs pottage." Moreover Russia during the year succeeded in getting the Chinese Government to agree to the navigation of the Tiuman by vessels under the Chinese, Corean, and Russian flags, and to close it to all others. Being a purely Chinese stream from its source to its mouth, except for the seven miles on the north of its estuary, which were made Russian by the treaty of Peking in 1860, Russia had no rights over its course. It was therefore with surprise that the other Powers learned that China, without apparent compensation, should have consented to part with privileges wholly her own and never openly challenged. The Tiuman, being navigable into the heart of Manchuria as well as also the boundary of Corea, is of great importance as the only outlet to the sea, except the distant port of New-chwang, for the trade of the former district.

In the political world of Peking the prominence assigned to the Marquis Tseng on his return to China was as important as his friends in Europe anticipated. In addition to important duties on the Board of Foreign Affairs and in the new Department of Marine, he undertook the direction of various reforms in North China, and became the chief adviser of the Emperor's father, who is also his Prime Minister. The Marquis and his

wife also inaugurated a revolution in Peking society by calling on Europeans and receiving visits from them at their private residences, civilities hitherto unknown between the Celestials and Barbarians. The Government took advantage of the return to Peking of Hsü, the Chinese envoy to Berlin, to effect a complete change in the representation of the empire in Europe. Of late years Chinese affairs in St. Petersburg had been superintended from London, and those in Paris from Berlin. In future Chinese Ministers are to reside permanently in London and Berlin, whilst legations are to be established in the other capitals. The envoy in London will be accredited to Paris, Rome and Brussels, and the Minister in Berlin to St. Petersburg, Vienna, and The Hague. Representatives of China are also to reside at Washington and Tokio, the envoy at the first named being accredited not only to Peru but also to Spain. The rivalry which was once believed to exist between the Marquis Tseng and Li Hung Chang was ostentatiously dissipated by a visit made by the former to Tientsin, where he was the guest of the former chief of the Board of Foreign Affairs.

The formal assumption of the government by the young Emperor of China (Feb. 7) was to have been followed by his marriage, for which a forced benevolence of 2,000,000*l.* was to be raised in the different provinces, but the state of the young Emperor's health and the impoverished state of the country combined to postpone these costly festivities.

The liberal tendencies of the Chinese Government were shown in the more extended fields thrown open to foreign enterprise and competition. Probably the need of money operated here as elsewhere in breaking down the restrictions under which foreigners had for so long carried on their intercourse with the Celestial Empire. Its first operation was the arrangement of a loan of 5,000,000 marks with the Berlin Trading Company and the banking firms of Warschauer of Berlin and Stern of Frankfort, bearing interest at  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. and redeemable within 15 years, and in all respects similar to Chinese loans raised in London. The amount (250,000*l.*) was readily subscribed for in Berlin at 106 $\frac{1}{2}$ . As a set-off, the works and fortifications of Port Arthur, the great arsenal of North China, were put into the hands of a French syndicate, and the Germans hitherto engaged at that place dismissed. On the other hand the Chinese Government applied to the German Emperor for officers to reorganise its military system, and the request met with prompt acquiescence. Shortly afterwards an English firm received instructions to supply the machinery for producing the new China coinage. This contract, the largest of the kind ever given, was to supply within a year 90 coining presses and all the necessary machinery for setting up a mint in China.

To England, also, had been entrusted in a great measure the important work of providing China with a fleet, and the first squadron was despatched (Sept. 12) by way of the Suez

Canal. It consisted of two swift protected cruisers built in England, two armoured cruisers built in Germany, and a torpedo-boat built in England, said to be the fastest of its size, having on its trial attained the speed of 28 miles an hour. The squadron was under the command of Admiral Lang, the British officer to whom the reorganization of the Chinese navy has been mainly due, and under him several retired officers of the British navy were employed in navigating the squadron out to China. Each vessel was commanded by a Chinese officer who had passed through the Naval College at Greenwich, and served in one of her Majesty's ironclads. But by far the most remarkable development of foreign enterprise in China was to be found in the scheme for a Chinese-American Bank, devised and negotiated by a certain Polish Count Mitkiewicz. The capital was to be 200 millions sterling, subsequently reduced to 50 millions. It aimed at bringing all the financial and commercial dealings of the Government with foreign countries under its control—to hold a monopoly of the great industrial undertakings throughout the empire. The details of the scheme were thus described:—

(1) The capital of the bank (which shall be called the Chinese-American Bank) shall be provided by Chinese and Americans, and be supervised and secured by the two Governments.

(2) The capital shall be \$10,000,000 Mexican, in 100,000 shares of \$100 each, of which half will be held by Chinese, half by Americans.

(3) Li Hung Chang, or whoever may fill the office of Superintendent of Northern Trade, will be president of the bank in China, and Mr. Vanderbilt will be the president in the United States.

(4) The head office will first be opened at Tientsin, and branch banks will be established at the various open ports and inland towns in China as the circumstances may seem to require. Branches shall also be established in foreign countries. The chief officers of these branches shall be Chinese, or foreigners according to circumstances, and as may seem most desirable.

(5) If the Chinese Government decide on any work, such as railways, telegraphs, mines, canalisation, &c. the financing shall be done through the bank; but in regard to the purchase of materials the bank shall be employed only in the event of their tender being the most favourable one. The work for which the money is used shall be security for the debt.

(6) The bank may mint either gold or silver, with the leave and under the control of the respective provincial Governments; the bank's issue of paper must not exceed half its capital.

(7) The bank will first of all advance to the Northern Superintendent of Trade (Li Hung Chang) for one year, free of all interest, \$500,000, and shall also advance the Chinese Government \$1,500,000 at 3 per cent. per annum interest. In future all loans made to the Chinese Government shall be at the same

rate as loans to the United States Government. (This apparently means that *vis-à-vis* the bank Chinese credit is to be the same as United States credit.)

(8, 9, and 10) The Governments to be the ultimate arbiters of questions relating to the bank; ordinary banking business to be done in the ordinary way; the by-laws and constitution otherwise to be the same as those of the American National Banks.

*Rider.*—Article 2 provides that the capital shall be subscribed half by Chinese, half by Americans; in the event of the American portion being subscribed while the Chinese share is not made up, Mr. Vanderbilt will advance the deficits, so that operations may be commenced at once. For the advances so made he is to receive 8 per cent. per annum.

This remarkable document was headed "Contract between Viceroy Li Hung Chang and Count Mitkiewicz for the establishment of a bank," and it was signed by those two individuals; but the Chinese Government, as a party to the contract, was not mentioned from first to last. The grand scheme, however, seemed to hang fire; and as up to the end of September neither the loan to the Government at 3 per cent. nor that to Li Hung Chang at par had been forthcoming, the latter at length (Oct. 10) brought the negotiations to a close. Various attempts were made to galvanise the scheme into life again, but they all failed, and at the close of the year there was nothing to bind either Li Hung Chang or his Government, and Mr. Vanderbilt had learnt that his Polish colleague scarcely enjoyed the credit he claimed for himself.

In the course of the autumn the province of Honan was visited by a catastrophe that has probably not been equalled since the deluge. The Yellow River, gorged with water from the mountains until it averaged a mile broad, from 300 to 500 miles long, and 70 feet deep, broke (Sept. 27) the artificial dyke which regulated its course, and through a rent nearly a mile in width spread over 10,000 square miles of territory, destroying 3,000 villages and swallowing up a population of which the number was variously estimated from two to seven millions. This torrent at first took the form of a wide and irresistible stream 10 feet deep, flowing almost 20 miles an hour, sweeping everything before it and throwing out branch streams over the open ground through which it passed. At length it formed a new channel for its course, as it had done on nine previous, but less disastrous, occasions. The Chinese Government contributed 500,000*l.* to repair the dykes, besides the giving up the whole revenue of the province until the work should be completed. Large stocks of grain, including 82,000,000 lbs. of rice, on its way to the capital were stopped and distributed among the survivors, who were directed to set to work at once on the dykes under military discipline and to receive their pay, not in wages, but in food. A month after the catastrophe the province of Honan was said

to resemble a lake from 10 to 80 feet deep, and the cold, distress, and hunger of homeless millions were most lamentable; whilst the work of repairing the broken dyke was marked by more than one appalling catastrophe, involving the loss of thousands of lives.

No more striking proof of the change which has come over the relations of China and the outer world, could be found than the cordial way in which Queen Victoria's Jubilee was celebrated in Pekin (June 21). In the morning Prince Chün, the Prime Minister, and eight other ministers of the Tsung-li-Yamèn went in a body to offer their congratulations to the British Minister, the whole of the Corps Diplomatique being present in full uniform. The Marquis Tseng, at the request of Prince Chün, proposed the health and happiness of the Queen and the welfare of the British Empire. In order, moreover, that the Chinese Ministers might be present at the evening banquet, the Emperor took the unwonted step of postponing the observance of the solemn Chinese festival of the summer solstice until the following day, for immemorial custom required the attendance of all ministers at the Temple of the Earth, where a night of fasting was spent preparatory to the visit of the Emperor the next day.

*Hong Kong.*—The Opium Commission after many months' deliberation, arrived at an agreement early in the year. The Hong Kong Government undertook to introduce a law preventing the import and export of raw opium in less quantities than one chest except by a person who farmed the prepared-opium privilege. The Chinese were, however, to make a similar arrangement with Portugal with reference to the Macao trade. The Hong Kong Executive, moreover, reserved to itself the power to repeal the law in the event of the revenue of the colony being injuriously affected. The Customs stations round Hong Kong and Macao were placed under the Inspector-General of Foreign Customs, whilst an officer of the same department was to be stationed at Kooloon (Chinese territory) to issue opium clearances at the new rate and investigate complaints against the imperial officials, the Hong Kong Government having the right to be represented at such investigations. Junks trading between Chinese ports and Hong Kong would be charged the same dues as those between China and Macao, and be subject only to dues payable at ports of clearance or destination. This rule was not limited to opium, and applied to all goods generally, and was expected to greatly stimulate trade. At the same time the successful launching of a steel cruiser built by the Hong Kong and Whampoa Dock Company gave evidence of the increasing resources of the colony. This vessel, designed for the Spanish Government, was only six months on the stocks, and in every way did credit to her builders, who took advantage of all the latest improvements in her construction. The Queen's Jubilee was celebrated at Hong Kong (Nov. 9) with the greatest enthusiasm, the Chinese community

taking the lead in loyal demonstrations and picturesque processions and illuminations, apart from the official observance of the day; and a permanent memorial of the occasion—a statue of her Majesty erected by public subscription—was formally inaugurated.

*Indo-China (Tonquin, &c.)*—The organisation of its newly acquired territories by the French Government proceeded quietly, but the costly enterprise failed to produce the promised fruits. The most important step was the union of the four provinces under one Governor-General, assisted by Residents-General in Tonquin, Annam, and Cambodia, and of a Lieutenant-Governor in Cochin-China. The military forces were placed under the command of one general, and in like manner the administration of the Customs, Posts, and Telegraphs was centralised. The first benefit arising out of these reforms was an agreement with the Chinese Government to connect the telegraph lines of Tonquin and Annam with the imperial system. In the course of the summer M. Bihourd, the Resident-General, was able to report that the rebel bands were diminishing or had been driven from Tonquinese territory, that the work of pacification was being continued, and that the delimitation of the frontier was progressing satisfactorily. The earlier part of the year, however, was marked by some vicissitudes. A numerous band of rebels, having intrenched themselves in a strong position at Mikae and repulsed two attacks by the French troops, were at length beaten and dispersed with a loss of 500 men, and the country showed hopeful signs of settling down. The disputes between the French officials, which began in 1882, did much to retard the consolidation of the French power. During the war the rivalry of the military and civil officers was to some extent unavoidable; but on the conclusion of peace, when Tonquin and Annam were placed under one Resident-General, it was thought that greater harmony would ensue. The rapid succession of Governor and Residents necessarily hindered the development of a steady policy, and possibly stimulated individual jealousies. M. Paul Bert in his short tenure of office appeared to have done much to suppress insubordination and maladministration, but the powers given him were so ample, and he was so little hampered from home, that he got rid of troublesome officials by the simple expedient of sending them away. M. Bihourd, his successor, a moderate and conciliatory man, was administering the protectorate in an orderly and efficient manner on the lines laid down by M. Bert when the French Government in an unfortunate moment despatched M. de Lanessan, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, to Indo-China on a sort of roving expedition to report to the Home Government his experiences. After visiting Saigon and Southern Cochin-China, as well as the kingdom of Cambodia, M. de Lanessan went to Tonquin and Annam. He was not long in embroiling the titular king of Annam with

the French Governor, urging the former to address to President Grévy a letter complaining of M. Bihourd's policy. A conflict of authority followed, and M. de Lanessan was forced to return to France, but not until he had published a document explaining the policy he wished to see pursued, and his reasons for entering into direct relations with the king of Annam. However desirable his reforms may have been, his studied neglect of the representative of France was not likely to give French officials in Annam that authority in the eyes of the natives by which alone their functions could be properly exercised. M. Bihourd's position was, moreover, rendered untenable, and before the year closed he quitted Tonquin amid a chorus of disapprobation from his countrymen and the press. The principal charges brought against him were those of neglecting M. Bert's patriotic schemes; of disregarding public works; of selecting subordinate officials without regard to their fitness or merit; of refusing to allow private citizens to approach him except with formalities not required by the Ministers in Paris; of crushing life out of trade, and declining the advice offered by the Chambers of Commerce; and, finally, of dismissing men who knew the country well. If one-half of these allegations had been true, M. Bihourd's recall was justified on public grounds, but the results of his administration were not discouraging. The imports rose from 21,679,878 frs. to 28,808,505 frs., and the exports from 7,860,296 frs. to 9,112,433 frs., the increase being due not so much to actual increase in trade as to the greater care exercised by the Customs.

The Budget for Tonquin, prepared during the summer, showed a revenue of 44,860,000 frs., of which 30,000,000 frs. formed the contribution from the Home Government. The taxation without this contribution was just enough to meet the civil expenditure, but as the military and naval services amounted to about 31,000,000 frs. Tonquin still remains a charge to that extent upon France. The opium trade occupied the French authorities in Tonquin as it did the British and Chinese elsewhere. The effect of M. Bihourd's regulations was to establish a Government monopoly in the trade, which would work through the farmers licensed to sell the drug. Wholesale trading in opium was only to be permitted in places where custom houses existed, and wholesale merchants were to pay an annual tax of 600 frs. for each place at which business was carried on, and could sell only to the licensed farmers.

The French Technical Commission on the Tonquin railways, appointed on March 18, issued its report in August, and recommended the prompt construction of a group of lines to unite Annam and Tonquin with one another, with the sea, and with the southern provinces of China. A trunk line, it recommended, should be laid from Port Courbet, on the Bay of Honegay, to Hanoi, passing through Baeninh, the Seven Pagodas, Dongnien, and Quangyen. Four secondary lines would in course of time

be connected therewith: the first uniting Bacninh and Langson; the second in continuation of the trunk line, following the left bank of the Red River, penetrating Yunnan and connecting Vietri with Laokai; the third running towards Laos and the basin of the Mekong; whilst the fourth would connect Tonquin with Northern Annam, following the Mandarin route from Hanoi to Hué, and provide for the region of Namdinh. The course of these secondary lines would, it was thought, bring Hanoi and the trunk line into communication with districts rich in mineral and agricultural wealth, and the commission recommended that the Tonquin Protectorate should form the permanent way, the superstructure and working of the lines being handed over to private industry.

### JAPAN.

When the year opened the conference which for nearly twelve months had been occupied with the existing treaties was still sitting, and but for certain events might have protracted its aimless labours indefinitely. The rapid growth of German influence and popularity, however, at length quickened the movements of the British representatives. The wonderful development of German trade was followed by the appointment of several German professional men to high posts in the Japanese service, whilst the spread of social reforms, of which the main object was an improvement in the position of women, acted in a secondary way in stimulating the Japanese officials. The opposition of Great Britain in 1882 to any treaty revision, although ardently desired by Japan, moreover contrasted with the willing ear Prince Bismarck lent to the proposal. Germany therefore became the fashion in Japan; the German form of government was taken as a model; the courtesy of German traders was contrasted with the haughtiness of those of other nationalities; and the good work done by German employés in the service of the Government all tended to promote the preponderance of German influence. For the last ten years the revision of the existing treaty had been uppermost in the minds of the Japanese. More than once Great Britain had the opportunity of dealing with the question to her own advantage, as well as to that of Japan, but on each occasion she threw away the chance, and Germany, more complaisant, now stepped in to profit by our blunders. The position of Great Britain in Japan, however, has not been seriously shaken, and there are no signs of lukewarmness on the part of Japanese leading statesmen towards her.

The revolution in female attire was one of the most noteworthy events of the year. The chief mover in the business was said to be Count Ito, the Chancellor of the Empire. The change of dress was explained as part of a deliberate scheme for improving the social position of women in Japan, and putting them on



a par with the ladies of Europe. The Chancellor regarded every reform as valuable that helped to remove the feeling of inferiority prevailing among the women of Asia, holding that, so long as the Japanese ladies wore the native dress, they remained Orientals, and therefore inferior in the eyes of those Western nations Japan was desirous to emulate and imitate. He saw that improved modes of home life were necessary for the physical and moral amelioration of the people, and he believed they might be best acquired by adopting the systems which have grown up in the most advanced countries of the globe. As evidence of the readiness with which the outward signs of this reform were adopted, it may be mentioned that at the entertainment given by the Japanese Minister to celebrate the Mikado's birthday not a single Japanese dress was worn by any of the guests, male or female, and the only Oriental costumes worn were those of the Chinese diplomatists present and by a single Korean. Besides the change in the national garb, the Government, initiated or advocated the better education of girls, the cultivation of foreign languages, especially English, the rapid growth of houses built, furnished, and managed in European style, the training of ladies in domestic work, the multiplication of dances and other entertainments for the freer intercourse of foreigners and Japanese, and of the Japanese among themselves.

At the conference of diplomatists in 1882 the Japanese Government had offered to open the whole empire to foreigners, to travel, trade, and reside in without restriction, in return for the surrender of the privileges of the consular tribunals and of a recognition of the supremacy of the Japanese law. The sixteen mutually jealous States represented at the conference were unable to agree, and the proposals of Japan were declined. In 1884 she had again, at another conference, attempted to recover her liberty of action, this time in the direction of the finances, but again a deadlock ensued. At length Great Britain and Germany addressed a joint note to the other Powers, suggesting a return to the Japanese scheme of 1882. On this basis negotiations recommenced, and the delegates agreed to the constitution of a bench of judges, composed of jurists of Japanese and foreign extraction in equal proportions, to try cases, criminal or civil, in which foreigners are concerned. Upon this agreement the negotiations for the revision of the Japanese treaties were suspended until the new Japanese civil code should be in a state to be laid before the conference. It had been originally arranged that this code should be published before the new treaties came into force, but at the wish of the Japanese negotiators the formal ratification of the treaty was postponed with this view. The delay had no political bearing, so far as the other Powers were concerned, and no obstacle to the final proceedings was anticipated; but the resignation of Count Inouye, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in the midst of the negotiations seemed an

unfavourable omen. By his tact, ability, and judgment the outgoing minister had conducted the treaty negotiations until they had reached the stage where the signatures of the contracting parties were alone required to conclude the convention. The Cabinet, by deciding to postpone the conference at this point, could have had no other motive than to express the view that Count Inouye's project was premature, and his resignation was consequently inevitable. The success, however, of his foreign policy was shown in his having accomplished the apparently insuperable task of reconciling the conflicting interests of sixteen Western Powers.

Although Count Inouye retired from the Cabinet, he nevertheless remained in the Government, holding the relatively unimportant post of Court Councillor; whilst in the direction of the foreign affairs of the empire he was succeeded temporarily by his old friend Count Ito, Minister President of State. By this arrangement the treaty revision in accord with Count Inouye's general policy was insured, the basis of which was the opening of the entire country to foreign trade in exchange for the recovery of Japan's judicial autonomy. Further evidence of the desire of the Japanese Government to treat on equal terms with the European Powers was traced in the journeys of Prince Komatsu, the Mikado's uncle, who had been despatched to Berlin to confer upon Prince William of Prussia the Order of the Chrysanthemum. After being made the object of much attention, social as well as official, the ambassador and his suite went on to Constantinople, where they were hospitably entertained by the Sultan. Trade in Japan for some time past has been undergoing some curious changes. Taking imports and exports together, it amounted in 1886 to 13½ millions sterling. The native manufactures were increasing rapidly, and there being no want of either capital or labour, the Japanese have taken to setting up manufactories of their own, and such goods as cotton fabrics, canvas, silk, glass, carpets, and copper work are produced in such quantities as to satisfy the local demand. In order, however, to supply herself with such products, the need for machinery has made itself more and more generally felt. England has furnished engines and boilers for the cotton mills near Osaka, and there are now twenty-one spinning factories in the country worked by foreign machinery. The umbrella industry offers a good illustration of the changes in progress. In 1875, 212,000 foreign umbrellas were imported; in 1879 the number fell to 20,000, and in 1886 to almost *nil*. But in 1875 Japan imported 800,000 yards of Italian cloth and umbrella ribs to the value of 9,769*l*. In 1879, side by side with the fall in the import of the finished goods, there was an increase in Italian cloth to over 3,000,000 yards, and in ribs to the value of 36,582*l*. In 1887 the transformation was complete. There was no longer any demand at all for finished ribs imported, but the import of

iron wire had grown to more than three times its price in 1875, and that of Italian cloth had grown to upwards of 4,500,000 yards. The export trade in 1886 amounted to about 8,000,000*l.*, of which America took 3,326,108*l.*, France and China upwards of 1,150,000*l.*, and Great Britain 698,430*l.* But with the imports it was very different, for out of 5,500,000*l.*, the value of the goods entered inwards, nearly one-half came from Great Britain. The recent expansion of trade, moreover, presents many hopeful features, for the British Consul at Yokohama reports that at no previous period in the history of that port had the prospect been brighter, its trade for 1887 having been 1,250,000*l.* in excess of the previous year. To mention a few particulars which indicate, perhaps, changes of national habit, it may be stated that the Japanese are substituting white sugar for brown, thereby greatly increasing the imports from Hong Kong. Of foreign wines and spirits there is an increase of 22 per cent. over the preceding year, the taste for these beverages as well as for beer growing with the adoption of a meat diet. There has also been a great demand for woollen yarn, consisting chiefly of Berlin wools and fancy yarns for "making-up," the Japanese ladies having now learnt to knit and crochet. At the same time the construction of railways in Japan by native engineers without foreign assistance has been considerably developed. During the three years ending 1886 the annual rate of construction was sixty-one miles, as compared with thirty-six in the preceding triennial period, whilst prior to 1880 it was still smaller. The mileage of railways constructed and brought into working order since 1869 has been 370, of which 209 miles are Government property, and 161 miles belong to private companies, the whole having been constructed by the Railway Department. The first waterworks in Japan constructed on the European system, under the direction of Colonel H. S. Palmer, R.E., were opened at Yokohama during the year. In contradistinction to European countries, agriculture in Japan has been in a very flourishing condition, the average crop of rice reaching about 130,000,000 bushels, and that of corn half as much, for a population now estimated at 38 millions. There are 142 public banks in the country, with 127 branches and a capital of over ten millions, and 214 private banks with a capital of three millions, besides 1,460 postal savings banks. The system of open competition for appointments in the Civil Service has been introduced, and a decree of the Mikado's, dated July 27, laid down the methods by which the appointments were to be made. Japan has been fortunate in escaping from any such catastrophe as the overflowing of the Yellow River, but on the other hand East Central Japan was convulsed by an earthquake (Jan. 15) of most unusual violence, its vibrations extending over a land area of 27,000 miles, and exciting great alarm both in Tokio and Yokohama. At the latter place the intensity of the shock was only one-third

as great as in the hilly region on the west, and occasioned but little loss of life. There, however, the effects of the earthquake were strongly marked, Professor Sekiya counting no fewer than seventy-two cracks in a distance of seven miles, one of them being 500 feet long and one foot wide. Houses were cracked, unroofed, twisted, and more or less wrecked; wells were disturbed or changed their level; and one large river was so agitated that the ferry boat could not cross for some time after the shock.

The elaborate attempts of the United States scientific expedition, under Professor Todd, to observe the solar eclipse (Aug. 19) failed through the bad state of the weather. The ruined castle of Shirakawa, 20 miles to the north of Tokio, was the spot chosen for the erection of the special instruments, for here lay the centre line of the shadow band of totality. But the sky, though clear at Tokio, was shrouded in clouds at Shirakawa, and the main purpose of the expedition, namely, the picturing of the phenomena at totality, wholly failed.

#### COREA.

Port Hamilton, of which possession had been taken by Sir W. Dowell in May 1885, was evacuated by the British forces early in this year (Feb. 27) and restored to Corea. No conditions were made as to the future, but the evacuation was not decided upon until the British Government had received a guarantee from the Chinese Government that no foreign Power should occupy Corean territory. The British naval authorities were moreover of opinion that the retention of Port Hamilton was a waste of money in time of peace and a source of weakness in time of war. During its occupation by the British forces a cable was laid to Hong Kong, and huts had been erected for the marines and for stores. In Seoul itself politics have been in an unsettled condition, and various intrigues have been going on. The attitude of Yuen, the Chinese Resident throughout the year, was bold and resolute, but he found himself systematically opposed and thwarted by one of the king's wives, a woman of strong will, whose influence might be traced in many recent events in Corean history. With the object of making the country independent of China, she persuaded the king to send representatives to various European countries, thereby incurring an expense which the foreign relations of the peninsula did not justify. In consequence of this step Yuen found it advisable to go to Peking to impress upon his Government the necessity for suppressing the growing mutinous spirit among the Coreans, which aimed at shaking off the suzerainty of China. The result of his visit was that the king was informed by the Chinese Government that China, in her capacity of suzerain, would require any Ministers accredited by Corea to the courts of European treaty Powers to be accompanied by Chinese officials. This condition so cooled the zeal of the selected Corean mandarins

that they all sent in their resignations. The Chinese Government took this opportunity of laying down additional rules for the maintenance of the ancient relations of suzerain and vassal between the two countries. In view of the opening of Corea to foreign trade a Chinese Superintendent of Northern Trade would in future reside in each Corean port opened to trade to look after Chinese interests, and Li Hung Chang, the Viceroy, was to correspond directly with the king of the Hermit nation.

## CHAPTER VI.

### AFRICA.

#### EGYPT—SOUTH AFRICA—THE CONGO—MADAGASCAR.

##### I. EGYPT.

THE military movements in the Soudan have been of late of comparatively little importance when contrasted with the large issues involved in the military operations of recent years. At Souakim Colonel Kitchener, who had been appointed Governor in the previous year, soon began to take active measures for the suppression of the slave trade and of contraband dealing in the district. His negotiations with some of the principal sheikhs were eminently satisfactory in their result, and his policy soon began to bear fruit in the revival of legitimate trade. Reports which were received at the beginning of the year led to the belief that Abdulla Khalifa, who had been proclaimed Sultan at Khar-toum, had established a great reputation among his supporters and was endeavouring to revive the commerce of his newly acquired dominions. So long as they were left unmolested the Arabs at first appeared disposed to abstain from further aggressive action against Egypt, but as the year advanced their policy underwent a change and they began to assume a more threatening attitude. In the spring and again in the autumn fighting occurred in the neighbourhood of Sarrass, in which the dervishes were unmistakably the aggressors; and, although they were repulsed in every engagement that took place, the concentration of their forces in that district in the latter months of the year gave rise to some alarm. Further south an intermittent warfare signalled the relations of the native tribes, and hostilities of a more serious nature resulted from the growing animosity between the Italian and Abyssinian troops. On Jan. 25 and the succeeding day Ras Alula, the Abyssinian commander, attacked the Italian forces at Dogali, in the neighbourhood of Massowah,

and inflicted on them a sharp defeat. The news of this reverse, which was regarded as a grave blow to Italian prestige in Africa, created great indignation at Rome and was followed by a Cabinet crisis. A force of 20,000 men was ordered out to Massowah to punish the temerity of the Abyssinians and to restore the reputation of the Italian arms. The English Government interposed their good offices and endeavoured to mediate between Italy and Abyssinia. But the negotiations failed, and at the end of the year the Abyssinians remained unpunished, although the display of force which the Italian Government had made had effectually secured the safety of the Italian possessions. Meantime another expedition with a very different object had penetrated into the interior. Mr. H. M. Stanley had undertaken to relieve or rescue Emin Bey, and having decided to select the Congo route had set out on his laborious and difficult journey.

But the attention of European diplomacy during the greater portion of the year was concentrated upon another phase of Egyptian politics. The ultimate evacuation of Egypt was still a question for the indefinite future, but the English Government showed signs of a desire to redeem its pledges and to come to an agreement on the subject with the Sultan and the European Powers. In January the army of occupation was reduced. One regiment was sent back to India and two batteries of artillery returned to England. In the beginning of February the negotiations on the subject assumed a new aspect. Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, having apparently accomplished the objects of his mission in Egypt, went to Constantinople and submitted to the ministers of the Sultan certain definite proposals on the Egyptian question. The proposals of the British Envoy were as follows: That the autonomy of Egypt should be acknowledged, while the sovereignty of the Sultan remained unimpaired; that the capitulations should be so far modified as to put an end to the mischievous privilege hitherto enjoyed by foreigners in Egypt of being judged by their own consuls; that Egyptian territory should be neutralised under the guarantee of the Great Powers, and that the guaranteeing Powers should retain the right of transporting troops through Egyptian territory either by land or by the Canal; that England should exercise the right of appointing the majority of officers in the Egyptian army, and should further retain the right of reoccupying the country in case necessity arose; and that the English army should evacuate the country when all the European Powers had given their consent to the terms of the Convention. The proposals of the British representative met at first with scanty favour. Special objection was taken to the clause which secured to Great Britain the right of reoccupying the country, and to the very indefinite guarantees offered as to the date of the British evacuation. Mukhtar Pasha, the Turkish Commissioner at Cairo, declared that in its existing form the Convention would be unacceptable both to the Khedive

and to the Porte, and the diplomacy of the French Government offered from the outset a strenuous opposition. By the beginning of March it became obvious that if the Convention were to be accepted at all its terms must be considerably modified. The Sultan demanded that the date of the British evacuation should, as a preliminary, be definitely fixed, and suggested, as an alternative to the right of reoccupation which the Convention conferred upon Great Britain, that the right to send an army to Egypt in case of disturbances arising should devolve upon the Porte. The latter proposal, which went to the root of the matter, did not meet the views of the British Government, but on the question of evacuation they showed themselves more disposed to make concessions to the Porte. The British forces remaining in Egypt were still further reduced, and all through the spring and early summer the negotiations on the subject continued. The Turkish Government continued to press the British envoy to fix the date of the British evacuation, and at last Sir Henry Drummond Wolff so far yielded as to promise the withdrawal of the English troops within three years if at the time of withdrawal the country were exposed to no danger either at home or abroad, and on the understanding that England reserved her right of reoccupying the country on the first alarm of further troubles. This concession, which was accompanied by a few modifications of detail, so far satisfied the Porte that on May 22 the Grand Vizier was authorised to sign the Convention. The Sultan's ratification, however, remained to be secured, and from that time forward the representatives of France and Russia redoubled their efforts to induce the Sultan to refuse his consent and to secure the failure of the negotiations. The clause upon which the two Powers based their remonstrance was the clause which conferred upon England the right of reoccupying Egypt in case of need, and on this clause Sir William White and Sir Henry Drummond Wolff proved deaf to any modifications suggested by the Porte. For a long time the Sultan vacillated. The time fixed for the ratification of the Convention was more than once extended, and all through June and the early days of July the British Commissioner waited at Constantinople for the determination of the Sultan, while the representatives of France and Russia increased the diplomatic pressure which they had already brought to bear in opposition to the British proposals. At last on July 16 Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, unable any longer to extend the time allowed to the Porte for its decision, and probably convinced that the Sultan would never bring himself to sanction the Convention, quitted Constantinople for London. Lord Salisbury declined to reopen negotiations on the subject, and while the diplomatists at Paris rejoiced at the check sustained by the English commissioner, public opinion in England, which for some time past had inclined to the view that the Convention was doomed to failure, consoled itself easily with the reflection that Great Britain

had given an unmistakable proof of her desire to adhere loyally to her pledges, while she still retained her full liberty of action in Egypt both as to the limits of her occupation and as to the measures which she might find it necessary to take.

In another field of diplomacy the efforts of the English Foreign Minister were more successful, and met with more cordial support from France. In March 1885 a Commission had been appointed to prepare a treaty for guaranteeing the free use of the Suez Canal by all Powers at all times. But the negotiations had had no result, and for two years past the question had been left unsettled. After the failure of Sir Henry Drummond Wolff's negotiation at Constantinople, M. Flourens, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, issued a circular to the French representatives at the Courts of the Powers, couched in conciliatory language, and intended to show that the action of France with regard to the Anglo-Turkish Convention had been dictated by no factious spirit, and was due solely to a consciousness of the duties which France owed to herself and to Europe. Lord Salisbury accepted the conciliatory language in which this circular was couched as indicative of a desire on the part of the French Minister to facilitate political co-operation between England and France, and replied to it with expressions of studious moderation, declaring that it was his object to satisfy as far as possible all those whose opinions demanded consideration, and that he was fully alive to the desirability of bringing to a close under favourable conditions the British occupation of the Valley of the Nile. Sir James Fergusson supported these general declarations by a statement in the House of Commons on Aug. 11 to the effect that Great Britain intended scrupulously to adhere to all her international engagements, and a few days later the suspended negotiations upon the neutralisation of the Suez Canal were reopened amid cordial protestations on the part of both Powers. Negotiations conceived in so amiable a spirit could not fail to prosper. Other difficulties which had arisen between the two countries were at the same time submitted for settlement, and on Oct. 24 two Conventions, which provided for an arrangement on all the points at issue, were signed at Paris. One related to the New Hebrides. The other concluded the long-debated question of the neutralisation of the Suez Canal. The Suez Canal Convention consisted of sixteen clauses, but the substance of it may be very briefly expressed. The two signatory Powers agreed to guarantee, and to invite the co-operation of the other Powers in securing, the neutralisation of the Canal, which was to remain at all times free to the ships of every nation. Even in time of war the freedom of the Canal as a waterway was to be recognised; but in time of war the belligerent parties were forbidden to embark or disembark in the Canal and its "ports of access" troops, or munitions, or material of war. The duty of seeing to the execution of the treaty was to belong to the representatives



in Egypt of the two signatory Powers, who were to meet at least once a year and as often besides as circumstances required, and to represent to the Government of the Khedive the measures which they deemed advisable and necessary for the preservation of the freedom of the Canal. The obligation of carrying out the necessary measures was, however, to rest not with the two contracting parties, but primarily with the Government of the Khedive; and in the event of the Egyptian Government finding itself unable, with the means at its disposal, adequately to secure the freedom of the Canal, recourse was to be had to the Porte, who would concert with the Powers the proper means of responding to the appeal.

It remained to obtain the consent of the Powers to the convention which England and France had approved. Spain and Italy took an early opportunity of signifying their consent. Germany and Austria had no solid objections to offer, and expressed themselves soon after as contented with the arrangement proposed. The Russian Government, however, showed little inclination to accept the terms of the convention. Mukhtar Pasha, the Ottoman Commissioner in Egypt, forwarded to the Porte some decided criticisms upon the scheme. And the Ottoman Government took refuge in the delays and demurrers which are characteristic of Turkish diplomacy. Russia and Turkey exchanged their objections, and time wore away in negotiation while the two Eastern Powers held out.

The internal administration of Egypt has been, as usual, a task of no little difficulty. In view of the better understanding brought about by the action of Lord Salisbury and M. Flourens, of which the Suez Canal Convention is the fruit, it is to be hoped that in future the action of England in Egypt will not be exposed to constant and harassing opposition on the part of the representatives of France. In the early months of the year, however, before this desirable understanding had been arrived at, the attitude assumed by France in regard to matters connected with the administration of the country had given rise to considerable friction. It was well known to be the wish of the Egyptian Government to abolish the *corvée*, or forced labour imposed on the population in connection with public works. In 1886 the Government submitted a proposal with that object to the Caisse de la Dette, and the Caisse, recognising the great benefits to be obtained, authorised the provision of the necessary funds, amounting to 250,000*l*. The Powers showed themselves generally ready to accept the proposals of the Government, but France, supported to some extent by Russia, for a long time refused her consent. The Comte d'Aunay, the French Consul-general, took occasion very early in the year to assert the independent, if not aggressive, attitude of France, and it was subsequently believed that the refusal of France to agree to the proposed reform was prolonged owing to a controversy occasioned

by the claims put forward by the French to the right of appointment to one of the lucrative posts in the administrative system. However, after a long-continued opposition, France gave way, but she coupled her concession with a difficult condition. She insisted that the sum received for exemptions from military service—which it was proposed to apply to making good the deficit caused by the abolition of the *corvée*—should not be applied to that purpose, but should be devoted to further military expenditure. This condition rendered it very difficult to suppress the *corvée*; but the Egyptian Government were determined to carry through their project, and they accordingly resolved to make good the deficit by considerable reductions in the military and police departments.

In other matters connected with the internal administration the action of the Government and of their English advisers was attended with more success. The financial situation showed hopeful signs of improvement. The accounts of revenue and expenditure for 1886 exhibited a surplus for that year of 177,000*l.* This, added to the surplus of the preceding year, allowed of the repayment of the coupon tax, amounting to 437,000*l.* Of the remaining 136,000*l.* half was applied to the extinction of debt, and the remaining half, after financial adjustments, left a surplus of 32,000*l.* The forecast of the Budget for 1888 was made public at the end of the year. It showed an estimated revenue of 9,600,000*l.*, and an estimated expenditure of 9,576,000*l.*, leaving an available surplus of 24,000*l.* The estimates for the Customs receipts were based on the justifiable expectation of a considerable increase of the tobacco dues; but the estimate of expenditure connected with the Soudan was generally condemned as being too hopeful. Changes of a beneficial nature are to be expected from the steps that have been taken to reorganise and improve the administration of the State railways. In the course of the year the control of the railways was placed in the hands of a mixed board, consisting of one English, one French, and one Egyptian representative. It appeared, however, that this divided control was by no means entirely successful, and later in the year two English experts were appointed to examine and report upon the whole system, who recommended the appointment of one responsible manager, competent to control the entire department. Progress in the department of Public Works has gone on side by side with progress in other fields of administration, and there is not a district in any province in Egypt in which the irrigation or the drainage has not been to some extent improved. Meantime the British army of occupation has been very largely reduced in accordance with a scheme which limits its numbers for the future to 5,000 men. Differences with France which arose early in the summer with regard to one or two judicial appointments have been satisfactorily settled. The death of Baker Pasha, an officer whose distinguished services of recent years had won for him the

avour of the Sultan and the confidence of the English Government, left vacant an important post, and offered an opportunity for reorganising on a more satisfactory footing the control of the gendarmerie and police. Sir Evelyn Baring and Nubar Pasha were agreed in admitting the desirability of rendering more effective the supervision of these forces by the Ministry of the Interior, but as to the lines on which the desired reform should be effected some difference of opinion arose between them, and towards the end of the year the question was submitted for decision to the Government in London. On the whole, the record of the year has been a record of growth and of increased stability in the administrative system in Egypt; which is encouraging in the face of many difficulties, and augurs well for the future of the country.

## II. SOUTH AFRICA.

*Cape Colony.*—The hopeful anticipations raised by the Premier, Sir J. Sprigg, in a speech to his supporters at Worcester (April 27), were fully confirmed a month later by the Governor in his speech at the opening of the session. The clouds, which for five years past had been hanging over the financial condition of the colony, seemed to be dispersing, and the prospects of trade were brighter than they had been for a long time. Sir J. Sprigg, in introducing his Budget (July 5), stated that the revenue and expenditure for the year ended June 30 showed an evenly balanced total of 3,155,000*l.* He estimated the revenue for the year to June 30, 1888, at 3,186,000*l.*, and the expenditure at 3,147,000*l.* No additional taxation was therefore required, and no fresh loans would be raised, although he proposed to tax public companies having their head offices in Europe and to abolish the excise duty on beer. The financial position of the country generally he declared to be improving, and the returns of railway revenue to be particularly favourable; Government, moreover, was taking steps to confer with the adjoining States for the purpose of establishing a South African Customs Union.

The legislation of the session was unmarked by any heroic measures or by any great activity on the part of the Opposition. The Cape Registration Bill, passed late in the session, was perhaps the only exception. It aroused considerable excitement in the colony and moved the Aborigines Protection Society in England to protest against a measure by which the voting rights of natives were declared to be restricted and their rights infringed. The Government maintained that the existing law had not been altered, and that the franchise for both white and dark races remained exactly the same as fixed in 1853, when Cape Colony received powers of parliamentary government. One ordinance provided that joint occupiers were each entitled to a

vote "in case the total value of the premises, when divided by the number of joint occupiers, shall yield for every joint occupier a sum of 25*l*." The opponents of the new measure retorted that this joint occupancy section was 'now repealed by the words in the 17th Section : "No person shall be entitled to be registered as a voter by reason of his sharing in any communal or tribal occupation." It was, however, contended that a "tribal occupation" was not a "joint occupation," within the meaning of the Constitutional Ordinance ; although, owing to the loose provisions of the registration laws, numerous communal or tribal tenants had been placed upon the register ; and that these voters at election time had swamped the votes of more intelligent and responsible citizens. The natives, it was said, had, at the bidding of any candidate who made it worth their while, trooped into the town and voted like parrots, with an utter unconsciousness of what or of whom they were supporting. These tribal voters had no fixed place of abode, and might have been living fifty miles away from their polling place ; there was, moreover, every facility for personation, for, as they bore no names but those of some wild animal, their names afforded no clue to their identity. A more pitiable burlesque of constitutional government could not be imagined, and it was to remedy this state of things that the new Act was passed. The matter having been taken up warmly in England by a few persons, headed by the Aborigines Protection Society, Sir Hercules Robinson was requested by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to report fully on the exact effect of the Registration Act on native claimants to the franchise. His report was considered, and, with the advice of the law officers of the Crown, it was decided that the new Registration Act should stand. It was found that the 17th Section was not at variance with the Constitutional Ordinance, and even then it was a question with which the local Parliament was competent to deal, subject to her Majesty's power to disallow the Act by the advice of her Privy Council. The Native Voters' Relief Bill, giving relief to all native voters from the disabilities under which they were placed by special legislation, was passed by the House of Assembly after considerable opposition. The Bill provided that the native voters should be exempt from Pass Liquor Prohibition and other special legislation affecting them. In the Legislative Assembly Sir J. Sprigg's motion for a vote of 5,000*l*. towards the Imperial Institute was rejected without a division, and on a subsequent reconsideration of the matter the decision was confirmed by 33 votes to 22. After a sitting of ten weeks, Parliament was prorogued (August 6), its last vote being one to authorise the Government to negotiate the next ocean mail contract with the Union and Castle Companies on the basis of a subsidy of 52,000*l*. and a passage of twenty days.

The mode of celebrating the Queen's Jubilee was the subject

of exhaustive discussions in public meetings and elsewhere. The Town Council proposed to erect a new Town Hall at a cost of 50,000*l.*, but the ratepayers rejected this in favour of an open-air luncheon to all children of the city, together with a display of fireworks and the presentation of a Jubilee medal to every planter of a memorial tree. The Jubilee itself was celebrated (June 21) with the greatest enthusiasm in the principal towns of South Africa. At Cape Town the festivities began at 8 A.M. by a grand military parade and the firing of a salute of 101 guns from the forts. The Governor and the members of the legislature attended divine service in state at the cathedral. Impressive religious services were also held at the Dutch places of worship, at which the British National Anthem was heartily sung. There was a procession in which the municipal bodies, the governing boards, and the members of the friendly societies took part; 8,000 Jubilee medals were distributed among the school children, and the foundation stone of the pedestal for a statue of the Queen, for which upwards of 1,200*l.* had been subscribed, was laid by the Governor. The town was thronged with thousands of visitors from the country districts to witness the processions and review. The illuminations were on a grand scale, and so general that hardly a cottage could be seen without some loyal device in its windows; whilst H.M.S. "Raleigh" came round from Simon's Bay to take part in the display and furnish a naval contingent for the review. At Table Bay the defence works were progressing under the direction of Sir John Coode, and the breakwater begun in 1881 was steadily extended.

With regard to the contemplated extension of railways northward the Government proposed to the Orange Free State to extend the Cape Town, Algoa Bay, and East London lines through the Free State to that part of the Transvaal border nearest the goldfields. They also agreed to bear the cost of extension, amounting to 2,800,000*l.*, provided the Free State would abandon its claim to participate in the duties collected at the colonial ports. The President of the Free State, in his reply, demurred to the proposed line of route traced for the railways, and further objected to abandon the claim of the Free State to a share of the Cape Customs duties, maintaining that the settlement of the latter should precede the railway negotiations as a separate and distinct question.

During the year the Government railways yielded, over and above the cost of working and maintenance, a revenue equal to 4*l.* 2*s.* per cent. on the capital invested, as compared with 2*l.* 16*s.* 11*d.* in 1886 and 2*l.* 14*s.* 5*d.* in 1885. The railway returns for the first week in September beat the record, and for the first time in the history of colonial railways turned the 30,000*l.*

At a banquet given in Cape Town to Sir Donald Currie, the first week in November, the Premier stated that he expected a surplus at the end of the year, that the crops were most promising,

and that the negotiations entered into with neighbouring States were progressing favourably, except those with the Transvaal Government, which held aloof. A few days later Sir Hercules Robinson invited three delegates from each of the Cape, Natal, and Free State Governments to meet in conference at Cape Town early in December.

A shocking massacre took place during November by Lo Benqulo, the King of Matabeleland. Some Englishmen were out on a hunting expedition in Mashonaland, accompanied by a body of 150 Matabele warriors, whose duty was, while ostensibly acting as guides, to watch the white men and prevent their leaving the hunting-grounds, and, above all, to thwart any attempt at gold-prospecting. The rumours of untold riches, however, induced the whole party to abandon the hunting-grounds for the northern gold-fields. One of the Matabele warriors, fearing the consequences, returned and informed Lo Benqulo, who despatched a regiment to inflict the threatened penalty, which was carried out to the letter, not one of the Matabele warriors escaping. In other respects native affairs called for little notice. The Imperial Government now exercises a protectorate over the coast of Pondoland and considers the whole country as being under its influence. By an arrangement made with the Pondos at the close of 1886, Umquikela, the paramount chief, ceded to the Colonial Government that portion of his territory known as the Rhode, and renounced all claim to the territories of St. John's River and Xesibeland, whilst the Cape Parliament agreed in June to annex the latter district. The British protectorate over Pondoland, now arranged, is in accordance with Sir Bartle Frere's Proclamation of Sept. 4, 1878, and Sir Peregrine Maitland's Treaty of Oct. 7, 1844. Its validity, moreover, was recognised by the German Government so far that in 1885 they declined to entertain any proposal for a German protectorate. On Umquikela's death (Oct. 30), induced, it was said, by intemperance, it was decided that Manpal and Sigan should govern the tribe jointly until the national meeting could be held to choose Umquikela's successor. Satisfactory progress was made during the year in the re-establishment of order and good government in Basutoland. The drink traffic in its worst forms was put a stop to. There was little serious crime in the country, the state of the border being much improved through the cordial co-operation of the Orange Free State officials. Sir Marshall Clarke showed great forbearance and sound judgment in his dealings with the natives, and, while the Basutos as a tribe have been saved from extinction by the resumption on the part of the Imperial Government of authority over them, that step has not imposed any charge whatever on the taxpayers of the United Kingdom.

*Transvaal (Orange Free State, Delagoa Bay, &c.)*.—President Kruger, on opening the Volksraad (May 2), made the satisfactory announcement that, in view of the prosperous condition of the

country, the Government proposed to reduce the Customs tariff. He further announced that the Volksraad would be asked to ratify the treaty of commerce concluded with Italy, to elect a new President, to amend the gold laws, to extend the telegraphs, and to consider the action of the Government with regard to the Delagoa Bay Railway. The Volksraad, in its earlier sittings, decided that no one born in the country should sit in the Raad under the age of thirty; all members were to be landed proprietors, resident in the country for not less than fifteen years. In this as in the rest of its legislation the tendency of the Volksraad was retrogressive.

In October President Kruger undertook a fruitless mission to the Orange Free State to propose an offensive and defensive alliance between the two republics so as to secure an armed force for employment in the Transvaal in case of a rising of the gold-diggers. For this alliance, and for co-operation in the construction of the Delagoa Bay Railway, to the exclusion of other lines, the Transvaal Government was to pay 20,000*l.* yearly for ten years. Gold has been found in such large quantities, not only in the De Kaap and Witwatersrand districts, where there are now upwards of forty mines, but also in a portion of Zululand, that a thorough revolution in the relations of the Transvaal to the outer world is inevitable. The continuous stream of miners flocking from all countries will sooner or later place the present dominant race in a helpless minority. Another symptom of impending change was also traceable in the visit paid by Lucas Meyer, President of the New Republic, to the Transvaal, to negotiate for the annexation of his country to that State. The mission, however, found no support among the burghers of the New Republic, who preferred the freedom of trade they now enjoyed to the Transvaal duties; but the mission was significant of the temporary state of existing political arrangements. Rich gold-fields were discovered in Swaziland, a country which, under the Transvaal conventions, had been placed nominally under the joint protection of Great Britain and the Transvaal. The Boers had been in the habit of crossing into this country every year for the sake of the pasturage, over which their temporary grazing rights were recognised. Upon the discovery of gold, however, they crossed in greater numbers, and under cover of their grants of pasturage they began to assert an exclusive right to the valuable minerals. Umbandine, the native king, and his adviser, Mr. Shepstone, refused to admit these pretensions. On various occasions the claimants have threatened to enforce their claims by means of commandos from the Transvaal, keeping the Swazis in perpetual terror of invasion by the Boers.

The Orange Free State Volksraad, on being opened (May 2), passed a resolution authorising the President (Sir John Brand) to enter into a treaty with the High Commissioner of Basutoland for the mutual extradition of criminals. Shortly afterwards the

President resigned, the Volksraad having, by a majority of two, passed what he regarded as a vote of want of confidence on the question of railway construction; but on the following day a specific vote of confidence having been carried he agreed to continue in office.

At the second session of the Volksraad, President Brand strongly urged the construction of a trunk line of railway through the Free State by way of Bloemfontein, connecting the Cape with the Delagoa lines and also with those of Natal. He recommended that a conference of delegates from the legislatures of the Cape, Natal, and Free State should meet to discuss fiscal questions. He regarded the co-operation of the Transvaal in this conference as of paramount importance, inasmuch as the Government of that State had agreed to allow no line to pass through its territory except that projected by President Brand. The settlement of this matter was rendered the more urgent by the opening of the Portuguese section of the Delagoa Railway towards the end of the year. This colony had suddenly acquired importance, partly owing to the recent discoveries of gold in the Transvaal and partly to the general opening up of the country in the rear of Delagoa Bay. This colony, which the Portuguese call Lourenço Marques, is the nearest and most natural outlet of the Transvaal to the sea, and it possesses the best harbour on the east coast of Africa, accessible at all times and in all weathers, with extensive coal deposits in the neighbourhood. The portion of the line already opened is fifty-four miles in length, in the direction of Lydenburg. It does not yet reach the Transvaal-Portuguese border, but stops short at Komati, at the foot of the Lebombo Mountains, a range about nine miles in breadth. The frontier line is supposed to be half-way across, though it has never yet been fixed; and as the tunnelling of this mountain range will need expensive engineering the line will probably not be extended for some time to come. The Delagoa Bay Railway is entirely owned in England, and as this is the "neck of the bottle" leading to the Transvaal its owners must necessarily control not only the policy of their own line, but indirectly that of the Transvaal extension. As Delagoa Bay is the only harbour for large ships between the Cape of Good Hope and Port Mozambique (2,000 miles distant), the growing trade of South Africa will probably gravitate towards it, and it bids fair to become a great commercial emporium as well as the naval key of that part of the Indian Ocean. When Marshal MacMahon in 1875 acted as arbitrator between Great Britain and Portugal, he awarded Delagoa Bay to the latter Power, but the Portuguese Government agreed to give Great Britain a prior right of refusal should they ever contemplate ceding this territory. In addition to the railway already opened, a corps of European police has been organised, and every facility offered for the development of agriculture and commerce, for the promotion of colonization, and for the



execution of public works in the town and port of Delagoa Bay. The Portuguese authorities appear to be thoroughly aware of the importance of the harbour and various works which are in progress. A plan for erecting the city on a higher part of the hill, behind the present town, is being carried out, and as troops were expected from Lisbon before the end of the year barracks were being built for their reception.

*Natal.*—The strained relations between the Executive and the Legislative Council, with which the previous year had closed, showed few signs of relaxation. The resolution passed by the latter censuring the Governor (Sir A. Havelock) for allowing certain legislation to proceed without the cognisance of Council was not upheld by the Home Government, and early in the year the Secretary of State for the Colonies telegraphed his entire concurrence in the Governor's action. The Council, whilst agreeing to the issue of a loan of 500,000*l.* for railway extension and harbour works, retaliated by rejecting the bulk of the Government proposals with respect to taxation, endorsing only those relating to the house and stamp duties. The Governor took the opportunity offered by the prorogation of the Council in February to reserve his assent to the financial measures in this modified form and to criticise severely the action of the Council. During the recess the relations between these two authorities became more friendly, so that when the Legislative Council re-assembled (June 2) the Governor was able to announce that the financial condition and prospects of the colony were of an encouraging character. He promised that a Bill should be introduced for amending the native administration, and that the Government would ask for the funds required for carrying out the scheme for the defence of Durban. He was, moreover, able to state that the extension of the railway system beyond the Free State border had been virtually arranged, and that negotiations were proceeding for a convention with the New Republic providing for the free transit of goods. The Council, in response, passed a resolution providing for the erection of batteries for the defence of Durban; voted the Governor's salary in full at the usual rate on the understanding that one-fourth should be paid by Zululand, the Legislative Council having previously reduced it from 4,000*l.* to 3,000*l.*

After some discussion a proposal to vote 500*l.* for the Imperial Institute was negatived by the Council, although they agreed to pay 1,800*l.* from the Natal Treasury to the Government of Zululand in lieu of Customs duties. By a bare majority the Council further resolved that it was unwise to discuss the question of responsible government this session, a decision which called for a strong protest from the inhabitants of Durban.

Langalibalele, with his family and attendants, returned once more to Natal (April 27) after a prolonged exile. Pending the completion of the preparations for their settlement at Swart

Kop, they were all comfortably housed in a block of buildings in the outskirts of Pietermaritzburg, but the interest and excitement they formerly aroused had completely died away. The attention of the public was almost wholly absorbed in the rich discoveries of gold reported to have been made near the junction of the Tugela and Buffalo, and the colony was looking to their development for a revival of trade and industrial activity.

*Zululand.*—The task of marking out the new frontier, commenced in December 1886, was completed before the close of the following month. During this period Dinizulu and other Zulu chiefs attempted, under the advice of certain white men, to reopen the general question of dividing Zululand; but as they had placed themselves unreservedly in the hands of her Majesty's Government in the spring of 1886, they were informed that the arrangement could not now be reversed. The occupation of a large portion of Zululand by Boers having become an accomplished fact, it was only a question how much territory could be rescued for the unfortunate Zulus, whose chiefs had recklessly signed away their rights. By the arrangements made in the autumn of 1886 Zululand had been mapped out in three portions—the Reserve over which the Queen exercised a protectorate, the New Republic, and Eastern Zululand—and the boundary having been now settled, the question arose as to whether the Zulus should govern themselves or be governed by Great Britain. The people of Natal were strongly in favour of Zululand forming an integral portion of that colony, but to this arrangement the Zulus offered a decided opposition, and the Imperial Government were also averse to it. Moreover, it was impossible for the Zulus to continue to exist as an independent nation in face of the unfriendly relations existing between them and the Boers of the New Republic. The only sure way, therefore, of making the new boundary respected was to extend the Queen's authority over what was left of Zululand. This was accordingly done in February by proclaiming a protectorate, by which arrangement the area of British Zululand, comprising the Reserve Territory and Eastern Zululand, consisted of 8,220 square miles, and that of the New Republic of 2,854 square miles. As, by an agreement of August 1884, the Zulus had practically ceded 4,234 square miles to the Boers, the intervention of her Majesty's Government recovered for the natives 1,380 square miles of country which would otherwise have been lost to them through their own imprudence. As to such Zulus as elected to remain in the New Republic, the authorities undertook to abolish and prevent slavery in any form within their territory. In every other respect the Zulus would be bound to observe the laws of the Republic. Although some of the chiefs were at first opposed to the partition, the majority, including Umnyamana, accepted British rule, to which the people generally were favourably inclined, and a few days later Dinizulu, Undabuko, Ndabuko, and the other chiefs, also signified

their assent to the arrangement. It was found, however, that under a protectorate her Majesty's Government had no power of legislation, and could not obtain legal jurisdiction over foreigners without the consent of their Governments. To meet this difficulty both the Governor of Natal and the Resident Commissioner of Eastern Zululand (Mr. Osborn) strongly advocated annexation, and as the Zulus already regarded the country as the Queen's by right of conquest, and were satisfied with whatever laws she might impose on them, another proclamation was issued announcing that the whole of Zululand, except the New Republic, would be a British possession on and after May 19. The Governor of Natal for the time being, assisted by elective members of the Legislative Council, would govern the country, making laws by proclamation.

The celebration of the Queen's Jubilee, which followed shortly, was signalised in Zululand by a formal proclamation of the Queen's rule at Ekowe, in the presence of 10,000 Zulus, including 300 chiefs, who saluted the British flag with apparent enthusiasm. Two months later, however, there were rumours of coming hostilities in Zululand, when Dinizulu, resenting the loss of sovereignty consequent upon the annexation, was suspected, in common with other chiefs, of a design to throw off British authority, and to call in the assistance of the Boers. The Governor and Resident of Zululand were so impressed with the necessity of watchfulness that a force of military was despatched in view of any emergency. Tranquillity, however, was preserved, and the Resident thereupon held a large meeting of chiefs and fined Dinizulu for his contumacy. Again, however, this restless chief took up a defiant position, soliciting protection and assistance from the Boers, an act of grave disloyalty for which the Resident summoned him to answer. Further measures were taken for the preservation of order, and the garrison at Ekowe was strengthened, but no disturbance actually took place. Dinizulu and Undabuko appeared before the Governor at Ekowe (Nov. 1) to explain their conduct; but their explanations being deemed unsatisfactory, they were ordered each to pay a fine of fifty cattle.

In November a deputation from the Queen of Amatongaland (or Mapootaland, as it is called by the natives) arrived in England to urge the British Government to establish a protectorate over her country and to assist in suppressing the liquor traffic. A treaty of friendship already existed between her country and Great Britain, under which she had bound herself not to enter into any treaty with or cede territory to any foreign Power unless with the consent of the British Government. The year, however, closed before any decision was arrived at as to their future relations. Amatongaland lies between Zululand and the Portuguese possessions on the east coast, and as it is now the only strip of coast territory under native independent rule, from Senegal on

the west coast to Zanzibar on the east, which had not been absorbed by some European Power, the Boers have been trying by bribes and threats to obtain a footing there, and it was especially against them that British protection was now sought. The Queen was anxious that the independence of her country should be maintained, as the people had hitherto shown themselves quite able to govern themselves, and needed neither a British Resident nor British soldiers. Amatongaland is the chief source of the labour supply to the diamond fields and railway construction throughout South Africa, and these natives, known as Nozingales to employers in Kimberley and elsewhere, are regarded as the best and most trustworthy workmen.

*East Africa* (Zanzibar, Madagascar, Mauritius, &c).—The settlement of the boundary line between the Portuguese possessions in East Africa and the territory of the Sultan of Zanzibar had, in 1886, after long deliberations, been defined by a joint commission on which Great Britain, France, and Germany were represented. By its award the northern half of Tungi Bay was assigned to Zanzibar and the southern to Portugal. The latter Power, however, refused to recognise the arrangement, and Portuguese ships occupied Tungi Bay, bombarded the town of Tungi, burned Massingame, and captured the Sultan's steamer "Kilwa," converting her into a transport for troops and war stores. The Sultan at once telegraphed to Great Britain and Germany for their intervention in view of the decision arrived at by the joint commission that there were no Portuguese interests involved on the northern half of Tungi Bay. Flourishing Arab stations were there, and British Indian subjects were engaged in the local and inland traffic. The Sultan's flag, moreover, had been unchallenged since it was first hoisted in 1854, giving ground for the inference that Portugal had abandoned all claim to the district. The decision of the joint commission was therefore only a recognition of accomplished facts, and the sudden action of the Portuguese Government could only be regarded as a violation of the rights of the weaker nation. Taking advantage of the absence of the Portuguese squadron and troops at Tungi, the natives of the province of Mozambique made a general rising against the Portuguese authorities, destroying several trading stations and houses and threatening the town of Mozambique. On the representations of Great Britain and Germany, reprisals were for the moment averted, the "Kilwa" was restored to the Zanzibar authorities, and each country appointed special commissioners to discuss the boundary question. Portugal, however, still refused to accept the conclusion of the Tungi Commission. Later on it was arranged that a commission for settling the boundaries in dispute should meet in Lisbon with the concurrence of Great Britain and Germany.

Towards the close of the year the British East African Association concluded a treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar, by which

the latter agreed to cede for 50 years his rights of sovereignty over that part of his possessions extending along the coast from Port Wanga, at the mouth of the Dumba river, to the German colony of Vitu, a distance of more than 200 miles. The area of the district is estimated at 50,000 square miles, with a population of two millions, a rich belt of coast land, vast grazing grounds for cattle, and above all a splendid highland plateau covered with pine woods and European vegetation, plentifully watered, and enjoying a climate where Englishmen may live and work. It was understood that the association was to pay the Sultan annually a sum equal to one and a half times the actual revenue derived from the conceded region.

In July Germany and Portugal entered into an agreement respecting the boundaries of their possessions in South Africa. Article 1 applied to South-West Africa, and was as follows :

“The boundary line which shall divide the German and Portuguese possessions in South-West Africa follows the course of the Cunene river from its mouth to the falls which are formed south of Humbe, where the Cunene breaks through the Serra Canna. From this point the line runs on the parallel of latitude to the Kubango, then in the course of this river to Andara, which place falls within the sphere of Germany’s interests, and thence in a straight line east to the rapids of Catima, on the Zambezi.”

Article 2 dealt with South-East Africa, and was thus worded : “The boundary line which shall divide the German from the Portuguese possessions in South-East Africa follows the course of the river Rovuma from its mouth to the point where the M’Sinje river joins the Rovuma, and runs thence westwards on the parallel of latitude as far as the shore of Lake Nyassa.”

According to Article 3 Germany left to Portugal’s influence the territory lying between the Portuguese possessions of Angola and Mozambique without prejudice to the rights already acquired by other Powers.

The Germans throughout the year were busy in developing the districts they had recently acquired in East Africa. The Sultan of Zanzibar renounced all his rights in the Kilima-Njaro territory in favour of the German East African Company, which now possessed an area of 600,000 square miles in that region. Thirteen stations have already been established, and others are in course of formation. A great extent of ground has been cleared, European and tropical plants of all kinds are being tried, and trading enterprises in ivory and other products have been started in various directions. By means of an understanding with the Sultan of Zanzibar the labour question has assumed a durable aspect, and at some stations 800 men are working at fixed wages.

It was announced in May that an agreement had been arrived at between Great Britain and France, by which the former recog-

nised the rights of France over the Obock territory and the Gulf of Tadjourah, and ceded to that country the island of Mashah, situated in the middle of the gulf. The frontier line of the French territory extended from Cape Djiboujeh to Harrar, whence it ran in a westerly direction to Choa. France, on her part, acknowledged the authority of Great Britain in the territories situate to the east of Cape Djiboujeh, including Dongareta.

*Madagascar.*—The Hova Mission, composed of young men who came to study in France, waited upon M. Grévy in Paris (Jan. 29) with presents of silks and other fabrics from the Queen of Madagascar. Many compliments were paid on both sides, but the speech made by the head of the mission significantly contained no trace of the protectorate which, according to repeated ministerial declarations in the Chamber, had been assumed by France. Prior to this official visit to the President the evacuation of Tamatave by the French troops had commenced (Jan. 3), and was to be completed within a week, four companies going to Diego Suarez, on the north-west coast of Madagascar, and the rest returning to France. With the return of peace between France and Madagascar the slave trade reopened between the west coast of the latter and the French colony of Réunion. Slaves were purchased from the tribes of the interior and taken to Nosivay, whence they were shipped in irons to Réunion. As the average cost was only about 5*l.* a head, and they fetched from 30*l.* to 40*l.* each when they reached their destination, the profit was enormous. No attempt was made by the traders to conceal what was going on under the French flag, of which British Indian subjects also availed themselves to engage in this horrible traffic. Energetic steps were promptly taken, both by the British and French Governments, to check these abuses. The island, however, narrowly escaped the renewal of the war with France in the course of the autumn. The misunderstanding arose out of the rights claimed by the French Resident on the question of granting *exequatur* to the American Consul at Antananarivo. The Hova Premier, in his communication with the French Resident on the subject, quoted, as though it were authoritative, the explanatory letter written by M. Patrimoine attached to the Treaty of December, 1885. This letter promised much greater concessions in respect of the conduct of the foreign relations of Madagascar than were granted by the exact words of the treaty. The French Government of the day disavowed it, and it was never recognised in Paris. The French Resident, doubtless acting on instructions from home, took the opportunity of showing the interpretation his Government gave to the treaty; and, under pretext that his privileges had been infringed by the Hova Premier, after some little delay broke off relations with the Malagasy Government, hauled down his flag, and prepared to leave the capital. Thereupon the Hova Premier telegraphed direct to the Foreign Minister in Paris, asking him to use his

influence to re-establish relations. The latter granted his request, though for form's sake he would not communicate directly with the Hova Government, but through the French Resident, who was instructed to come to terms with the Malagasy Government. About the same time Ravonina-Nitriniarivo, the Malagasy Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was arrested, tried, and sentenced to twenty years' banishment for having, it was said, in his possession Government seals with fraudulent or treasonable intentions towards his Government. Moreover, General Willoughby, who had frequently acted on behalf of the Hovas in their dealings with foreign States, was imprisoned in October by the Hova Premier on charges connected with his recent mission to Europe. The British Consul remonstrated, but was met on the part of the Premier by the declaration that the Hova Government had legal rights over all Europeans in its employment, according to native law and custom. The charges against General Willoughby would have led to nothing but for the intrigues of the French Resident-General, M. le Myre de Vilers, who had arrived at Antananarivo just after General Willoughby started for Europe in May 1886. He succeeded in ingratiating himself with the Premier by promising to secure for his youngest son the succession to the Premiership. General Willoughby's fate remained undecided at the close of the year, though it was quite certain the French would leave nothing undone to make his fall final and complete.

*Mauritius.*—Sir J. P. Hennessy, who had been suspended from his post as Governor of Mauritius by Sir H. Robinson, acting as High Commissioner at the close of 1886, was on a review of his case by the Secretary of State reinstated in his post. Affairs at the Cape had required Sir H. Robinson's return before Sir J. P. Hennessy had replied to the charges brought against him. After hearing his explanations Sir Henry Holland decided that sufficient cause had not been shown to justify his removal from the governorship of Mauritius, and he was directed to return to his post. He was, however, reminded of the absolute necessity of maintaining a strict impartiality and of "working cordially with those who hold office under him, and of subordinating his own personal views, religious or political, to the general good of the colony." The decision of the Secretary of State was equal to a verdict of "not proven" rather than to one of "not guilty," and he stated that he did not reach it without hesitation.

### III. WEST AFRICA.

*The Niger, Sierra Leone, Congo, Gambia, &c.*—The Niger districts, comprising the coast between the British settlements of Lagos and the right or western bank of the mouth of the Rio del Rey, altogether a distance of about 400 miles, were formally

placed (Oct. 18) under a British protectorate. Within its boundaries were also included all territories in the basin of the Niger, and its affluents which were or might be subject to the government of the National African Government, Limited (now the Royal Niger Company), in accordance with the provisions of their charter, dated July 10, 1886. This protectorate has grown out of a series of treaties, 237 in number, concluded between July 1884 and October 1887 with various petty chiefs. In spite of these treaties the privileges of the company had hitherto rested on the goodwill of the native tribes, and it was evidence of the good faith with which the company had observed its obligations in the past, that no tribe refused to enter the confederation of which the company was the ruler. The new arrangements were to be binding on the various riverain tribes on the lower main river and its principal affluents, and in exceptional cases with tribes living at a distance from the river banks. To the Royal Niger Company, therefore, in view of the large tract of country opened up, with its mineral wealth and prospects of extended trade, the year was one of importance and promise.

*Congo Free State.*—The capture of the Stanley Falls Station in 1886 was, in the opinion of M. Janssens, the Governor, of no special importance, and would not imperil in any way the progress of the Congo State; nor did it induce Mr. H. M. Stanley to halt on his way to rescue Emin Pasha. The intrepid traveller, acting on behalf of the King of the Belgians, Sovereign of the Independent State of the Congo, began his work by arranging a treaty at Zanzibar with Tippu Tib, the powerful and notorious slave-dealer. The latter was nominated Vali of the district of the Stanley Falls, with a salary of 30*l.* a month on the following conditions:—He bound himself (1) to hoist the flag of the Congo State on the station near the Stanley Falls, and to make respected the authority of the State on the Congo and all its tributaries as far down the river as Arnurini; he also undertook to prevent the Arabs and tribes there established from carrying on the slave trade; (2) to receive a Resident representing the Independent State of the Congo, and make use of him as a medium for all communications with the general administration; (3) to have full liberty to pursue legitimate trade in all directions; (4) to appoint an *ad interim* substitute, to whom his powers would be delegated in his absence, and who was to succeed him if he died, the King of the Belgians reserving to himself the right of veto. The arrangement was to be valid only so long as he or his substitute should fulfil these conditions. It was the consideration of the enormous power of the Arabs in this region, and the utter uselessness of opposing them, that determined Mr. Stanley to take the bold step of making this robber-chief the “head of the police” or chief of the Stanley Falls Station; and it was thought that his influence over the tribes of Central Africa might be turned to account in re-estab-



lishing the Stanley Falls Station. Dr. Junker's recent explorations show the great river Inellé to be connected with the Congo by the Obangi, and a long and splendid waterway is thus opened up between Leopoldville, on the Stanley Pool, and a point very near the Nile, whilst a railway about 200 miles long by the side of the falls of the Lower Congo would unite the west coast and the central districts of Africa. Early in the year a convention was entered into between the Congo Free State and France for the determination of the common frontier, and it was settled that the boundary should be the "thalweg" of the Outrangi; the right bank of the river was to belong to France, though for what distance was not specified, and the left to the Congo State, the small station known as Nkoundja, founded by M. Brazza, being also handed over to the Congo State. The *Compagnie du Congo pour le Commerce et l'Industrie* commenced operations by organizing two expeditions, which left Belgium in May for the Congo State. The first, composed of engineers and topographers, was to seek between Matadi and Leopoldville the best route for the railway, and the second, composed of agriculturists, geologists, and trading agents, was to explore the Congo and its tributaries above Stanley Pool. It was announced in Belgium during October that the Government of the Congo State had resolved to reconquer Stanley Falls from the Arabs by armed force. Captain Vandevelde, of the Belgian army, was to command the expedition for this purpose, composed of Bangalas and Houssas, and it was arranged that the expedition should reach Stanley Falls in February 1888 and effect a junction with Tippu Tib and Major Barttelot in order to pacify and watch the country. M. Ledeganck, the Belgian Consul-General at Cologne, was nominated to succeed M. Janssens as Governor of the Congo State on the expiration of the latter's term of office.

*West Coast of Africa.*—The native territories adjoining Sierra Leone have been in an unsettled state during the year, but the efforts made by the British authorities to put an end to tribal differences, to gain security for colonial trade, and to protect the natives under British jurisdiction were partially successful. Two additions were made during the year to the Gold Coast Colony, viz. (1) the small territory of Krikor, a strip of land twenty miles by six lying to the east of the Volta, between Awoonah and Afloo, both of which were already under British protection; and (2) the kingdom of Sefwhi, lying to the north-west of the protectorate, adjacent to Gaman, an independent State: the step was taken so as to secure certain important trade routes through these districts, and the principal conditions were freedom of trade and cessation of slavery.

In the Cameroon country the British territory of Victoria was formally handed over to Germany (March 28) by Consul Hewett in the presence of the officers and crews of the British and German gunboats "Rifleman" and "Cyclops." When the British

flag had been lowered, one of the German officials read a proclamation to the effect that Victoria had been placed under the protection of the Emperor, and thenceforth would form part of the colony of Cameroon.

*The Gambia.*—The Acting Administrator (Hon. G. Carter) succeeded early in the year in arranging a basis of peace between the rival chiefs Saide Mattie and Beram Ceasey, who had long been hostile to each other, and whose constant fighting had considerably injured the trade of the river. He also induced them to enter into treaties with the British Government, which under favourable conditions would have restored the settlement to its normal prosperity. His efforts, however, were frustrated by the French, who shortly afterwards attacked Saide Mattie and drove him into Albreda, whence he was removed to Bathurst and protected by the British authorities. Subsequently the French flag was hoisted in several of Saide Mattie's towns, and formal possession taken in the name of the French Government. Further disturbances taking place later on at Badiboo and other places in the vicinity of the Gambia, the French occupied Badiboo, whilst the British flag was hoisted at various ports on the banks of the river. Questions at once arose as to the respective interests of France and England, which the two Governments are endeavouring to settle amicably.

*Sierra Leone.*—The state of affairs in this colony has been most unsatisfactory. Hostile tribes have repeatedly invaded British territory, aggravating the financial position of the colony. Serious attacks were made early in the year by chiefs from the Gallinas country at the head of great numbers of "War Boys." The villages through which they passed were plundered and burnt, the town of Jurying was taken and a large number of people slaughtered. Attacks were made upon the British factory on the Manoh river and the French factory at Sulymat, but both were repulsed by gallant little bands of defenders, though ultimately H.M.S. "Icarus" had to come to their rescue.

In September a British Consul and a number of traders were attacked by King Ja Ja and his men because the former were establishing a station where white men might trade direct with the natives instead of through Ja Ja's people as middlemen. A British gunboat was at once sent up the river to Ja Ja's town, and threatened to bombard it unless the king were given up. After much palaver Ja Ja surrendered himself, and was sent to Accra; whilst Robbarrie, the capital and stronghold of the Yonnie tribe, was captured (Nov. 21) by 250 men of the 1st West Indian Regiment and a body of Sierra Leone police under Sir F. de Winton. They had to fight their way for three miles through a series of ambushes, but the men behaved admirably. A garrison of British troops was left at Robbarrie, and two of the neighbouring tribes were fined for sharing the Yonnies' hostilities against the British. The three principal towns in the

Yonnie country were destroyed, and the king of Massimerah and several chiefs taken prisoners. At a grand palaver early in December held on board H.M.S. "Royalist" the British Admiral notified to the chiefs and people of the Oil Rivers from the right bank of the Benue to the Rio del Rey that Queen Victoria would afford them her protection, and he then officially announced the establishment of a British protectorate over the rivers and the opening of all the markets of the interior to all people. He also stated that the charges against King Ja Ja had been proved, and that he had, therefore, been deposed and banished, but that out of regard for his former position he would be allowed a pension of 800*l*. It was subsequently decided that his exile should be permanent, and that he should be sent to St. Helena in a British man-of-war.

It was announced in Berlin during January that the Boers settled at Grootfontein in the Otour region (19°30' south lat. and 18° east long.) had been, at their own request and with the consent of the Emperor of Germany, placed under the protection of the German Empire. On July 6 the representative of the German West African Company concluded a treaty with Kamaherero, the paramount chief of Damaraland, whereby the company obtained unrestricted freedom of trade, the right to form settlements in the country, to establish cattle stations, and to take possession of suitable holdings in Damaraland without rendering any compensation for these privileges. Gold has been found by the Germans in and about Walfisch Bay, and also in promising quantities to the north-east of that station, in Lüderitzland, in territory belonging to the "Colonial Company for South-West Africa."

In April Spain annexed the Saharan coast between Capes Blanco and Bojador, thereby introducing a wedge between the French in Senegal and the southern frontier of Morocco. The annexed country is, for the most part, a desert of sand and mimosa bushes, whilst the coast is almost unapproachable in consequence of the constant surf and the absence of proper anchorages. Along the whole coast line there is but one harbour, Rio de Oro, about midway between the two capes, where Spain has a fort and a factory which has so far given no good result. The Spaniards have endeavoured to establish a station there in hopes of forming a trade with the Arabs of the interior; but the latter are incorrigible brigands, yet well armed, and always roving about in search of plunder.

*Central Africa* (Emin Pasha), &c.—Great interest continues to be felt in the fate of this officer, who was still holding his own, and protecting at Wadelai those whom he had rescued from slavery, and the expedition under Mr. Stanley for his succour has been the most noteworthy event in connection with this continent during the year. Dr. Junker, the Russian traveller, who had spent seven years in Central Africa, reached Egypt early in

January, bringing letters from Emin Pasha written in July 1886, from which it appeared that the latter then held Wadelai and nine fortified stations on the Nile, with 1,500 Soudanese soldiers, 10 Egyptian and 15 black officers, and a few others. He calculated that his ammunition would fail by the end of the year, but that he could perhaps hold out six months longer. He had seen no more of the Mahdi's men during 1886, but he feared his troops would not remain faithful because supplies were failing. Dr. Junker was of opinion that Emin Pasha was in imminent peril, and that an expedition, to be successful, should be dispatched without delay, and be better manned and equipped than any which had yet penetrated the Lake District of Central Africa. Mr. Stanley started (Jan. 21) for Zanzibar, to take command of the largest non-military expedition that had ever entered Africa. On his way through Egypt he stopped to confer with Dr. Junker as to the best plan for reaching Emin Pasha. After a few days' sojourn, during which he received every assistance from the authorities, he left Aden (Feb. 12) in the S.S. "Oriental," his party consisting of himself and servant staff of seven others, 61 Soudanese soldiers, 13 Somalis, and 2 interpreters. On reaching Zanzibar (Feb. 22) he found Tippu Tib, who protested his loyalty to the Congo State and declared his willingness to accompany the expedition right up to Wadelai. Under authority from the King of the Belgians, Mr. Stanley appointed him Governor of Stanley Falls at a regular salary. He also engaged 620 men and boys to accompany the Relief Expedition, paying them four months' wages in advance. S.S. "Madura" having been promptly provisioned and watered for the voyage, and the goods for barter and the transport animals on board, Mr. Stanley was able to start again (Feb. 25). The expedition, now increased by the company of Tippu Tib and 40 of his people, was at its outset marked by a quarrel on board caused by the Zanzibaris and Tippu Tib's men crowding the Soudanese into a hot and stifling place between decks. The latter resented this, and blows followed, which were only ended by Mr. Stanley and his staff dashing in among the combatants with their sticks, and driving back the Zanzibaris. The S.S. "Madura" touched at Cape Town on March 10 for coals, water, and ammunition, reaching Banana Point in safety (March 18), where the whole expedition disembarked, the steamer drawing too much water to ascend the Congo, re-embarking in two vessels which the International Congo Association held in readiness. They cast anchor the next day at Boma, the seat of the general administration of the Congo State, where the authorities gave Mr. Stanley and his followers a most cordial reception. Without delay he continued his journey, and reached Matadi (March 22), where a general disembarkation took place. From this point, the river not being navigable owing to the Livingstone Falls, the expedition had to proceed on foot on the verge of famine, reaching

Leopoldville (April 21) after 28 days' march, and after being delayed many days by the flooded rivers. Mr. Stanley at once determined to quit this foodless region, but his efforts were for some time frustrated by the reluctance of certain missionaries to surrender their steamers for the use of the expedition. In the steamers "Stanley," "Peace," and "Henry Reed" (the latter requisitioned by the Governor of Stanley Pool from the Livingstone Mission), the expedition started from the Upper Congo (May 1), and after various vexatious delays, caused by the steamers breaking down, reached the Yambuya Rapids, Aruwimi river (June 18). Here an entrenched camp was built and left with a force of 130 men under Major Barttelot to serve as a base of operations for the march along the banks of the Aruwimi to Wadelai, a distance of 360 miles. Mr. Stanley, as soon as he had collected supplies and made the camp secure, started again (June 20) with the rest of the expedition, leaving the Congo and turning inland. Major Barttelot rejoined Mr. Stanley at Yambuya (June 22), after escorting Tippu Tib and his people to Stanley Falls, where Tippu Tib was warmly welcomed by hosts of people, though before long he grew unpopular among his fellow-Arabs for having become the friend of the white man and the enemy of the slave trade. The news brought to Major Barttelot (Aug. 12) by a casual visitor, that he had left Mr. Stanley at a point 18 days' march from Yambuya all well, was the last that had reached London by the close of the year. It was not thought that any accident had happened to Mr. Stanley, or that the expedition had failed, but rather that Mr. Stanley and Emin Pasha had joined hands in the autumn, though there had been no means of sending such news home. The latest tidings of Emin Pasha himself were contained in a letter written from Wadelai on April 17, in which he said that he had heard of the proposed expedition on his behalf, but that he would on no account forsake the people he had lived amongst for so many years, nor desert any of the stations which had been entrusted to him by General Gordon, whose last and only representative he was.

## CHAPTER VII.

## AMERICA.

UNITED STATES—CANADA—MEXICO—CENTRAL AMERICA—WEST  
INDIES—BRAZIL—CHILI AND PERU.

## I. UNITED STATES.

THE state of parties in the Congress of the United States at the beginning of the year 1887 (the closing session of the forty-ninth Congress) was as follows:—In the Senate: Republicans, 42; Democrats, 34; John Sherman, of Ohio, being President *pro tempore*. In the House of Representatives: Democrats, 181; Republicans, 140, with four vacancies; John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky, being Speaker. The Cabinet of President Cleveland included the following:—Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware, Secretary of State; Daniel Manning, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury; Wm. C. Endicott, of Massachusetts, Secretary of War; Wm. C. Whitney, of New York, Secretary of the Navy; Lucius Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Interior; Wm. F. Vilas, of Wisconsin, Postmaster-General; Augustus G. Garland, of Arkansas, Attorney-General.

A Bill to regulate commerce among the several States of the Union was debated in the Senate, Jan. 6, and for several days succeeding. It prohibited the "pooling" of freight receipts by two or more competing railway companies as an infringement of the common law. It was also framed to prevent the several companies from charging more for carriage of freight for short distances than for long ones in certain cases. This question of "short haul" and "long haul" caused much discussion in the Senate and afterwards in the House of Representatives, but the Bill finally passed both Houses and received the approval of the President, Feb. 4. A commission was appointed by the President under the Act to inquire into the management of the business of all common carriers, who are subject to the provisions of this Act. The commission, consisting of five members, made their first annual report, Dec. 4, to the Secretary of the Interior, to be by him transmitted to Congress. They stated that already railway discriminations had been reduced to a minimum, and that the total railway mileage was 137,986 miles, worked by 500 companies, and the cost \$7,254,995,223 to lay, with a funded debt of \$3,882,966,380.

The discussion of the Canadian Fisheries question came up in the Senate in January, but no solution of the difficulty was reached. Some violent speeches were made against England by leading senators. One suggested retaliation by the refusal of

transit of Canadian commodities over United States territory from point to point over the Canadian frontier; but this resolution was negatived by an overwhelming majority.

A few days later a proposed amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women was debated and rejected by the Senate in committee of the whole: nays, 34; yeas, 16; absent, 26.

On Feb. 12 the President sent a veto message to Congress, returning without approval an Act which had passed both Houses granting pensions to soldiers in the Civil War for service and for present disability, instead of disability contracted during service. This measure, if it had become law, would have increased enormously the pension list of the Government.

Among the Acts which were passed at the close of the forty-ninth Congress was one for the retirement and recoinage of the trade dollar. The large Appropriation Bills were not sent from the House to the Senate till it was too late to revise them. Among these a Bill making great appropriations amounting to many millions of dollars for river and harbour improvements failed to pass.

In September the centenary celebration of the completion of the Constitution of the United States was held at Philadelphia, the festivities closing with a commemoration of the meeting held at Independence Hall, Sept. 17, 1787, when the Convention signed the Constitution. President Cleveland and his Cabinet attended, and many other prominent persons were present, including the justices of the Supreme Court, senators and representatives in Congress, the foreign diplomatic body, and the Governors of the several States. Dense crowds of people filled the square and the adjacent streets. President Cleveland presided at one of the stands and made a brief address, referring to the difficulties overcome by the framers of the Constitution. He said :—

“ Continuing in face of all discouragements, the fathers of the Republic laboured on for four long weary months in alternate hope and fear, but always with rugged resolve, with their endeavours sanctified, with a perfect sense of the value to posterity of their success, and with unflinching faith in the principles which make the foundation of government by the people. At last their task was done. It was related that on the back of the chair occupied by Washington as President of the Convention a sun was painted. As the delegates were signing the completed Constitution one of them said, ‘I have often and often in the course of this session, in the solicitude of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that sun behind the President without knowing whether it was rising or setting. But now, at length, I see it is rising and not setting.’ We stand to-day on the spot where this rising sun emerged from political night and darkness, and in its own bright meridian light we mark its glorious way.

Clouds have sometimes obscured its rays, dreadful storms have made us fear, but God has held it in its course, and through its life-giving warmth has performed His latest miracle in the creation of this wondrous nation and people. When we look down 100 years, and see the origin of our Constitution, when we contemplate its trials and triumphs, when we realise how completely the principles upon which it is based have met every national peril, how devoutly should we say with Franklin, 'God governs in the affairs of men,' and how solemn should be the thought that to us is delivered this ark of the people's covenant, to us is given the duty to shield it from impious hands! It comes to us sealed with the tests of a century. It has been found sufficient in the past; it will be found sufficient in all years to come. If the American people are true to their sacred trust another centennial day will come, and millions yet unborn will inquire concerning our stewardship and the safety of their Constitution. God grant they may find it unimpaired; and as we rejoice to-day in the patriotism and devotion of those who lived 100 years ago, so may those who follow us rejoice in our fidelity and love for constitutional liberty."

Intense patriotic enthusiasm marked the day's proceedings, and the celebration was entirely successful.

The President, accompanied by Mrs. Cleveland, left Washington, Sept. 30, for a tour in the Western and Southern States. In Chicago, St. Louis, St. Paul, Omaha, Kansas City, Memphis, Montgomery, Atlanta, and other cities, he was warmly received, and a continual round of festivities was held in his honour. During three weeks' absence from Washington the President and his suite travelled 4,500 miles, passed through seventeen States, and was seen by more than a million of citizens along the route.

A general convention of the Knights of Labour was held in October at Minneapolis, Minnesota. The Secretary of that organisation reported that the number of knights had been reduced during the year from 729,677 to 595,000, and that, on July 1, 80,000 members were in arrears for dues. Michael Davitt addressed the convention on the Irish question in its relations to the American labour movement. He said that the tide of forced emigration from Ireland to America was depopulating that country, and that Irish emigrants were compelled to seek employment in the seaboard cities, where they came into direct competition with American labour, thus interfering with the efforts of the Knights of Labour.

During the year certain States of the Union passed resolutions sympathising with the Irish Home Rulers, and protesting against the action of the British Government in its repressive attempts to secure tranquillity in Ireland. Considerable sums of money were collected in the United States for the so-called Irish cause, and the show of American sympathy had no doubt much effect in keeping up Irish agitation and disturbances.



An appeal made to the United States Supreme Court to grant writs of error in the case of the Anarchists convicted of the murder of several policemen during a riot in Chicago last year was disallowed. Governor Oglesby of Illinois received numerous petitions, urging him to exercise his right of clemency; but while he commuted the sentence of Schwab and Filden to imprisonment for life, he declined to interfere to save Parsons, Fischer, Engel, Spies, and Lingg. On Nov. 11 these men were executed, with the exception of Lingg, who killed himself in his cell the day before by holding a fulminating case in his mouth and lighting it with a candle. The condemned men declined all services proffered by the clergy, and were hanged standing in their shrouds. Fischer's last words were, "Hurrah for Anarchy!" Several thousand Anarchists and Socialists carrying red and black flags paraded the streets of New York the night before the execution to express sympathy, but no serious disturbance took place.

On Nov. 1 the President received at Washington a deputation which included many English members of Parliament, and an address was presented to him, signed by 233 members of Parliament, in favour of arbitration in case of dispute between Great Britain and the United States.

On receiving the address the President replied that, although the friends of international arbitration might not be able at once to secure an adoption in its whole extent of their beneficent scheme, great progress would be made by sincere and hearty effort, and that he believed he might speak for the American people in giving an assurance that they desire to see the killing of men for the accomplishment of national ambition abolished; that they will gladly hail the advent of peaceful methods in the settlement of national disputes, so far as it is consistent with the defence and protection of the country's territory and the maintenance of the national honour. Sir Lyon Playfair, M.P., thought the time favourable for the consideration of the question, concluding his speech as follows:—

"In ten years the cost of European armaments has increased at least 25 per cent., while it amounts to 3 per cent. of the whole earnings of Europe. The United States, almost alone among nations, can keep down its warlike expenditure, because it does not consider it necessary to anticipate war with foreign nations. It is here, therefore, rather than in Europe, that proposals for treaties of arbitration might naturally be made.

"At all events, we might devise a treaty of arbitration between the United Kingdom and the States. That would be a glorious example to other nations, and might lead to the two great Anglo-Saxon nations being the peacemakers of the world. That is the feeling which induced so many members of Parliament to offer their co-operation to the members of Congress in settling political differences by arbitration. If our two countries succeed in doing so it will give an eminent illustration

that nations as well as individuals can compose their differences without violence by an adherence to the principles of equity and international law."

The reciprocity treaty with the Sandwich Islands was extended, Nov. 3, for seven years, with an additional clause giving the United States the exclusive privilege of Pearl River Harbour as a coaling station so long as the treaty remains in force.

The November election in New York State resulted in a majority for the Democrats of 20,000. Frederick Grant, a son of the late General Grant, was defeated for Secretary of State, and in New York City the regular Democratic candidate for District Attorney was elected by a majority of 15,000. This was the fiercest contest of the election, and seemed at the time to indicate the re-election of President Cleveland.

The Republicans in Ohio re-elected Governor Foraker by an increased majority. Massachusetts also had an increased Republican vote. Virginia, Maryland, and New Jersey elected Democratic legislatures, but in Pennsylvania, and also in Rhode Island, the Republican party was successful. In Oregon a prohibitory liquor amendment to the Constitution was defeated by 12,000 votes. Throughout the country the Labour party showed a declining influence.

Leading American authors met at New York in November and signed a petition to the United States Senate, urging the adoption of an international copyright law. In December a large number of New England authors met at Boston to further the same object, and in the same month the New York publishers formed an "American Publishers' Copyright League" to co-operate with the authors. All the prominent publishers of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia united in the movement.

The state of parties in Congress at the opening of the first session of the fiftieth Congress, Dec. 5, was as follows: In the Senate: Republicans, 38; Democrats, 37; Readjuster, 1; John J. Ingalls, of Kansas, being President *pro tem*. In the House of Representatives: Democrats, 168; Republicans, 151; Independents, 4; Fusionists, 2; John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky, again being Speaker.

Changes had been made in President Cleveland's Cabinet during the year as follows: Charles S. Fairchild, of New York, became Secretary of the Treasury, in place of Daniel Manning, who had resigned on account of ill-health; Wm. F. Vilas, of Wisconsin, Secretary of the Interior, in place of L. Q. C. Lamar, appointed a justice of the Supreme Court; and Don M. Dickinson, of Michigan, Postmaster-General, in place of W. F. Vilas, transferred to the Interior Department.

On Dec. 6 the President sent to Congress his annual message, which was unusually brief, and referred exclusively to the reduction of the tariff and the surplus revenue. Disapproving of all proposals for the readjustment of the debt or the

adoption of other temporary expedients, he urged that the surplus in the Treasury, amounting to \$55,258,701 in five months ending Dec. 1 should be hereafter kept down by a reduction not of inland taxes but of the tariff on imports. He argued that the labouring classes working in protected manufactures were but a minority, being but 2,623,089 persons out of 17,392,099, according to the last census, employed in all industries, and he opposed the duty on imported wool because the wool-growing farmers were a minority of the farming population. He said that the exaction of more than was required for a careful and economical maintenance of the Government was an indefensible extortion and a culpable betrayal of American fairness and justice. Continuing he said :—

“This wrong produces many evil consequences. The Public Treasury, which should only exist as a conduit for conveying the people's tribute to its legitimate objects of expenditure, becomes the hoarding place for money needlessly withdrawn from trade and the people's use, thus crippling our national energies, suspending the country's development, preventing investment in productive enterprise, threatening financial disturbance, and inviting schemes of public plunder. It will not do to neglect the financial situation because its dangers are not now palpably imminent or apparent. They exist none the less certainly, and we await the unforeseen and unexpected occasion when we shall suddenly be precipitated into them.

“There now exists no clear and undoubted executive power of relief. No outstanding bonds are now payable at the Government option. The Sinking Fund for the current year is already provided for by purchases. It is doubtful whether the present laws authorise the Treasury to purchase bonds at a premium except for the Sinking Fund. If it is deemed wise to lodge in the Secretary of the Treasury authority in the present juncture to purchase bonds it should be plainly vested and provided for, if possible, with such checks and limitations as will define his right and discretion and relieve him from undue responsibility. It must be remembered that bond purchases would involve the payment of a premium which holders might combine to raise unreasonably. The success of the suggested plan for refunding at less interest, the difference between old and new security being paid in cash, and thus relieving the surplus, depends upon the volition of the present bondholders.

“The depositing of Government money in banks throughout the country is exceedingly objectionable, as establishing a too close relationship between the operations of the Treasury and the business of the country, thus fostering an unnatural reliance in private business on the public funds. Such a scheme should at least be only temporary, to meet urgent necessity. Of course it is not to be expected that unnecessary and extravagant appropriation will be made for the purpose of avoiding the accumula-

tion of the excess. The failure of Congress heretofore to provide against the dangers of the financial situation has caused distress and apprehension since your last adjournment, and has taxed to the utmost all authority and expedients within the Executive control. These appear now to be exhausted. If disaster results from the continued inaction of Congress, the responsibility must rest where it belongs. While the present situation demands a remedy, we can only be saved from the like in the future by the removal of the cause.

"The internal revenue and taxes are levied on tobacco and liquors only, and there is nothing fitter to bear the burden without hardship on any portion of the people, but the tariff laws are vicious, unequitable, and illogical, and the source of unnecessary taxation. They ought to be forthwith amended.

"It is unfair to regard the suggestion of reduction as unfriendly to manufactures whose value and importance are appreciated; but if in the present emergency they are asked to surrender something for the public good their patriotism and gratitude for the advantages which they have hitherto enjoyed should lead them to willing co-operation, so also should their enlightened self-interest when reminded that the financial panic and collapse to which the present condition tends does not afford greater protection to manufactures than to other enterprises."

The question of free trade the President said was absolutely irrelevant, and he regarded it as the plain and simple duty of Congress to reduce taxation to the amount requisite for the needs of the Government, and to restore to business and to the country the money accumulated in the Treasury through the perversion of governmental powers. The message was a surprise to the country, and was the subject of universal comment. Democrats were pleased, except the extreme protectionist wing, and considered it a masterpiece of statesmanship, while Republicans saw in it a committal to views which might effect the triumph of their own party at the next presidential election.

The annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury showed a surplus of \$55,567,849 for the last fiscal year ending June 30, and he estimated the revenue for the next fiscal year at \$388,000,000, with an estimated expenditure of \$316,817,785, including \$46,817,785 for the Sinking Fund already expended in buying bonds for redemption. He also estimated that under the laws then in operation the surplus in the Treasury, June 30, 1888, would be \$140,000,000.

The percentage value of the imports and exports carried on American vessels during the fiscal year was 18 $\frac{1}{4}$  compared with 15 $\frac{1}{10}$  in the preceding year. On Dec. 18 a Bill "for the regulation and restriction of immigration" was introduced in the Senate by Mr. Morrill, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. This measure gave voice to the growing sentiment of the country, that the United States should no longer be con-

sidered as inviting immigration regardless of the character of the immigrants. According to the census of 1880 the population of foreign birth and parentage was about 15,000,000. Since then it had increased to 19,480,000, or nearly one-third of the entire population. The Bill was intended to regulate immigration by a scheme so moderate as to command general approval.

Strikes were not infrequent throughout the year, and were generally brought on by the interference of the Knights of Labour. One of the most serious of these occurred on Dec. 24 on the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad. Certain men were discharged for declining to move some boycotted goods. New hands were employed, and the Knights of Labour demanded that the discharged men should be reinstated. This the company's officials refused to do. A general strike of all employed in the goods traffic followed, and about 25,000 men were thrown out of employment. The Knights of Labour then ordered the 30,000 colliers employed in the coal pits of the company to join the strikers; but since many of the employés remained loyal, and new and competent men were found to replace the strikers, the company was able to move the traffic without difficulty. This was a serious blow to the Knights of Labour. Referring to these disturbances, Mayor Hewitt, of New York, Dec. 19 made a remarkable speech before the Board of Trade, which attracted much attention. He opposed the Knights of Labour, declaring that their obstruction of public business created an issue more important than those of the tariff or the surplus, and that secret organisations, acting outside of the law, which undertook to stop the work of common carriers, must be put down as guilty of crime worse than burglary or highway robbery.

The settlement of the fisheries dispute between Canada and the United States seemed as far off at the end of the year as ever. On Sept. 29 Wm. L. Putnam, of Maine, and James B. Angell, of Michigan, were appointed by the President as Commissioners to act in conjunction with Secretary Bayard in negotiating with Great Britain for the settlement of this long-continued dispute, the grounds of which were fully explained in the *ANNUAL REGISTER* for 1886. About the middle of November the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, Sir Charles Tupper, and the other members of the British Fisheries Commission arrived in Washington, and a series of meetings, which were held with closed doors, began soon afterwards. The proceedings were to be made public at the end of the labours of the Commission.

As to the general prosperity of the country it advanced during the year in spite of all drawbacks. The supply of grain and breadstuffs was not equal to that of some previous years. Manufactures were not very thriving, the production and profits being smaller than in 1886. The production of cotton and profits were greater than in the previous year, and the iron production was the largest on record. The Director of the American Mints in

his Annual Report in November stated that larger amounts of gold and silver were received at the mints and assay offices during the year than in any year since 1881, the deposits of gold being valued at \$68,223,072, and those of silver at \$47,756,918.

The obituary included Daniel Manning, late Secretary of the Treasury; E. B. Washburne, late Minister to France in General Grant's administration; and Mark Hopkins, an eminent philosopher and divine.

## II. CANADA.

Nothing of great political importance occurred in Canada during the year 1887. The Governor-General, Lord Lansdowne, maintained his popularity despite the attacks levelled against him by certain agitators. The commercial relations between Canada and the United States continued in an unsatisfactory state, the fisheries dispute still giving cause for some anxiety.

The enthusiasm throughout the Dominion on the occasion of the Queen's Jubilee was evidence of unabated loyalty to the British Crown, and proved that little desire exists in Canada for separation from England and annexation to the United States. Yet certain local disagreements took place. A hostile feeling was developed in the province of Manitoba against the Dominion Government and the Canadian Pacific Railway in October, because of their opposition to a rival line, called the Red River Railway, which some Manitoba people desired to be built in order to give them better communication with the larger cities. The Supreme Court of Manitoba decided that the province had no legal right to construct this railway, and therefore work upon it was suspended.

An Inter-provincial Conference was held at Quebec, Oct. 20, which was attended by the Premiers of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Manitoba, with other members of the several provincial legislatures. The Dominion Government declined to send a delegate. Questions of provincial subsidies, of provincial autonomy, and the disallowance of the Manitoban railway scheme were discussed. The following comprised the most important recommendations adopted:—

1. To remove the veto power from the hands of the Federal Executive and vest it in the hands of her Majesty in Council as before the Confederation.

2. The Constitution of the Dominion Senate to be amended in this manner:—That henceforth all vacancies are to be filled by persons selected by the provinces for a limited term of years until the provincial nominees constitute one-half of the Senate; then, the vacancies as they arise to be filled, if among Crown nominees by the Crown, and if among the provincial nominees by the provinces, so that the Senate may consist of one-half of Crown nominees and one-half of provincial nominees.

3. The provinces shall assume control of provincial works and railways which the Dominion Government of late years has taken under its jurisdiction.

4. The Dominion Franchise Act to be abolished, and the provincial franchise and voters' lists to be used in Dominion elections.

5. Provision to be made for the abolition of the Upper Houses in those provinces possessing them.

6. The financial arrangement at present existing between the Dominion and the provinces to be altered.

(The changes proposed would involve an increase of a million and a half of dollars in the provincial subsidies now granted.)

7. That, having regard to the agitation on the subject of the trade relations between the Dominion and the United States, this Conference, consisting of representatives of all political parties, desires to record its opinion that unrestricted reciprocity would be of advantage to all the provinces of the Dominion; that the Conference and all the people it represents cherish fervent loyalty to her Majesty the Queen and warm attachment to the British connection, and are of opinion that a fair measure providing, under proper conditions, for unrestricted reciprocity of trade relations between the Dominion and the United States would not lessen these sentiments, but, on the contrary, serve to increase them, and at the same time, in connection with the fisheries dispute, tend to happily settle the grave difficulties which have from time to time arisen between the mother country and the United States.

At a meeting held in Montreal (Nov. 22) Hon. J. A. Chapleau, the Dominion Secretary of State, referring to the action of the Quebec conference of provincial Premiers, said that their principal object had been to extort large subsidies from the Federal Treasury by unconstitutional means, and that the Home Government could not grant such changes without the consent of the Canadian Federal Government. He also strongly condemned commercial union with the United States, which, he said, simply meant annexation. The lamb might lie down with the lion, but the lion would swallow the lamb. The whole scheme, he declared, was impracticable, and would never be endorsed by the people.

The Dominion Government arranged in October for the transportation of the mails by the new route between Great Britain and Japan over the Canadian Pacific Railway, Vancouver being made the point of distribution for foreign mails coming eastward.

### III. MEXICO.

The foreign relations of Mexico with other countries during the year 1887 have continued to be satisfactory.

A Postal Convention was concluded with the United States

Government in June, but the Treaty of Commerce concluded with France in the previous year was not ratified.

As regards internal politics the chief event of the year was the modification of the Constitution, permitting the re-election of President for two consecutive terms. The effect of this measure has been very reassuring, not only to the great mass of the Mexican public, of whatever politics, but especially also to foreigners interested in Mexico. The firm and judicious manner in which President Diaz has governed the country, and the success which has attended his efforts to extricate it from the financial embarrassment in which it was plunged when he assumed the reins of power, have given rise to a general feeling, both at home and abroad, that any change in the head of the Executive, for the present at least, could scarcely fail to be for the worse, and that the reforms initiated by the present administration should be given time to be consolidated on a firm basis before the government is entrusted to a new and untried man. It may be here mentioned that the re-election of President Diaz is a foregone conclusion, the above measure having been passed only in order to make his candidature constitutional.

In the department of finance the Government of Mexico has just cause for self-congratulation in the satisfactory settlement of some of the most difficult questions it had pending.

The conversion of the London debt has been definitely effected, the bondholders agreeing to accept the sliding scale of interest proposed by the Mexican Government in 1885, and the conversion of the old arrears of interest into new bonds at the rate of 15 % of their face value. The new bonds are now quoted on the London Stock Exchange, and the price at which they were selling at the end of the year (about 89½) shows the estimation in which Mexican Government securities are beginning to be held. Moreover the bonds of the Interior Debt, payable in Mexico and in Mexican silver dollars, have also found a ready sale on the London market at fair prices. The bonds issued in virtue of the Diplomatic Convention of 1851 between Great Britain and Mexico, popularly known as the British Convention, have also been converted, and on very favourable terms. It will be remembered that this debt formed one of the principal obstacles to the renewal of diplomatic relations between the two countries, the Mexican Government absolutely declining to recognise the right of H.M.'s Government to intervene diplomatically in the interests of the bondholders, and asserting that the Convention had been broken by England's recognition of the government of Maximilian. The difficulty was eventually overcome by the Mexican Government promising to make an equitable settlement with the bondholders direct, and the present conversion has been the result. The amount of this debt outstanding in 1887 was about 2,900,000*l.*, with 19 years' arrears of interest at 4 %, for which 3 % bonds payable in London have been given in exchange, to the nominal



value of 870,000*l.* sterling, equivalent in Mexican dollars to nearly \$5,510,000, or approximately \$189 in new bonds for each \$100 of the original bonds, with their arrears of interest.

At the close of the year negotiations were in progress with the German firm of Bleichroder for a new loan to the Mexican Government, the proceeds of which were to be devoted, partly to buying in the London 3 per cent. debt at 40, as authorised by the contract of conversion of June 23, 1886, and partly to paying off some of the floating debts of the Government, the interest of which weighs very heavily on the Treasury. Though nothing has as yet been published officially on the subject, it is said that the new loan, if carried through, is to be for 10,500,000*l.*, and to bear 6 per cent. interest: 6,600,000*l.* of this amount is to be devoted to converting the London debt, the price of issue being 86½, while the remainder, which will be given in cash to the Government, will be issued at 70.

In the department of Public Works there has been a considerable renewal of activity during the past year.

On the Mexican Central Railway the work of constructing the branch lines to Guadalajara and Tampico has been carried on with energy, and it seemed probable that the former would be completed early in the ensuing spring.

The Huntingdon Railway, joining the Central at Lerdo and connecting it with the Texas railway system at Eagle Pass, was completed, but was not opened for traffic at the close of the year. By this route the distance from the city of Mexico to New York is shortened by nearly 400 miles.

The arrangement mentioned in last year's review, by which it was expected that money would be forthcoming for completing the national railway, has been concluded, the shareholders having agreed to an amicable foreclosure of their mortgage by the bondholders. The contract for the completion of the gap between the northern and southern ends of the line was given to Messrs. Hanson, of Laredo, and the work of construction is being pushed with great activity from both ends. It is confidently expected that the line will be opened through for traffic by the end of 1888.

The concession granted to a French company in 1884 for the construction of port works at Vera Cruz having lapsed, a new contract was made with some Mexican capitalists in June, and work has since been pushed forward without intermission.

The works connected with the drainage of the valley of Mexico are in progress, and a contract has been given to an American company for excavating a part of the canal which is to connect them with the tunnel.

There was a decided improvement in commerce during the year, due partly to the more liberal customs tariff which came into force in July, and partly to the notable increase in mining and agricultural enterprise.

The social event of the year was a large ball given to the

President in the early part of November in the magnificent reception rooms of the National Palace, being the first which had been given there since the days of the Empire.

#### IV. CENTRAL AMERICA.

*Panama Canal.*—The position and progress of this undertaking were alike the subject of the most opposite assertions. It seems, however, beyond dispute that the section of the Canal from Colon to Bohio (twelve miles) is actually cut, and it was asserted that that from Bohio to Matachin would be completed in 1890. The section from Matachin to Paraiso, including the cut of Culebra, was entrusted to M. Eiffel (the constructor of the tower in Paris), who undertook to hand it over with its temporary locks in Feb. 1890, whilst the section between Paraiso and Rio Grande was to be terminated in June of the same year. M. de Lesseps, who had always opposed the system of permanent locks, submitted the question in June to the Paris Academy of Sciences, and M. de la Grye, a high authority in such matters, reported that it would be quite useless to construct locks, and that no difference of level could exist between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. In July the Panama Canal Company issued a new series of 500,000 bonds at 440 frs. The expenditure for 1885–86 was 144,311,118 frs., and that added to previous expenditure gave a total cost of 601,726,410 frs. Later on came the announcement that the Canal would not be entirely completed by Feb. 1890, but that the passage would be free for the transit of twenty ships daily. This was followed in November by the refusal of the French Government to submit to the Chambers a Bill authorising the directors to issue lottery bonds. M. de Lesseps thereupon declared publicly that it was absolutely necessary to procure on reasonable terms funds for the completion of the gigantic work, and that the permission to issue lottery bonds seemed to him the most feasible plan. The Canal was already burdened with an annual payment of 74,000,000 frs. for interest, and if this could not be reduced to 50,000,000 frs. by the issue of a lottery loan, the Canal would receive its death-blow. Nor were the material obstacles less serious than the financial difficulties which hampered M. de Lesseps' scheme. Competent authorities declared that the quantity of rock and earth still to be removed had been considerably underestimated, and that the greater problems of construction were as yet unsolved. The works on the Chagres river, which were scarcely commenced, involved the construction of a dam 1,312 yards long, 470 wide, and 49 high, whilst in the Culebra section hills, which are 339 feet above the sea-level, were to be pierced, and two-thirds of the enormous mass of material thrown into Panama Bay, as the valley of Paraiso could only take one-third.

*Nicaragua.*—The rival canal scheme, patronised by the United States, made but slight progress during the year. A Nicaraguan Canal Construction Company certainly was organised, with a capital of \$12,000,000, and Congress moreover ratified in April a contract with Mr. Menocal for the construction of the canal, whilst in July \$100,000 in gold was lodged with the Government as a deposit to be forfeited in case of breach of contract. In November 40 engineers and 110 labourers left New York to begin the surveys for the proposed canal, but no actual work was commenced. The cost of the canal was estimated at \$50,000,000, and it was said that the works might be finished in six years. Later in the year a dispute arose between Nicaragua and Costa Rica regarding riparian rights on the Rio San Juan, that republic insisting that it had jurisdiction over a portion of the proposed overland waterway route, and the question was referred to the President of the United States for arbitration.

*British Honduras.*—The British troops stationed at Orange Walk were withdrawn during the summer, and it was intended that those at Belize and Corozal should be replaced by an armed constabulary so soon as this force, which was being formed for the defence of the colony, as well as an internal police, was completely organized. In September an Order in Council was issued, directing that the current coins of Great Britain should cease to be legal tender in British Honduras, and that the standard of value in that colony should in future be the Guatemala dollar.

*Guatemala.*—At the end of August the Government issued a decree providing for the unification and consolidation of the National Debt. In October ex-Vice-President Castinada, objecting to General Barrilas' assumption of the dictatorship of Guatemala, headed a revolution which was supported by the chief families of the republic. The Government, however, promptly quelled the revolt, and the leaders and four others were shot, by sentence of a court-martial.

*San Salvador.*—Early in September a revolutionary force under Bahona surprised and took possession of Port la Union, the Government having been betrayed by a sergeant and an officer. A force of 1,000 troops left the capital under the command of General Amaya, and soon suppressed the rebels, though there were several killed on both sides. Bahona, the rebel leader, was among the wounded.

#### V. WEST INDIES.

*Hayti.*—The treatment of British subjects by the Haytians came prominently before the public, especially with reference to the case of a Mr. Coles, who in 1885 was imprisoned on a charge of robbery of bonds from the Bank of Hayti, in which he was employed. It was suspected that the Haytian officials were well aware of Mr. Coles' innocence, and had only accused him and three other foreigners in order to shield the really guilty parties.

After a long detention Mr. Coles was tried before a jury mainly composed of prejudiced officials, who, nevertheless, decided to acquit him, and returned a verdict to that effect. Upon the intimation, however, that the Government would not permit its employes to take bribes and then refuse to do the work for which they were paid, the jury reversed their former decision and found Mr. Coles guilty. He was sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment, and had served some ten months of that period in the horrible atmosphere of a Haytian gaol, when Lord Rosebery sent a man-of-war to demand his release. To this peremptory summons the Haytian Government, after slight demur, assented, and Mr. Coles was released; but the Foreign Office was unable to claim compensation for his having been put "upon his trial."

*Trinidad and Tobago.*—There was considerable distress in both these islands, and it was consequently thought desirable to reduce public expenditure. To attain this object the union of the two colonies was proposed, and having been assented to by the legislative bodies of both islands, a statute was passed enabling the Queen in Council to declare the two colonies to be united and to form one colony. The population of Trinidad is about 172,000, and that of Tobago rather under 20,000, and it was the smaller island which initiated the proposed union.

*West Indies.*—The following figures are for the year 1886, and are taken from the Governors' Official Reports, published during this year:—

|                                     | Revenue.<br>£ | Expenditure.<br>£ |
|-------------------------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Antigua . . . . .                   | 47,451        | 41,055            |
| Bahamas . . . . .                   | 43,920        | 44,629            |
| Barbados . . . . .                  | 136,286       | 136,628           |
| Bermuda . . . . .                   | 30,518        | 28,432            |
| British Guiana . . . . .            | 446,026       | 476,964           |
| Dominica . . . . .                  | 15,238        | 15,642            |
| Grenada . . . . .                   | 43,143        | 44,900            |
| Jamaica . . . . .                   | 511,358       | 503,111           |
| Montserrat . . . . .                | 5,023         | 5,669             |
| St. Lucia . . . . .                 | 39,823        | 44,114            |
| St. Vincent . . . . .               | 28,273        | 31,316            |
| Tobago . . . . .                    | 8,813         | 9,529             |
| Trinidad . . . . .                  | 453,407       | 443,503           |
| Turk's and Caicos Islands . . . . . | 10,411        | 8,265             |

## VI. SOUTH AMERICA—BRAZIL—ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

*Brazil.*—The emancipation of the slaves throughout this vast empire has been sensibly accelerated during the year by voluntary acts of manumission; some disturbances, it is true, occurred in the province of San Paulo, but their significance was due to local causes. As a rule, the transition is taking place gradually, and in some parts of the country slavery is already practically extinct, even the planters having ceased to regard its abolition as fraught with ruin to themselves and disaster to the Empire. The

Budget for 1887-88 showed the estimated revenue to be quite equal to the ordinary expenditure, yet sanction was given for a supplementary credit of 6,800,000 milreis, declared to be "requisite to meet certain urgent and imperative expenses incurred during the fiscal year 1885-86." The new tariff superseding that of 1879 came into operation (July 1), and affected no less than 1,104 articles. In the case of manufactured goods the duties were variously raised from 3 to 15 per cent., the heaviest duties being imposed on all articles of luxury and personal ornament. The surtax of 50 per cent., which formed an important feature of the tariff of 1879, was increased to 60 per cent., and has been incorporated with the new rates. So that Brazil has now thrown in her lot with the Protectionist Governments of the eastern and western hemispheres. The session of the Legislative Assembly was prorogued (Oct. 15) in the presence of the Princess Imperial, who represented her absent father. The state of the Emperor's health, which for some time had given reason for anxiety, became so much worse that his physicians had insisted that for a time he should withdraw from an active share in public affairs. In compliance with their wishes he also visited Europe, and at the close of the year was about to return home, his health greatly restored. The credit of the country continued good, the prices of all Government stocks having risen steadily during the year. Immigration was steadily increasing from all countries, but the majority of European settlers came from Italy.

*Argentine Republic.*—Notwithstanding an outbreak of cholera, which seriously interfered with trade, the general development of the Republic has been rapidly progressing. Numerous concessions have been granted by the Government for the construction of railways in all parts of the country, the national guarantee having been given for the payment of interest on an aggregate capital of 37,500,000*l.*, to be expended on the construction of a railway system of 4,700 miles. The utility of many of these lines is not apparent, and it is probable that not more than one in four will be carried into execution within the periods fixed by the concessions. The year, moreover, has been signalised by a new departure in railway policy, viz. the sale of State lines to private owners. This important change was inaugurated by the transfer of a portion of the Andine railway to certain contractors, who formed the Argentine Great Western Railway Company for its purchase. The credit of the Republic remained very satisfactory, the prices for the National Sterling Stocks showing a distinct advance. President Celman, nevertheless, announced that in future he would refuse to authorise any expenditure that could not be met out of the ordinary revenue. The Legislature further sanctioned a free banking law, which is likely to exercise a powerful influence on the future of the country. The important works of the Madero Harbour were taken in hand and steadily pushed forward during the year, whilst in view of the frequently recurring

epidemics the sanitary condition in the capital was a matter of serious legislative consideration. The flow of immigration showed no signs of falling off, no less than 188,000 persons having arrived at Buenos Ayres during the year, Italians being in a large majority.

#### VII. PERU—CHILI—VENEZUELA.

*Peru.*—This Republic is beginning to recover from the disastrous effects of the war with Chili, but the progress naturally is very slow. The chief topic of interest during the year has been the proposals made by Messrs. Grace & Co. for rehabilitating the country by means of a great financial corporation in Europe, to be styled the Peruvian Trust Company, with a capital of 15,000,000*l.* A contract, generally known as the "Grace-Aranibar Contract," for raising the money was entered into between Dr. Aranibar on behalf of the Government, Sir Henry Tyler on behalf of the bondholders, and Messrs. Grace and Ollard on behalf of the contractors. When, however, the Peruvian Congress met in August the contract was so strongly opposed, both by Chili and a section of the Peruvians themselves, that the Ministry resigned. President Caceres turned in vain for help to the various party leaders for assistance. A new Cabinet was formed, only to be defeated a few days later, and by degrees it was brought home to the politicians of the country that it was hopeless to carry the "Grace-Aranibar Contract" in the face of the opposition of Chili. In the hope of attaining this result the Peruvian Bondholders' Committee invoked the aid of the British Foreign Office to represent their case to the Chilian Government, and when the year closed it was believed that negotiations were taking place. The import duties have in the meantime been raised 5 per cent. *ad valorem*, the increase of revenue thus obtained being applied to the amortization of the paper currency.

*Chili.*—The year has been one of prosperity, except for the epidemic of cholera, which visited the country for the first time. Its ravages were confined almost entirely to the central and southern provinces; but in other parts the mortality rose to an alarming height. Apart from the losses caused by cholera and the rigid quarantine regulations, trade has done well, and the paper dollar rose from 23½*d.* at the beginning of the year to 26½*d.* at the close, due in a great measure to the improved condition of the mineral market. The long looked-for rise in the value of copper had come at last, the price of the ore rising from 89*l.* to 89*l.* per ton, and causing many mines in North Chili which had been abandoned to be re-opened. Discoveries of rich gold and silver mines were also made during the year, and there has been a remarkable increase in the production of manganese ore, many thousand tons having been exported from the provinces of Coquimbo and Antofogasta. In August the Government presented to the Senate a project of law for the con-

struction of nearly 600 miles of railway, at an approximate cost of 3,250,000*l.*, which was to be raised by means of an external loan carrying  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. interest and  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. sinking fund. The Senate, in approving the measure, limited the outlay for the first year to 800,000*l.*, for the second to 700,000*l.*, and for each subsequent year to 500,000*l.*, the President being authorised to negotiate abroad a loan of 3,000,000*l.* The financial position of the republic remained satisfactory, and although its debt has increased recently, its resources have also developed. The revenue during the first seven months of the year was \$21,200,000, and the expenditure \$20,110,800, the External Public Debt being about \$40,000,000. The revenue for 1888 is calculated at \$39,000,000, and the expenditure at \$39,615,770. The population in 1885 was returned as 2,524,476. For some years past British trade has been steadily declining in this and other South American countries, whilst German enterprise has been rapidly advancing.

*Venezuela.*—The year has been one of peace and progress, though marked by a dispute with Great Britain respecting the line of demarcation between the republic and British Guiana. No amicable solution of the difficulty could be arrived at, and in February diplomatic relations were broken off. The British Government issued a proclamation later on, whereby possession was formally claimed of a large portion of the area in dispute, but no settlement had been arrived at when the year closed. The Government of the United States offered its good offices to promote a settlement, but the attitude taken up by General Blanco precluded the Government of Great Britain from assenting to arbitration by any third Power. General Blanco, who was unanimously elected President in 1886, quitted the country in September for an indefinite period, leaving General Lopez in charge of the Executive.

The claims made by the British Government for compensation in respect of the illegal seizure in May 1883 of the trading vessels "Henrietta" and "Josephine" still remained unsatisfied when the year closed, and other cases of ill-treatment of British subjects occurred during the year. In January Chambers, a professional diver, on his way to Colon with his wife, landed at La Guayra to find employment, and was arrested the same day by special order of the President, who, eight days later, sent him to St. Thomas'. In July the "Envieuse," a lighter belonging to a Trinidad merchant, was seized because from the strength of the current she had drifted within Venezuelan waters and anchored there for the turn of the tide. The vessel was condemned and her captain sent to prison for three months, and up to the close of the year all claims for compensation or redress were ignored.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## AUSTRALASIA.

I. AUSTRALIA.—Early in the year public interest was centred in the Conference sitting in London to discuss the various subjects in which both countries were so deeply concerned. It was the first occasion in which delegates from the colonial possessions of the British Crown had met officially, commissioned to make known the wants and interests they severally represented. Immediate legislation was not anticipated, for they were expected to occupy themselves primarily with the vital question of colonial defence. After lengthy discussion it was finally arranged (May 6) to increase the Australasian squadron for the protection of the shipping interest. The Home Government undertook to provide five fast cruisers and two torpedo gunboats for the exclusive use of the colonies, whilst they in return agreed to pay a sum of 91,000*l.* a year for their maintenance and five per cent. on the initial cost of the ships. This interest was estimated at 35,000*l.* a year, so that the Australasian colonies made themselves responsible for about 126,000*l.* a year for the insurance of their trade and possessions. A desire was also expressed for the transfer of a certain number of English officers, active or retired, for service with the colonial forces. An officer of high rank was also to be sent out as Inspector-General of Australian troops, and Military Adviser to the various Governors. Before the close of the year all the Australian Parliaments, with the exception of that of Queensland, had passed their Naval Defence Bills, and it was expected that the Colonial Governments would shortly request the Home Government to proceed to the construction of Australian war-vessels in fulfilment of its part of the contract.

Before quitting the subject of naval assistance and co-operation, it may be mentioned that Sir G. Berry, acting on behalf of the Australian colonies, represented to the Home Government the desirability of a preliminary Antarctic reconnaissance, to which they would contribute 5,000*l.*, on condition that the mother country would contribute a like sum. The object of the expedition was to make a preliminary cruise round the fringe of the Antarctic ice-wall, with a view to pave the way for a more serious attempt later on. The request of the Australians was strongly supported by the Colonial Office as well as by the Royal and the Royal Geographical Societies; but the Treasury refused on the ground that the department best able to judge of the commercial value of such an expedition did not think the interests involved sufficient to justify the proposed imperial contribution. The Australians themselves did not evince any great enthusiasm for



the scheme, and the sum proposed was regarded as wholly inadequate to carry such an expedition to any practical result.

The close of the year found the French still in the occupation of the New Hebrides, in spite of the assurances of the French Government that there was no intention of prolonging the stay of its troops. The feeling roused during the year throughout Australasia by the dilatoriness of the French Government was very strong, and found much sympathy in England, and it was intensified by occasional announcements of the despatch of further batches of convicts to New Caledonia and the persecution by the French of the Presbyterian missions. A convention was, however, eventually agreed on between the British and French Governments, and was signed on Nov. 16, by which a joint Naval Commission was to be forthwith constituted, composed of British and French naval officers on the Pacific station, who would be charged with the duty of maintaining order and of protecting the lives and property of British subjects and French citizens in the New Hebrides. The regulations for the guidance of the Commission were to be drawn up by the two Governments, approved by them, and transmitted to the commanders of the British and French ships on the Pacific station. This was to be followed by the withdrawal of the French troops from the New Hebrides (within four months or sooner), and then the British Government would abrogate the declaration of June 17, 1847, relative to the islands to the leeward of Tahiti.

*New South Wales.*—The year began early with important parliamentary changes. Recent differences between Sir Patrick Jennings, the Premier, and Mr. Dibbs, the Colonial Treasurer, arising out of certain statements in connection with the financial deficit of 1880, rendered it expedient that the latter should resign. This he declined to do, whereupon Sir P. Jennings tendered (Jan. 11) the resignation of the whole Ministry. This was accepted by the Governor, Lord Carrington, and a new Cabinet was formed, with Sir Henry Parkes as Premier and Mr. Burns as Colonial Treasurer. Parliament, having been formally opened (Jan. 18), was a week later dissolved by the Governor on the advice of the new Premier. Sir H. Parkes, when explaining his policy in the Legislative Assembly, declared that the Ministry were deadly enemies to Protection and would plant the flag of Free Trade upon every hustings, and that on this point they would accept no compromise. In view, too, of the disorganised state of the finances of the colony, they would endeavour to obtain a larger revenue from the Crown lands by the better management of public railways and by retrenchment in the Civil Service, and they expressed their readiness in case of necessity to resort to an equitable property tax. At the general election which followed, Sir H. Parkes was returned unopposed, and the other Ministers secured large majorities. Altogether 83 declared Free Traders were elected, as against 41 Protectionists.

On the assembling of the new Parliament (March 8) Mr. Young, the Ministerial candidate, was chosen Speaker of the Legislative Assembly by 63 votes against 49 obtained by Mr. Dibbs. The Governor, in his message to Parliament, briefly remarked that the session would be probably of short duration, and would deal with financial matters pertaining strictly to the year 1886. Bills were also to be introduced to establish a customs tariff and to give effect to the emphatic verdict of the colony in favour of the principle of Free Trade and for the better working of railways. The Government introduced (March 30) a Bill for protecting the country from the influx of foreign criminals whose sentences had expired. Amongst its clauses it provided that persons harbouring such criminals would be liable to twelve months' imprisonment, and any ship landing them would be forfeited, and the master liable to five years' penal servitude. On the same day the Treasurer presented the financial statement of the Cabinet. He announced that the Customs Act of the previous session was to be repealed, and that the new tariff would be limited to twenty-four articles selected for revenue purposes only—that the *ad valorem* and all other duties would expire on Sept. 30. The new duties included a higher rate on spirits and an excise duty on colonial beer. The Treasurer expected the improved revenue would give him at the close of the year (1887) a surplus of 800,000*l.* The deficit which had been allowed to grow up under former Governments, and was ascertained to be over 2,600,000*l.*, would be separated from the current transactions of the country and set apart to be paid off by savings within eight years. No other measures of new taxation would be proposed, and the Government had no intention of going to the British money market for any fresh loan during the year. The Treasurer's anticipations were so far realised that the revenue for the year to June 30 amounted to 7,567,000*l.*, showing an increase of 416,670*l.* The Railway Administration Bill (April 18), another Government measure, provided for the appointment of three commissioners, who were to supervise and regulate the administration of the railways of the colony. When Parliament was prorogued (July 13) by the Governor, he was able to congratulate the country on the steady improvement of the public revenue, and in enumerating the work of the session he referred to the passing of a Bill for the appropriation of 200,000*l.* for the formation of a central park and for the erection of a State house to commemorate the approaching centenary of the foundation of the colony. The idea of the promoters was to turn the upper portion of the city water reserve (which now that water was obtained from the "Nepean" was no longer required for its original purpose) into a park, and on the most commanding site in it to erect a State house, where all national celebrations would take place, and which would be at the same time a museum for all national curiosities and records, as well as a

pantheon for the ashes of the illustrious dead. Although this project, which was due to Sir H. Parkes, was supported by large majorities in both Houses, it was looked upon with little favour by the public, who regarded it as unreal and a waste of money when the capital was badly in want of new Parliament Houses, new Court Houses, and other public buildings. The committee appointed to examine the various designs sent in reported that those which were satisfactory would cost half a million, whilst the cheaper would be of no credit to the colony. The Premier, unwilling to abandon his project, proposed to refer the rejected designs to another committee, but the general feeling was that the idea had better be postponed, as nothing really grand in granite or marble could be built for the sum voted. Amongst the other legislative acts of the year was a Bill for the payment of members, which, however, was rejected in the Upper House by 30 votes to 9. Sir A. Stephen, Lieutenant-Governor and ex-Chief Justice, also succeeded in passing through the Legislature a Bill for extending the law of divorce, but, in compliance with the practice usual in dealing with Bills relating to religion, it had to receive Her Majesty's assent before becoming law. The Bill stated that it was desirable in the interests of society, and for the relief of unoffending married persons, to extend the provisions of the law of divorce to certain cases of desertion, cruelty, drunkenness, and of conviction for crime, in which the objects of marriage were, by the conduct of the offending party, as much defeated as in the case of adultery. On the reassembling of Parliament (Sept. 20), the Governor announced that the two principal measures of the session would be the establishment of local government and the amendment of the Land Bills. The latter would afford greater facilities for the acquisition of freehold houses by the humbler classes, and would deal equitably with the claims of pastoral tenants. He also stated that the public revenue continued to be well sustained, and that the prospects of the colony were full of hope and encouragement. He further announced that Parliament would be asked to sanction the agreement made at the Colonial Conference to improve the naval defences of the colony, and that material changes in the military organization would be submitted. Mr. Burns, Colonial Treasurer, in bringing forward (Dec. 1) his Budget, announced that the revenue for 1887 amounted to 8,458,000*l.*, and the expenditure to 8,614,000*l.*, the latter including 929,000*l.* for extraordinary services, such as the unexpected expenditure on roads and other public works in consequence of the recent wet seasons. Another sum of 345,000*l.*, being the amount payable by tenants of Crown lands in the current year, would be carried forward to the following year in consequence of the recent legislation postponing the date of payment. He estimated the charges in 1888, including 150,000*l.* for the cost of the Centennial Park, at 8,500,000*l.* To meet this expenditure, he proposed to

levy a tax on unimproved land of one halfpenny in the £, and another of like amount on the capital and reserve funds of all financial institutions, both imposts to commence from July 1. He also proposed to abolish the duties on bacon, hams, butter, and cheese, and to reduce the timber duties from March 1, 1888. The Government intended to meet the immediate deficit by the issue of Treasury Bills in the colony, to be used at discretion. A Bill for changing the name of the colony to "Australia," introduced (Nov. 23) in the Legislative Assembly, was carried by a majority of 40 votes, although the press generally condemned the proposal, and it was commonly ridiculed. The Premier of Victoria protested on behalf of his own colony as well as in the name of Queensland and South Australia against the change, and the Governments of Tasmania and Western Australia subsequently expressed their concurrence in the protest. Sir Henry Parkes stated in reply that it was impossible for a colony with a century of honourable record to take a brand-new name, and it was therefore compelled to reassume the title of "Australia." No further steps were, however, taken as to the adoption of the name, and it was generally believed that the Premier would withdraw his motion.

A more serious matter, however, was the determined resistance to the Naval Defences Bill by a small minority in the Legislative Assembly. The opposition was in a great measure a personal one, for the Premier had been present and taken part in the Colonial Conference in London, where "the most valuable decision"—so wrote the Secretary of State—"arrived at by it was that relating to the increase of the Australian squadron for the protection of the floating trade." Moreover Mr. Dibbs, the nominal leader of the Opposition, warmly supported the measure, and the general feeling of the country was in its favour. "Stonewalling" tactics, however, were resorted to by a small minority, and a deadlock was imminent, until at 4 A.M. (Dec. 1) the Government succeeded in breaking down the opposition and passing the Bill through committee without amendment. The session was further marked by several exciting incidents. In a debate in the Legislative Assembly raised by Mr. Dibbs (Dec. 13) censuring the Budget, the House sat throughout the night. After the discussion had lasted for a considerable time, a motion to apply the closure was brought forward, and provoked the most disorderly scenes, the authority of the Chair being set at defiance. Finally fourteen members, including the most prominent of the Opposition, were named and removed from the House. On the following day (Dec. 15) another "scene" took place, in the course of which one member used gross language and threatened personal violence to another member, who only brought the disturbance to a close by quitting the House.

Owing to the disloyal feeling displayed by a limited section of

the public at meetings called by the Mayor in connection with the proposals for celebrating Queen Victoria's Jubilee, a mass meeting of more than 20,000 persons, representing all classes of the community, was held at Sydney (June 15), the first resolution being moved by the Premier and received with enthusiasm. Special services were held in all the churches on Sunday (June 19), whilst the two following days were observed as general holidays. The illuminations were on a brilliant and extensive scale; the harbour was splendidly illuminated, and there was a grand display of fireworks under the direction of the Government.

The rabbit problem, notwithstanding an expenditure of 100,000*l.* by Government, remained unsolved. The opinion among squatters is that nothing but fencing with wire-netting, sunk a foot in the ground and turned outwards, will prove efficacious. Rabbits have been destroyed in enormous numbers, yet no headway has been made against them. This is accounted for (1) by their swarming across the border from South Australia, where no vigorous efforts are made to keep them down; (2) by killing more bucks than does, the buck being the greatest enemy to the rabbit, as he feeds upon his own offspring; and (3) by there being 2,000 "rabbiterers," who find their profit in the preservation of these destructive animals. All ordinary remedies, such as guns, traps, nets, &c. having proved ineffectual or insufficient, the Government at length offered a prize of 25,000*l.* for a satisfactory specific. In response to this offer M. Pasteur, of Paris, proposed as a means of destroying the rabbits the introduction of hen-cholera, which being contagious would spread rapidly. He offered to prepare a solution containing the fatal microbes, which being sprinkled over the rabbits' food would convey the disease, and thus the rabbits would spread on all sides with satisfactory results. Hen-cholera was said to be not injurious to any domestic animals except poultry, which are not often met with in the open country. Sentiment, however, was strong against the adoption of such a remedy until the further expedient of introducing and encouraging the natural enemies of the rabbits, such as weasels, stoats, foxes, and rats, had been tried and failed.

In the far west valuable silver mines were discovered near the border of South Australia. Of these one mine, the "Broken Hill Proprietary," has taken the lead in productiveness. The company started, in the first instance, with a capital of 16,000*l.* in 1*l.* shares, which before the end of the year were selling at 160*l.* each. Only a portion of the property has been explored, but experts have declared that there is already in sight ore to the value of 15,000,000*l.*

*Victoria.*—The financial and commercial position of the colony was most satisfactory when the year opened, the revenue returns for the close of 1886 foreshadowing a favourable prospect. The wheat crop was harvested by Jan. 7, and the grain

was in excellent condition, the yield being computed at 12,000,000 bushels, or an average of 12 bushels per acre. The excess available for export was expected to be about 140,000 tons, a quantity greatly in excess of the previous year.

The Governor (Sir H. Loch), when opening Parliament (June 7), announced that the defences of the colony would shortly be such as to defy attack on the part of any foreign Power, and he expressed the belief that the firmness displayed by the Colonial Delegates in regard to the New Hebrides controversy would have great weight with the Imperial Government in the settlement of the question.

The Premier and Treasurer (Hon. D. Gillies), in making his Budget statement in the Legislative Assembly (July 26), congratulated the colony on the satisfactory state of its finances, and stated that the revenue of the last financial year amounted to 6,733,000*l.*, the opening and closing balances having been 431,000*l.* and 499,000*l.* respectively. He estimated the revenue for the coming year at 6,906,000*l.*, and the expenditure at 7,444,000*l.* To meet this deficiency he announced that the Government proposed to raise the duty on imported cane-sugar to 3*s.* 6*d.* per cwt., and that on beet sugar to 6*s.* per cwt., and that the duties on dressed timber would also be increased.

In the course of the session the Juvenile Offenders Law Amendment Bill was read a second time without opposition. Its object was to permit the courts, when dealing with juvenile offenders under 21 years of age, to release them on recognisances on a first conviction on condition that if convicted a second time they might be punished for the first offence—a system said to have worked well in America. The debates on the tariff question were prolonged and heated, turning chiefly upon what articles should be protected or free. At length Mr. Woods, an ardent Protectionist, proposed and carried *nem. con.* a resolution to the effect that it was desirable that there should be free trade throughout the Australian colonies and protection against the rest of the world. A logical consequence of this resolution was seen in the subsequent discussion of the Chinese question, which assumed an importance embarrassing to politicians. The poll-tax on Chinese had been for many years 10*l.* on their arrival in the colony, but now repeated deputations waited on Ministers calling on them to introduce more stringent measures for the exclusion of the "Yellow Men." Once landed, it was asserted there was no form of industry which they did not pursue, working more hours and for less wages than white labourers, living on 4*s.* 6*d.* a week, while all European-born workmen spent 30*s.* The desire expressed in some quarters was that the poll-tax should be raised to 100*l.*, and that every Chinaman should pay 10*l.* a year so long as he remained in the colony. No definite solution of the difficulty was found before the end of the year, but the general drift of

public opinion was against the constant flow of cheap labour into the colony.

The Naval Force Bill, giving effect to the decision of the Colonial Conference on the question of colonial naval defences, was unanimously passed through all its stages and sent up at once to the Legislative Council, where, the standing orders having been suspended, the Governor was able to telegraph the same day (Nov. 24) to the Secretary of State for the Colonies that he had given the Royal Assent to the measure. The closing weeks of the session were marked by undignified wrangles and protracted sittings in the Assembly. A compromise was eventually arrived at, by which local option was assented to by the "publican" party, in consideration of their receiving compensation, to be settled by arbitrators, in cases where licences were withdrawn in the interest of the public, and in this form the Liquor Bill ultimately passed by large majorities. The development of the gold-mining industry during the year was marked by many important discoveries. In addition to the famous Lady Loch nugget found at Ballarat (Aug. 3), the deep reef at Bendigo gave satisfactory results. Several mines were profitably engaged, working lodes at very deep levels, as "the Victory and Pandora" mine, of which the shaft was more than 2,100 feet below the surface, while that of the Magdala mine at Stawell was working at even a greater depth.

*Queensland* (including *New Guinea*).—On opening Parliament (July 19) the Governor (Sir A. Musgrave) announced that its sanction would be asked to the agreement entered into for providing additional naval defences, and he also promised that a Bill should be introduced for regulating the Government of New Guinea, and that measures would be taken for the removal of the reasonable grievances of Northern Queensland. Notwithstanding the disappointing results of the previous year, the Premier (Sir S. Griffith) in his financial statement (Aug. 11) anticipated a deficit of not more than 60,000*l.* for the ensuing year. This he proposed to meet by a land tax of 1*d.* in the *£* upon its unimproved value above 5,000*l.*, estimating from this source 100,000*l.* during the first year. This was a sanguine forecast in face of the fact that the receipts for the past financial year had been 2,870,000*l.*, or 61,000*l.* less than the previous year, and the expenditure 3,268,000*l.*, or 173,000*l.* more than in the previous year. It was therefore not surprising that Mr. Morehead, the leader of the Opposition, should have moved (Aug. 26) an amendment to the Budget proposals, which was tantamount to a vote of want of confidence. The amendment, however, was negatived by 29 votes to 21, and the land tax resolution was subsequently adopted by 24 votes to 5. Nevertheless before the close of the session the Premier was obliged to admit that there would probably be a deficit of at least 88,000*l.*, which he attributed to the supplementary estimates, amounting to 100,000*l.*,

of which the greater portion was required for a rabbit fence on the New South Wales border. To meet this the Government proposed to issue Treasury Bills repayable at intervals during four years. The delay in presenting to Parliament the Bill to regulate the government of New Guinea was caused by the New South Wales Government failing to signify its approval of the amended proposals. No reply having been received by the middle of October, the Bill was introduced into the Queensland Parliament and read a third time (Oct. 20), and received the Governor's assent the following month. Its principal aim was to provide for the cost of administering the government of British New Guinea to an extent not exceeding 15,000*l.* per annum for ten years. About the same time assent was also given to a Redistribution Bill, providing for the increase of the number of electorates from 44 to 60, and the consequent raising of the number of representatives in the House of Assembly from 59 to 72.

The Government were ultimately forced to abandon (Nov. 30) the Naval Defence Bill, owing to the persistent obstruction offered to the measure by a minority in the Legislative Assembly, who declared themselves actuated solely by the desire to secure the passing of the Redistribution Bill, and in view of the promise of the Government to introduce no fresh legislation at so late a period of the session.

The Governor, in proroguing Parliament, announced the approaching dissolution of Parliament in order to give effect to the new Redistribution Act. He regretted that the Naval Defence Bill had not been passed, and hoped the delay in adopting it would be short. The general condition of the colony was satisfactory, and gave ground for hope that the temporary disorder in its finances which had followed disastrous seasons would soon be rectified, and that the recent development of mineral resource would attract both immigrants and capital.

An exploring expedition into British New Guinea, starting in March and led by Mr. T. F. Bevan, F.R.G.S., was attended with good results. He ascertained that deep and wide rivers traverse the country far into the interior. The Aird, left unexplored since its discovery by Captain Blackwood in 1845, proved to be one of numerous divisions in the delta of a large river, which Mr. Bevan named the "Douglas." He also obtained access to an important and previously undiscovered river, lying between Bald Head and Orokolo, in the Gulf of Papua, which he named the "Queen's Jubilee River," and which, at the point where he turned back (100 miles from the coast), was 200 yards wide. With the exception of the Fly river, no other rivers offering facilities for navigation had been hitherto known to exist in British New Guinea.

*South Australia.*—The General Election, with which the year opened, showed that protection, the payment of members, and an increase on the land tax were the most popular tenets of the



majority. The confidence in the existing Ministry, moreover, was scarcely shaken. But hardly three months had passed when, by a revulsion of feeling, a vote of censure was carried by a majority of 13. The Ministry at once resigned, and a new Cabinet, under the leadership of Mr. Playford, was constituted. It fell, therefore, to the lot of the new Government (July 2) to face the financial difficulties created by their predecessors. The revenue for the previous financial year had amounted to 1,868,000*l.*, or 375,000*l.* below the former Treasurer's estimate. His successor, however, was able to estimate the revenue for the ensuing year at 2,226,800*l.*, and the expenditure at 2,176,800*l.*; and he proposed to pay off the accumulated deficit (1,250,000*l.*) of previous years by the issue of Treasury bills, and to meet these, as they fell due, by the sale of land set apart for that purpose. The Naval Defence Bill was passed unanimously by both Houses (Dec. 1), and Parliament was shortly afterwards prorogued. Among the other measures adopted were an Act placing the railways under the control of a board and another establishing a new customs tariff, framed so as to encourage local industries.

*Western Australia.*—On April 22 a hurricane passed over the north-east coast and struck the pearl-fishing fleet, destroying one-fifth of it, which means that 200 lives were lost, besides 4 schooners, 27 luggers, and the result of a month's fishing. The most noteworthy incident of the year has been the collision between the chief judicial and executive authorities of the colony. Public feeling, aroused by the Governor's suspension of the Chief Justice, the Hon. A. C. Onslow, showed itself at a large meeting held in September at Perth. However, notwithstanding the resolutions unanimously passed demanding his recall, and Mr. Onslow's own demand for a public inquiry, the Executive Council upheld his suspension, and he was placed on half-pay pending the decision of the Secretary of State. Of greater importance was the decision of the Legislative Council, carried by 13 votes to 4, that the time had come for the colony to assert its right to autonomy. This resolution was supplemented by a unanimous vote that the colony should remain one and undivided under the proposed new Constitution. Hitherto Western Australia has been a Crown colony, administered by a Governor, a Legislative Council, and an Executive Council appointed by Her Majesty. It covers an area of 975,000 square miles, and contains mines of lead and copper, besides other natural sources of wealth.

*Tasmania.*—There is little to be recorded of this colony. The new Governor (Sir R. Hamilton) arrived at Hobart on March 11. Mr. Agnew's Ministry resigned during March, and the Governor summoned Mr. Braddon to form a new Cabinet, but he declined, and the task was then undertaken by Mr. Fysh, all the members of the Cabinet being subsequently re-elected. The

accounts for the past financial year showed a deficit of 50,000*l.*, but this was, to a great extent, owing to the interest due on the new loan of 1,000,000*l.* Parliament passed the Naval Defences' Act at the end of November, and the Government instructed its Agent-General in London to send out twelve experienced English sergeants to instruct the artillery and volunteer force of the colony.

II. NEW ZEALAND.—In anticipation of the assent of Parliament, the Government in April signified its approval of the proposals of the Imperial Government for the naval defence of the colonies, on the understanding that two war-ships should be stationed in New Zealand waters, and that the other Australian colonies should agree to the Imperial proposals. Before the close of the year the action of the Government was approved by the Legislature, and the Naval Defence Bill was passed by both Houses of the new Parliament.

Sir Julius Vogel, the Treasurer, making his financial statement (May 10), stated that the revenue for the past year had been 3,882,428*l.*, or 192,493*l.* below the Budget estimate, and that the expenditure had been 4,012,598*l.*, or 98,626*l.* below the estimate, leaving a deficiency at the end of the year of 92,298*l.* He proposed to raise the tax on properties valued at over 2,500*l.* to one penny in the *£*, without exemption, whilst no change would be made in the tax on property valued at a lesser sum. On the other hand, he proposed to augment considerably certain of the customs duties. The revenue for the ensuing year, with the additional taxes, he estimated at 4,156,184*l.*, and the expenditure at 4,071,304*l.*, leaving an estimated surplus of 85,000*l.* The reductions in expenditure amounted to 156,000*l.*, and steps had been taken to produce a still larger saving in the cost of the public service. The Government, moreover, proposed to lessen in future the borrowing in England, and recommended that the construction of the railways already in hand should be brought nearer completion before fresh responsibilities were incurred. He attributed the falling off in the revenue to the spread of temperance habits in the colony, and to the reduced cost of commodities subject to *ad valorem* duties. Referring to the efforts of the Government to aid the settlement of lands in small farms, Sir J. Vogel said that the property assessment disclosed a large increase in the total gross value and taxable value of real and personal property. These arguments, however, failed to satisfy the Opposition, and Mr. Atkinson brought forward a resolution declaring the Budget to be unsatisfactory, and the Government was defeated by a majority of 4 (May 28). On the advice of the Cabinet, the Governor thereupon prorogued Parliament, and a few days later proclaimed its dissolution. The result of the general election was known at the end of September, and gave a majority of 9 to the Opposition in the House of Representatives, the Premier (Sir R. Stout) and the Minister of Justice both losing their seats. Immediately the

results of the election were known, Sir R. Stout tendered his resignation, and the Governor (Sir W. Jervois) entrusted to Mr. Atkinson the formation of a new Administration. Reserving for himself the post of Treasurer, he met Parliament (Oct. 12) with a completed Cabinet and a policy based upon administrative retrenchment and reform. In his financial statement (Nov. 1) he showed the manner in which he proposed to fulfil his promises. Retrenchments in the ordinary expenditure, amounting to 300,000*l.* were to be effected by reducing the salaries and allowances of the Governor and Ministers, the number of ministers, the members of the House of Representatives, and those of the Civil Service. The cost of the departments generally, including those of education and defence, was also to be curtailed. The subsidies to local bodies were to be reduced, and he promised to repeal the Crown and Native Land Rating Acts. These proposals were adopted before the close of the session.

III. SAMOA (otherwise known as "*The Navigators*").—Samoan affairs showed very little improvement, chiefly owing to the failure of the German colonists to carry out the agreement to support and strengthen the Government of King Malietoa. In fact they virtually undermined it by encouraging his rival, Tamasese, more or less secretly in his resistance to the recognised king. The position of the latter was rendered the more difficult, inasmuch as Great Britain would neither allow him to defend himself nor lend him any protection against his enemies. At the same time the pretensions of the Germans in Samoa were regarded as a breach of the honourable understanding with Great Britain and the United States, at a time, too, when a joint committee was sitting at Washington to make arrangements for the future of the islands. Their proceedings may be briefly summarised. Early in September the German squadron, having demanded a heavy fine from King Malietoa for robberies committed on German plantations in Samoa, landed 500 armed men who hoisted the flag of Tamasese, the rival king, proclaimed him monarch of the Samoan Islands, and declared war against Malietoa. The latter wished to resist, but the British and American consuls issued a proclamation advising submission, and declaring that their Governments would not acknowledge Tamasese as king. The Germans guaranteed the neutrality of Apia if their troops were unmolested. After a slight show of resistance King Malietoa yielded and was sent into exile, but, before starting, wrote to the British and American consuls declaring his disappointment at receiving no support from those countries. As Germany had given an explicit assurance that all treaty rights would be observed, no steps could be taken towards intervention. Affairs remained for some time unsettled, the German consul refusing to recognise the municipality of Apia, which had hitherto been administered by the foreign consuls, and the German naval commander demanding a large sum from

King Tamasese for the assistance recently given him by the Germans against King Malietoa. In November the Germans still occupied Samoa, and dissensions were arising among the supporters of Tamasese, whose position was considered weak. At a conference on Samoan affairs held at Washington towards the end of the year, at which Great Britain, the United States, and Germany were represented, the last named sought to obtain mandatory powers extending over five years, but to this the United States Government refused to agree, and at the close of the year no definite settlement of the difficulties of the situation had been reached.

IV. TONGA, or FRIENDLY ISLANDS.—Disturbances had become so serious in this group of islands that Sir C. Mitchell, High Commissioner of the Western Pacific, received orders early in the year to proceed to Tonga and inquire into the state of affairs. He ascertained that, during the two years succeeding the establishment of the Free Church in Tonga, the natives were compelled by force by their chiefs to join that body, and this form of compulsion, combined with persecution, had aroused bitter feelings. The king's Prime Minister, Mr. Shirley Baker, formerly a Wesleyan missionary, was made the object of a savage attack, and although he escaped, his son and daughter were badly wounded. At the time it was asserted that the attack had been planned by the Wesleyans, whom Mr. Baker now persecuted with all the zeal of a renegade, and after some sort of trial six of the assailants were condemned to death and executed in the presence of the king's son. Five more natives were condemned to death and thirty others were put aside for subsequent trial, when the British consul intervened and succeeded in averting further executions. Sir C. Mitchell on his arrival urged the necessity of a general amnesty for all offences committed during the late disturbances. He recommended a proclamation restoring complete liberty in the matter of religion, and promising the repeal of certain laws known as "Of the Six" and "Of the Thirty." Although he had received evidence enough to justify him in exercising his powers of banishing Mr. Baker, as a British subject dangerous to the peace and good order of the Western Pacific, Sir C. Mitchell was unwilling to take this step, for Mr. Baker had in bygone days rendered great and valuable services to the Tongan Government, and the king regarded him with feelings of friendship and esteem. Moreover, should the king act upon the High Commissioner's advice, Mr. Baker would be the most fitting instrument for carrying out the new policy. The king having assented to nearly everything suggested, Sir C. Mitchell left Tonga and waited from a distance the result of his proposals. Just before the year closed, it was announced that a French protectorate had been proclaimed over the Wallis Islands, and M. Chauvot, the French Resident, appointed Minister to the native queen.

V. HAWAII (SANDWICH ISLANDS).—Here also the peaceful development of the people was disturbed by the misplaced zeal of a few discontented inhabitants. A revolution broke out at the end of June, caused by dissatisfaction with King Kalakawa's Ministry. The populace, aided by the Honolulu Rifles and other hastily organised military companies, for a while held the king's Government at defiance, and at a mass meeting passed a resolution declaring that by reason of its incompetency and corruption the Hawaiian Government had ceased adequately to perform its functions or to afford protection to life and property. The insurrectionary party required the king to dismiss his Cabinet and also Mr. Gordon from every place he held, to make restitution of all bribery moneys, and to give a specific pledge that he would never at any time interfere with the elected representatives or with legislation. While not admitting the truth of the charge of bribery in regard to the opium monopoly, the king agreed to submit the matter to the new Cabinet and declared he would gladly act upon their advice. He further gave the pledges demanded of him and expressed his anxiety to co-operate with the citizens in order to secure the honour, welfare, and prosperity of the kingdom. The Gibson Ministry having resigned, a new one was appointed, with Mr. Green as Premier. The king then called a meeting of the diplomatic representatives of the United States, England, France, and Portugal, and offered to transfer all the kingly powers to them. This shifting of responsibility they declined to accept, but they advised him to lose no time in framing a new Constitution. The draft was prepared by the Ministry and laid before the king (July 5), and was signed by him two or three days later. Besides extending the franchise to foreign residents of American and European descent, it provided that the house of nobles, the members of which had hitherto been appointed by the king, should in future be an elective body. They were to be Hawaiian subjects not under the age of twenty-five, and to have lived three years in the country. They were also to be owners of taxable property to the value of \$3,000 or be in receipt of an income of \$600. The new Constitution provided further for liberty of speech and of the press and prescribed that no war should be proclaimed unless with the consent of the Legislature, which must meet every two years. In opening the Legislature (Nov. 9), the king announced the extension of the reciprocity treaty with the United States for seven years, with an additional clause giving the latter the exclusive privilege of establishing a coaling and repairing station at Pearl River. The close of the year found the country again in a state of great excitement owing to the king having vetoed certain Bills, but the presence of British and American ships-of-war prevented a serious outbreak. The sentiment in favour of annexation to the United States was said to be growing.

# PART II.

## CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

### IN 1887.

#### JANUARY.

1. Mr. T. D. Sullivan, M.P., installed, without ceremony, as Lord Mayor of Dublin for a second time.

— A fire broke out in Wood Street, Cheapside, and, after raging for four hours, caused enormous damage to twenty-five business firms in Wood Street, Gresham Street, Staining Lane, &c.

— The anniversary of the Emperor William's entry into the Prussian army celebrated at Berlin with great rejoicings. After service at the Cathedral, the Emperor, surrounded by his marshals, received the congratulations of his Ministers and Court.

2. A terrific gas explosion blew down a portion of the Cambridge Barracks at Portsmouth, causing the death of four soldiers, injuring many others, and extinguishing the lights in the houses of the neighbourhood.

3. The Lord Mayor entertained the Bulgarian delegates at luncheon at the Mansion House, where a select company of non-official persons were invited to meet them.

— At the Jardin des Plantes, Paris, a hippopotamus suddenly went mad and attacked its keeper as he was in the act of cleaning its cage. The keeper shouted for help, but was dead before he could be rescued.

4. Mr. Goschen finally decided to accept the Chancellorship of the Exchequer in Lord Salisbury's Government, Mr. W. H. Smith as First Lord of the Treasury becoming leader of the House of Commons, and Lord Salisbury Foreign Secretary in the place of Lord Iddesleigh.

— On the Baltimore and Ohio Railway, an express train while going sixty miles an hour dashed into a goods train coming in the opposite direction. The train, composed of five carriages and four sleeping-cars, was telescoped, and a fire breaking out in the smoking carriage communicated to the rest. Twelve passengers were apparently killed outright, and ten others subsequently burnt to death.

5. The freedom of the City of Liverpool conferred upon Sir Andrew

Clarke, Inspector General of Fortifications, for his eminent services rendered to the city in connection with the Vyrnwy Waterworks, and for which he had declined all remuneration.

5. The rumour of a treaty between Russia and Germany, to the exclusion of Austria, which had been set afloat in Paris, strongly contradicted from Berlin and Vienna.

6. The Pope accepted the report of the Congregation of Rites recommending for beatification the names of Sir Thomas More, Bishop Fisher, and fifty-six other Englishmen who had suffered for their faith in the Tudor period.

— Lord Northbrook and the Marquess of Lansdowne declined the offer of seats in the Cabinet made to them by Lord Salisbury.

7. Four young men, out of nine who had been originally condemned to death, executed at Sydney, N.S.W., for outrage on a young girl, under circumstances of horrible brutality.

— The *Journal Officiel* published the results of the census taken in France on May 30, 1886. The total number of inhabitants was stated to be 38,218,908 as compared with 37,672,048 in 1881. The population had increased in fifty-eight departments and diminished in twenty-nine. The largest augmentation was in Paris, but all the large towns except St. Etienne showed an increase.

— At a general assembly of the Royal Academy, Mr. Marcus Stone, A.R.A., elected full academician, and Mr. Alfred Gilbert, sculptor, elected an associate.

— Lord Brabazon delivered an address on "State-Directed Colonisation" at the Phoenix Hall, Clerkenwell, where the Socialists attended in large numbers, and Mr. Champion occupied the chair. Lord Brabazon's suggestions were received with marked disfavour, and they were criticised in strong language by the majority of the speakers.

8. A terribly rapid fire destroyed an Italian restaurant in the Hampstead Road, and two of the inmates were suffocated before they could be aroused, and the other occupants narrowly escaped.

— Twelve hundred women employed in the State tobacco-manufactory at Marseilles struck work on their demand for the dismissal of M. Roustan, the chief of their section, not being complied with.

— The German ship *Halberstadt* having stranded during a violent storm at the entrance of Chesapeake Bay, off the coast of Virginia, two life-boats put off to her assistance and rescued the crew, but on returning they were capsized by an immense wave and twenty-seven men lost.

9. A fire broke out in the Alcazar of Toledo, occupied as the military academy. The library, which contained many valuable works, was completely destroyed; and of the building, formerly a royal palace, dating from the fourth century, and recently restored at a cost of 200,000*l.*, nothing but the outer walls was left.

10. Sir Henry Holland appointed Secretary for the Colonies, in succession to Hon. E. Stanhope, transferred to the War Office.

— According to a return issued, it appeared that during the year 1886 forty-five American railways, with 7,687 miles of line, \$170,140,500 of bonded debt, and \$208,969,200 of capital stock, were sold under foreclosure.

10. The Stadt-Theater at Göttingen burnt down after the close of the performance. No lives were lost.

— An Austrian named Winkelmeier, born at Friedberg, near Salzburg, 21 years of age, and measuring 8 ft. 9 ins. in height, appeared in London. He showed no extraordinary development until the age of fourteen, when he began to grow rapidly. In the opinion of Dr. Virchow, he would not attain his full growth until he had completed his twenty-fifth year. He died in the course of the summer.

11. Prince Bismarck made an important speech before the German Reichstag in support of the Government Army Bill, pointing out the dangers which beset the German Empire.

— At Rossmanagher, Limerick, where the police had been sent to support the eviction of a tenant who owed four years' rent, amounting to 700*l.*, they found the house barricaded and the parish priest bound with a chain to the door-post, daring the police to enter. A scuffle ensued, but eventually the tenant agreed to purchase the holding at 45*s.* per acre and at eighteen years' purchase.

— A crowded meeting of the delegates from all the Liberal and Radical Associations in the metropolis held at St. James's Hall, under the presidency of Mr. John Morley, M.P., and the formation of a London Liberal and Radical Union was decided upon.

12. The Earl of Iddeleigh, who had come to town to confer with Lord Salisbury and to take leave of his subordinates at the Foreign Office died suddenly from heart-disease just as his arrival had been announced in Downing Street.

— Mr. Edward Macnaghten, Q.C., M.P. for North Antrim, appointed Lord of Appeal in succession to Lord Blackburn, resigned.

— At St. James's Palace, the Prince of Wales, and at the Mansion House the Lord Mayor, presided over meetings held in support of the movement to make the Imperial Institute a worthy celebration of the Queen's Jubilee. The Prince's meeting was attended by the leading mayors and provincial authorities; that at the Mansion House, by the leading City merchants and bankers.

13. A conference of the Liberal leaders, consisting of Sir Wm. Harcourt and Mr. John Morley, and Mr. Chamberlain and Sir G. O. Trevelyan, known as "The Round Table Conference," met under the chairmanship of Lord Herschell to discuss privately the question which stood in the way of the reunion of the Liberal party.

— The freedom of the City of London conferred on Mr. H. M. Stanley, the African traveller, on the occasion of his passing through London *en route* for the relief of Emin Bey.

14. Prince Bismarck's Army Bill defeated in the German Reichstag by 186 to 154. Whereupon the Chancellor at once read a message dissolving that assembly.

— The Upper Table Rock, on the Canadian bank of the Niagara River, adjoining the Horseshoe Falls, fell with a great crash. The accumulated weight of ice, with the effects of the frost, brought down an enormous mass of rock, falling at least 150 feet.

15. Father McGlynn inhibited and deprived by his diocesan, Archbishop



Corrigan of New York, for having taken part in Mr. Henry George's labour movement. Father McGlynn was subsequently summoned to Rome to defend before the Propaganda his Socialistic views, but took no notice of the invitation.

16. A schooner with a cargo of giant powder, having been abandoned in a gale, drifted to the entrance of the Golden Gate Harbour at San Francisco, and there exploded, wrecking the hotels along the beach for a considerable distance.

— Port Hamilton evacuated by the English and restored to the Korean Government.

17. H.M. gunboat *Firm*, employed on patrol duty on the East Coast, went ashore at Beadwell Point, on the Northumberland coast, near Berwick. After many ineffectual efforts she was got off the rocks and towed into the Tyne, much injured.

— The Hawaiian volcano of Mauna Loa in a state of active eruption, a continuous stream of lava pouring from the crater, accompanied by frequent earthquakes.

18. The funeral of the Earl of Iddesleigh took place at Upton Pynes, with as much privacy as possible, and attended only by members of the family. The Queen and most of the members of the Royal family, as well as numberless public bodies and private persons, sent wreaths. A funeral service was simultaneously conducted in Westminster Abbey, which was attended by the chief functionaries of State, the Earl's late colleagues, and a large number of his friends and admirers.

— A panic, involving the loss of seventeen lives, seized the audience at the Hebrew Dramatic Club, Spitalfields. Towards the end of the performance of "The Spanish Gipsy Girl" a cry of fire was raised, and the gas was instantly turned out. In the confusion which ensued and struggle to get to the doors, twelve women, three boys, a young girl, and a man were crushed to death, and many more were seriously injured.

20. "Old London," a reproduction of a street in the fifteenth century, which had formed one of the principal attractions of the annual exhibitions at South Kensington since 1883, and had cost 15,000*l.* to erect, sold by auction for 160*l.*

— The Queen directed Letters Patent to be passed under the Great Seal for the annexation of the Kermader group of islands to the Colony of New Zealand.

— The *Kapunda*, which sailed in December from London for Western Australia, with 818 souls on board, chiefly emigrants, came into collision with the barque *Ada Melmore* somewhere off the coast of Brazil, and foundered before the boats could be got out, occasioning the loss of upwards of 300 lives.

21. Mr. H. M. Stanley left England for Alexandria and Zanzibar to take charge of the expedition organised for the relief of Emin Pasha, Governor of the Equatorial Province of Egypt.

22. A divorce pronounced by the Scotch Court of Session between the Marquess and Marchioness of Queensbury, on the petition of the latter.

23. The evacuation of Tamatave by the French quietly completed, and the Hova flag re-hoisted under a salute of the French guns.

24. Something approaching a panic prevailed in the various European Stock Exchanges in consequence of the rumour that war between France and Germany was imminent and that the latter was about to call for an explanation of the French frontier armaments.

— Further subsidence reported from the Salt District in Cheshire. Wilton Brook, near Northwich, expanded from a small watercourse to a lake some acres in extent. At Dunkirk, in the same district, the land was reported to be subsiding at the rate of a foot per week.

25. An Imperial decree promulgated prohibiting until further orders the export of horses across any of the German frontiers.

— According to the Liverpool trade organ, the Germans had bought up all the Australian tinned meat in the market, and the French Government had contracted with a Chicago firm for the immediate delivery of 5,000,000 lbs.

26. The United States Senate, by 84 votes to 16, rejected the Constitutional Amendment proposing female suffrage.

— The Abyssinians, about 1,500 strong, attacked the Italian troops, numbering 480, near Massowa. Of the latter only fifty escaped, and all the guns fell into the hands of the Abyssinians, who subsequently marched upon Massowa.

27. The second session of the twelfth Parliament of the reign opened by the Royal Commission.

— The election at Liverpool (Exchange Division) resulted in the return of Mr. Ralph Neville (G.L.) by 8,217 votes, against Mr. Goschen (U.L.), 8,210.

— A young woman of good family at Chicago declared her intention of marrying Spiess, the Anarchist lying under sentence of death in the city gaol. As the authorities would not permit the ceremony to take place in prison, Spiess prepared a written document, in virtue of which his brother acted as his proxy, and the marriage was celebrated.

28. The national memorial to the late Professor Fawcett, erected in the Baptistery of Westminster Abbey, unveiled by Earl Granville, K.G. The total sum raised was 4,218*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.*, of which one-fourth was collected in the General Post Office alone. Of this sum the memorial (by Mr. Alf. Gilbert, A.R.A.) cost 1,000*l.*; the endowment of a University Scholarship 1,400*l.*; and about 1,700*l.* was devoted to the promotion of the higher education of the blind.

— The Royal Theatre, Swansea, totally destroyed by fire.

29. The Queen Regent of Spain, accompanied by a brilliant staff and *cortège*, inaugurated a large military orphan asylum at Aranjuez.

— The Weymouth and Channel Islands Company's steamer *Brighton*, with mails and passengers from Weymouth, struck on the rocks on the north-east coast of Guernsey in a dense fog, and foundered in fifteen minutes. The crew and passengers were saved, but the mails and all the baggage were lost.

— Serious disturbances, consequent on the publication of the report of the Royal Commission, took place in Belfast. The police when sent for charged the mob, but were fired upon in return, and four men were wounded.

31. An explosion attributed to dynamite occurred on board the steamship *Guyandotte* on her voyage from New York to Virginia, tearing open the side

of the vessel to the extent of fifteen feet, but happily above the waterline, and injuring only three persons. The *Guyandotte* was a large steamer belonging to the old Dominion Line, of which the coalmen and others employed at New York were on strike.

## FEBRUARY.

1. Mr. Justice Kekewich gave judgment for the defendant in the case of *Allcard v. Skinner*. The former, during her membership of a Church of England sisterhood had given 8,000*l.* to promote its work, but on joining the Church of Rome she desired to be reimbursed the amount.

— The King of the Belgians, from his palace at Brussels, carried on a long conversation by telephone with M. Grévy at the Elysée in Paris, and in the course of the evening the Queen of the Belgians "assisted" by telephone at an entire act of Gounod's "*Faust*," performed at the Paris Opéra.

2. A conference of delegates from various parts of the country met, under the presidency of Sir E. Birkbeck, at the Fishmongers' Hall to discuss the fish supply of the metropolis and other questions connected with fisheries.

— A serious panic, chiefly affecting Italian, Russian, and French stocks, spread over all the European Stock Exchanges.

8. Lord Napier of Magdala formally installed as Constable of the Tower, in the presence of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, the Lord Chamberlain acting for the Queen.

— An Imperial ukase prohibited the export of horses from Russia across the European and Trans-Caucasian frontier.

— The Directors of the Bank of England reduced the rate of discount from 5 to 4 per cent.; the reserve standing at above 18½ millions, being 47½ per cent. of its liabilities.

— The prospectus of Messrs. Allsopp & Son, transformed into a limited liability company, issued by the London and Westminster Bank; the capital being, Ordinary, 6 per cent., Preference and Debenture Stock in equal proportions, and making a total of 8,800,000*l.* The eagerness to obtain prospectuses was as great as on the occasion of the issue of Messrs. Guinness' prospectus.

— At the meeting of the London School Board, the annual budget for 1887-8, introduced by Sir R. Temple, showed that a rate of 8½*d.* in the pound would be requisite, as against 9½*d.* in the preceding year.

4. An Imperial Decree (dated Jan. 27), calling out 78,000 reservists for 12 days' drill in the use of the new repeating rifle, issued at Berlin.

5. As the Boston and Montreal express was crossing the bridge over the White River, the boundary between Vermont and New Hampshire, the hindmost coach left the rails, dragging with it three other cars, which fell upon the ice of the river. Fifteen persons were killed by the fall, and thirty more were burnt to death, the cars taking fire and no water being obtainable.

— An Imperial Decree issued prohibiting the export of horses from Austria-Hungary.

— The Munich papers published a letter from Cardinal Jacobini advising the Catholic electors to support the Septennate Bill of Prince

Bismarck, and to assist the German Chancellor in carrying out his policy—thus marking the close of the *Kulturkampf*, to the interests of the Papacy.

5. The first performance of Verdi's new opera, "Otello," took place at Milan, and was made the occasion of an ovation to the composer, who was present, all the leading opera-houses, conservatories, and musical bodies of Europe sending representatives.

7. The championship of England, Challenge Cup, and 200*l.* a side were rowed for on the Tyne by George Perkins of Rotherhithe and George Bubear of Hammersmith. After a hard struggle Bubear passed under Scotswood Suspension the winner by one length.

— The Northumberland miners rejected Mr. Morley's suggestion that they should submit to 10 per cent. reduction of wages, by 8,288 to 1,850.

— The subscription to Allsopp's Brewery Company amounted to over 100,000,000*l.*—or about forty times the capital required by the new Company.

8. Serious riots took place in the mining district of Blantyre, Lanarkshire, the military having eventually to be sent for and the Riot Act read. A large number of shops were attacked and much property destroyed.

— The anniversary of the "West End riots" celebrated at Clerkenwell by a large meeting, in spite of the police prohibition. On the members attempting to organise a torchlight procession, the police interfered and broke up the meeting. A portion of the most turbulent escaped control, and marched from Clerkenwell Green to the Goswell Road, breaking shop windows, but doing little other damage.

9. Mr. Goschen returned for the district of St. George's, Hanover Square, by 5,702 votes, against 1,545 given to Mr. Haysman (Gladstonian Liberal).

— The Earl of Dunraven resigned his post as Under Secretary for the Colonies, and succeeded by the Earl Onslow.

— During a concert given at the Grand Opera House, San Francisco, a bomb, introduced into the building by a man supposed to be insane, exploded without doing injury to any but its possessor. It was suggested that his intention was to injure or kill Madame Adelina Patti, who was singing at the time. He was subsequently charged with this offence and convicted.

10. The Vice-Chancellor's Court in the Four Courts, Dublin, discovered to be on fire at an early hour of the morning. Owing to the absence of wind and the thickness of the walls, the fire was prevented from spreading to the rest of the building, but damage to the extent of some thousands of pounds was done to the west wing and the court library.

— The heaviest snowfall recorded for fifty years occurred at Rome, covering the ground and public buildings to the depth of several inches.

— According to a Parliamentary return, the proportion of illiterates to the total number of voters at the general election of 1886 was:

|                   |           |                 |        |                  |
|-------------------|-----------|-----------------|--------|------------------|
| England and Wales | 2,416,272 | voters, of whom | 88,587 | were illiterate. |
| Scotland          | 858,155   | "               | 4,886  | "                |
| Ireland           | 194,994   | "               | 86,722 | "                |

11. The North Antrim election resulted in the return of Mr. C. E. Lewis (Conservative) by 8,858 votes, against 2,526 given to Mr. M'Elroy (Gladstonian), and 424 to Dr. Traill (Independent).

— Severe storms and floods took place in the Western States of America, and a cyclone at Louisville (Ohio) overthrew a church and several public buildings.

12. The Northampton Opera House, erected in 1874, at a cost of 12,000*l.*, almost totally destroyed by a fire originating in the heating-flues. There was no performance going on at the time.

13. Two Nationalist meetings were held—one at Loughrea, and the other at Youghal—although proclaimed by the Government, and were addressed by Mr. Davitt, and Dr. Tanner, M.P., respectively. That at Loughrea ended in a collision between the police and the people, in the course of which a number of persons were seriously injured.

14. A fire, which lasted upwards of eight-and-forty hours, broke out on the premises of Messrs. Draper, firewood merchants, at Battersea. The adjoining premises, occupied by the Earl of Shrewsbury's cab-horses, being in danger, the horses were cast loose, and over 300 galloped about the neighbouring streets throughout the night.

— At the Dublin Commission Court, before Mr. Justice Murphy, the trial commenced of John Dillon, M.P., Daniel Crilly, M.P., and Wm. O'Brien, for conspiring to induce tenants to refuse to pay their rents.

15. Thomas Currell, charged with the murder of his sweetheart, Lydia Green, at Hoxton, after having enjoyed for ten days practical immunity, gave himself up to the police, appointing by letter the time and place of his surrender. On one occasion he had spent two hours at Scotland Yard among the detectives, who had failed to recognise him from his photograph and printed description.

16. The Queen's Jubilee celebrated with great rejoicings and much display at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Mandalay, as well as in the principal native cities. A large number of civil and military prisoners were released, and small debtors imprisoned for sums under ten rupees had their debts paid by the Government.

— The *Indian Gazette* announced the creation of a new Order for literary distinction among the natives of India.

17. A tremendous gale, blowing at the rate of sixty miles an hour, passed over a portion of Colorado, unroofing houses at Denver, throwing several trains off the lines, and causing many other disasters.

— A letter from Archbishop Croke published, in which he recommended the Irish people to refuse the payment of taxes, as "it was suicide to do so."

18. A serious colliery explosion, resulting in the death of twenty-seven men, occurred at the Crotch colliery, in the Rhondda Vach Valley, South Wales.

— In spite of the opposition of certain foreign Powers, the Egyptian Government, with the support of England, declined to convoke the *Corvée* for executing public works by unpaid labour,

— According to a Parliamentary paper, the total amount awarded in

compensation of the damage done at the West End riots (Feb. 8, 1886) was 7,277*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.*, and the expenses of investigating and administering the Act were 828*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* The total number of claims sent in was 281.

19. The vacancy at Burnley caused by the death of Mr. P. Rylands (Unionist) filled by Mr. Slagg (Gladstonian Liberal), who polled 5,026 votes, against 4,481 given to Mr. Thursby (Conservative).

21. A meeting of the Conservative party held at the Foreign Office, called by Lord Salisbury, to take into consideration the Government proposals with regard to the course of business in the House of Commons.

— A general election held throughout Germany, the result giving a majority for Prince Bismarck's Septennate Bill; but proving the enormous and rapid growth of the Socialists in the large towns. In Berlin, out of 220,000 electors, 90,000 supported the Socialists. The chief losses were sustained by the Liberals.

22. Anti-socialist demonstrations made by the working-men of Amsterdam in consequence of the hostile attitude assumed by the Socialists on the twentieth anniversary of the King. In the fight which ensued the Socialists were considerably worsted, and were eventually hunted through the streets, until the police interfered.

23. Severe shocks of earthquake felt in Southern Europe, the central point being on the Italian Riviera, round Porto Maurizio, but extending as far as Lyons on the north, Milan on the east, and Bologna on the south. The shocks were renewed on the following day, and the panic which they caused was indescribable, especially at Nice, Cannes, and the other pleasure-resorts, large numbers of the tourists camping out in tents, carriages, &c.; but the actual damage done to buildings was comparatively small. At Porto Maurizio, however, the damage was severe: Diano Marina was completely destroyed. At Bajardo 800 people who had taken refuge in a church were all killed by its falling in. Shocks in a mitigated form were felt at intervals during the four or five following days. In the Italian districts alone, the number of persons killed was returned officially at 746, and twice as many injured. 20,000 were rendered homeless, and the material damage was estimated at 2,000,000*l.*

24. The trial of Mr. Dillon and the authors of the "Plan of Campaign" for conspiracy, etc., terminated at Dublin in the non-agreement of the jury, who were discharged.

25. According to a Parliamentary return the cost of the general election of 1886, to candidates, amounted to 624,086*l.*; or, compared with 2,975,032 votes polled, equalled 4*s.* per vote. The least expensive election, that of Mr. Richard Power for Waterford City, cost 10*l.* 11*s.*, of which 10*l.* was the returning-officer's fee.

26. The new thoroughfare from Trafalgar Square to Tottenham Court Road—to be known as Charing Cross Road—formally opened by the Duke of Cambridge.

27. The Socialists attended afternoon service at St. Paul's Cathedral. Intimation of their intention having been conveyed to the Dean and Chapter, a large portion of the nave, &c., was reserved for the representative bodies which arrived from various parts of the town. Beyond occasional inter-

ruptions of the sermon preached by Archdeacon Gifford, no disturbance took place.

28. A writer in the *Standard*, Mr. Henry Lake, announced the discovery of a manuscript by Antonio Pavardone in which the composition of the famous Cremona varnish for violins was explained. The recipe was said to have been brought to Italy from China by monks.

— Mrs. Roxalana Druse, after having been two years in prison, hanged at Herkimer, New York, for the murder of her husband in 1884.

— In the House of Commons, Mr. G. Howell brought charges of official corruption against the Corporation of the City of London, and obtained the promise of a Committee of Inquiry.

— An explosion of firedamp occurred in the Beaubrun Collieries, St. Etienne, which involved the loss of 80 lives.

— The garrisons of Silistria and Rustchuk revolted against the Regency Government of Bulgaria, but after a few days the insurrection was suppressed and the principal leaders killed or taken prisoners.

## MARCH.

1. The village of La Tour, near Privas, in the department of the Ardèche, which had been the scene of several tragedies, completely deserted by the inhabitants, who fled from their blood-stained village to more peaceful quarters.

2. An earthquake shock lasting several seconds was felt all along the south shore of Long Island, New York.

8. The P. and O. steamship *Siam* passed along the entire length of the Suez Canal from Suez to Port Said in fifteen hours, using at night, in accordance with the new regulations, the electric light.

— The German Reichstag opened after the new elections. The Emperor, in expressing his satisfaction at the result, promised to take immediate and effectual measures for the protection of the frontiers.

— An armed band of incendiaries, marching over the eastern part of the county of Limerick, set fire to haystacks, farm-buildings, &c., belonging to tenants who had paid their rents.

4. A large steamer, the *Waesland*, belonging to the Red Star Line from New York to Antwerp, went ashore on the Goodwin Sands during a fog. The passengers and mails were taken off by a steam-tug and landed at Deal; and the ship, after the bulk of the cargo had been thrown overboard, was floated off.

5. An explosion of firedamp took place at the coal-pits of Guaregnon, near Mons, at a time when 180 men were in the mine. Only fifteen escaped without injury, and all but fifty-seven lost their lives.

— Sir M. Hicks-Beach resigned the post of Chief Secretary for Ireland in consequence of a rapidly developing cataract. His place was at once taken by Mr. A. Balfour, the Secretary for Scotland.

— Numerous outrages by moonlighters and others reported from various

parts of Ireland; and the return of many of the "Invincibles," who had fled in 1882, was also announced.

7. A coffee-palace in course of erection in Victoria Road, Canning Town, suddenly collapsed, causing the death of two workmen, and severely injuring two others.

— A number of the leading insurgents who had taken part in the revolt at Rustchuk and Silistria shot, after having been tried and condemned by court-martial.

— One of the principal draughtsmen at the Chatham Dockyard summarily dismissed for having furnished drawings of ships, &c., to the agents of a foreign Government.

— Fra Guido, Count von Thun-Hohenstein, elected Grand Master of the Knights of Malta in succession to Count Lichnowsky, elected in 1879, when the historic dignity, in abeyance since 1805, had been revived.

8. M. de Lesseps left Paris for Berlin, ostensibly with the object of conveying to M. Herbette the insignia of the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, but really to endeavour to place the relations between France and Germany on a more friendly footing.

— The shock of an earthquake, lasting five seconds, was again felt at Mentone, preceded by subterranean thunder.

— A curious accident on the New York Elevated Railway arose out of the sudden interruption of the traffic by a burning house, of which the flames spread across the track. Cars extending for a mile were brought to a standstill, and the passengers, eager to get to their work, got out and walked along the line. When the train began to move on again, some of the foot-passengers, losing their only support, fell over the parapet. A panic followed, and four persons were killed and others severely injured.

9. Mr. Schnadhorst entertained by the representatives of the Liberal party at a banquet at the Hôtel Métropole, Lord Burton presiding. A cheque for 11,000*l.* was presented to him in recognition of his services to the party.

— The prohibition of betting-posts by the police at the Auteuil Races was met by a threat from the betting-agents to block up the course. The police, however, easily cleared the ground; the agents thereupon resolved to strike, the bookmakers expressing their determination to persevere till the betting question was settled. There was a display of sympathy on the part of the jockeys, who threatened to join the strike.

10. Mr. Luke Fildes, A.R.A., elected to full membership of the Royal Academy, in the place of Mr. G. B. Richmond, R.A., retired.

— An explosion of a shell at Belfast said to have been filled with melinite, the new fulminant, caused the death of six soldiers, and severe injuries to many others.

— A baronetcy conferred upon Mr. C. E. Lewis, M.P. for North Antrim.

— The Bank of England reduced its rate of discount to  $8\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., the reserve standing at  $48\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the liabilities.

11. Another sharp shock of earthquake felt at Monte Carlo, Cannes, and Dijon; and shocks of a more violent character occurred at Marseilles, Ventimiglia, and Diano Marina.



11. Mrs. Samuels, the wife of a dairyman in Kentish Town, was found murdered in broad daylight in her shop. Four or five men who arrived in a trap, which, it was subsequently ascertained, had been hired in Wandsworth, were supposed to have been the murderers, and their object to obtain possession of the safe. The safe had been removed from its usual place, but not opened. The men got off long before any alarm was given.

12. The chairman and two of the directors of the Great Eastern Steamship Co., found guilty on a charge of conspiracy for receiving a bonus, sentenced to imprisonment without hard labour.

— An unusually severe snowstorm raged over Denmark, and generally over the North-East of Europe. In Northern England, Scotland, and Wales the fall was very heavy, and communications were greatly impeded.

18. The Emperor of Russia, on his way to the anniversary service held in memory of his father's assassination, narrowly escaped a similar fate. Two young men, described as students, were discovered in the crowd near the Anitchkin Palace, one of whom was carrying what apparently was a large book, but in reality an infernal-machine, which he was about to throw at the Imperial carriage when he and four or five others were arrested by the police.

14. A terrible railway-accident happened on the Boston and Providence Railroad: a train conveying chiefly schoolboys and labourers, fell through a bridge about seven miles from Boston. Thirty-three persons were killed at once, and about one hundred severely injured, of whom many died subsequently.

— Alexandra House, Kensington Grove, intended to provide a comfortable home for lady students of music, science and art, opened by the Prince and Princess of Wales. The building and site, which cost 150,000*l.*, were erected at the expense of Sir Francis Cook.

15. For some hours of the morning London was covered, high up above the houses, with a black fog which rendered the streets perfectly dark. A snowstorm, which was general over the United Kingdom, began during the night, and lasted the greater part of the day. The snow round London averaged six inches in depth.

— The Duchess of Otranto, aged 40, widow of the son of the famous Fouché, Napoleon's Minister of Police, committed suicide by blowing out her brains in an attack of mania.

16. Madame Monty, alias Regnault, residing with her servant and the latter's child, murdered in their apartments in the Rue Montaigne, Paris, a frequented neighbourhood, without any alarm being given to the other inmates of the house.

17. The railway to Quettah by the Hurnai route completed, and the materials for the last stretch through the Pishin Valley brought forward for immediate use.

— Upwards of one hundred and fifty banquets given in Paris to celebrate the anniversary of the proclamation of the Commune. A large meeting was held in London, at which Prince Krapotkine was the principal guest of the evening.

18. Father Kelleher of Youghal, against whom a warrant from the Bankruptcy Court, Dublin, had been issued, as the receiver of certain rents,

arrested without disturbance and conveyed to Dublin. On the following day he was committed to prison for contempt of court, being accompanied by Archbishop Walsh, the Lord Mayor of Dublin, and several members of Parliament.

18. Richmond Hotel, Buffalo, caught fire in the cloak-room of the first floor. Before the sleeping inmates could be fully aroused the flames had spread so rapidly that the escape of many of the guests was cut off. They rushed to the windows and threw themselves into the street. At least fifteen were burnt or killed, and a large number injured.

19. The Local Government Board, under instructions from the Government, commenced a house-to-house inquiry into the causes of distress in four of the poorest neighbourhoods of London, in view of passing a measure of general relief.

— The Queen, who had been staying ten days in London, attended a private performance at Olympia, the hippodrome recently opened at Kensington.

— A collision took place on the Tottenham branch of the Great Eastern railway between a passenger-train and an engine and trucks. Sixteen passengers were more or less injured.

21. The House of Commons, having under consideration the Navy Estimates, and a vote on account for Civil Services, continued sitting throughout the night, and did not adjourn until 1.20 p.m. on the following day.

— At Melbourne, in a cricket-match between the Smokers and Non-Smokers, chosen from the English and Australian teams, the latter (ten strong) scored 803 runs in their first innings, against 350 made by the former, who in their second innings had scored 135 runs for five wickets when time was called.

22. The ninetieth birthday of the German Emperor celebrated with great splendour at Berlin, and with the liveliest display of loyalty throughout Germany. At Berlin, the Governments and crowned heads in Europe were specially represented, in most cases by the heirs-apparent to the several thrones.

— The Duchess of Cumberland (Princess Thyra of Denmark) removed to Professor Leidesdorf's private asylum at Ober Döbling, near Vienna.

23. The Queen, accompanied by the Prince and Princess Henry of Battenberg, went from Windsor to Birmingham to lay the foundation-stone of the new Law Courts. The town was most tastefully and appropriately decorated, and illustrative of its principal industries. The Queen was received with the warmest enthusiasm by all classes.

— A terrible colliery explosion at Bulli, near Sydney, New South Wales, by which eighty-five persons were entombed.

24. The polling for the Ilkeston division in Derbyshire resulted in the return of Sir B. W. Foster (Gladstonian Liberal) by 5,512 votes, against 4,180 polled by Mr. Leeke (Conservative).

— The Bank rate reduced to 3 per cent., the reserve standing at a little over 17 millions, or 49½ per cent. of the liabilities.

25. The Grand National Steeplechase won by Mr. E. Jay's Gamecock, 11st., aged, an outsider, who defeated a field of sixteen starters.

25. The Inter-University sports at Lillie Bridge resulted in the victory of Cambridge in six out of the nine contests, Oxford only winning the 100 yds. and the three miles.

— In the House of Commons. after four nights' debate, precedence was carried by 349 to 260, for the discussion of a bill for dealing with crime in Ireland.

26. The five-hundredth anniversary of laying the first stone of Winchester College celebrated. Between 700 and 800 Wykehamists attended.

— The University boat-race rowed from Putney to Mortlake. Cambridge after a few strokes obtained a lead, which was never lost; and ultimately won by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lengths. At Barnes Bridge, No. 7 in the Oxford boat broke his oar.

27. The race between the American schooner yachts, from New York Bay to Queenstown Harbour, won by the *Coronet*, which made the run from Sandy Hook in 14 days 19 hours, the *Dauntless* arriving about 29 hours later. Both vessels met with very rough weather.

— Several persons arrested at Madrid, Barcelona, and Valencia, by order of the Government, on suspicion of being connected with an intended Zorillist rising.

— Mr. Balfour (Secretary for Ireland) introduced the Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Bill in a speech lasting three hours.

29. The Queen left Windsor at 10 a.m. for Portsmouth, *en route* to Cherbourg and Cannes. The French port was reached at 6.30 p.m.

— A proclamation appeared in the *London Gazette* prohibiting the importation into the United Kingdom of all foreign coins other than of gold or silver.

— The Czar fired at by an officer whilst walking in the park at Gatchina, but escaped uninjured.

30. The Prince and Princess of Wales opened the new building of the College of Preceptors in Bloomsbury Square.

— Four judges of the High Court of Justice decided, after long arguments, that Lieutenant Hall, who had resigned his commission, and had quitted his ship without formally obtaining his discharge, was liable to a trial by court-martial for desertion.

— A snowfall, lasting six days altogether, interrupted the railway-traffic of the Canadian Pacific and other North American lines.

— The train conveying the Queen from Cherbourg to Cannes forced to stop for the night at La Roche (France), in consequence of the axle of the Royal saloon carriage becoming overheated. A delay of nearly ten hours was the consequence.

31. Meetings of the Conservatives at the Foreign Office, and of the Liberal Unionists at Devonshire House, were held to consider the course to be adopted with regard to the Government's Irish measures.

— The Irish Land Bill introduced into the House of Lords by the Earl Cadogan.

— Three persons, arrested in consequence of the attempt on the Czar's life on 18th inst., hanged at St. Petersburg.

31. M. Antoine, representative for Metz in the German Reichstag, expelled from Alsace-Lorraine.

— Herr Mantoff, Prefect of Rustchuk, shot at by a Bulgarian refugee and seriously wounded whilst walking in the streets of Bucharest.

## APRIL.

1. The Closure applied on the occasion of the protracted debate in bringing in the Crimes Bill (Ireland), and carried by a majority of 108.

2. Thos. W. Currell tried at the Old Bailey, and found guilty of the murder of Lydia Green at Hoxton.

— A banquet given by the Imperial Federation League to the Colonial Representatives at the first Imperial Conference. The chair was occupied by the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. E. Stanhope), and among the principal guests was H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge.

— A large petard, with fuse attached, found concealed in the curtains overhanging one of the doors of the Chamber of Congress at Madrid, and about an hour later another cartridge exploded in the courtyard of the Ministry of Finance.

4. The first session of the Colonial Conference assembled at the Foreign Office, under the presidency of Sir H. Holland. The delegates were welcomed by the Marquess of Salisbury.

— A hurricane which swept over Bhamo (Burmah) threw down the barracks which were being built for the British troops, causing the death of at least a dozen workmen employed.

5. The Queen left Cannes in the evening, and reached Aux-les-Bains by way of Marseilles, Valence, and Grenoble. Great offence was given to the French by the omission of the English fleet to salute the French flag and soil on arriving off Cannes. The Duke of Edinburgh, who was in command, sent an explanation to the French authorities that his squadron was unprovided with a saluting battery.

6. Hyde House, near Wareham, Dorset, the seat of Mr. C. J. Radcliffe, destroyed by a fire originating in the top story. Another broke out in the permanent barracks, forming part of the North Camp at Aldershot, and was not extinguished until damage estimated at 5,000*l.* had been done.

— A fresh attempt made to assassinate the Czar, by three men and a woman who presented a petition to him as he was driving through the streets of St. Petersburg.

— Professor Tyndall resigned the chair of Natural Philosophy at the Royal Institution, which he had held since the retirement of Professor Faraday in 1858.

— A north-easterly gale of great violence raged over the greater part of England, accompanied by snow in some places.

7. The Chicago election for the mayoralty resulted in the return of Mr. J. H. Roche, who received the support of both Republicans and Democrats, by 51,087 votes, against 22,848 votes given to Mr. R. Nelson, who was supported by the Anarchists and Socialists.

8. The Metropolitan volunteers commenced a series of operations in the field. One section was marched against Dover, by way of Canterbury; another against Eastbourne; while a third portion went to Aldershot. In the first case the scouting was done in great measure by "cyclists," of whom a company, consisting of about 100 men, were found able to traverse ground unfit for cavalry.

9. Colonel King-Harman appointed Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Ireland.

— Two Transatlantic steamers, *La Champagne* and *La Ville de Rio de Janeiro*, came into collision in a thick fog, whilst both were rounding a headland near Havre. Although one ship was crowded with emigrants and the other with homeward passengers, only seventeen of the former were drowned out of 900.

11. A great meeting held in Hyde Park to protest against the Crimes Bill of the Government, attended by numbers variously estimated from 50,000 to 150,000. Resolutions against the adoption of a coercion policy towards Ireland were adopted at twelve different platforms. The Socialists held an independent meeting, which, however, did not come into collision with that organised by the Radical Home Rulers.

12. The remains of ex-President Lincoln removed from the secret grave in which they had been deposited at Springfield, Illinois, and reburied with that of his wife in the same cemetery. The exact spot of the first interment had remained a close secret.

18. The *Victoria*, steamer, belonging to the Newhaven and Dieppe service, went ashore during a fog on the rocks off Cape Ailly, about six miles from Dieppe, owing, it was said, to the failure of the fog-horn at the lighthouse station. The majority of the passengers and crew, about ninety, were landed after some difficulty in the lifeboats of the steamer, with assistance from the shore; but seventeen lives were lost by the capsizing of one of the boats through overloading.

— Five thousand Russians and Poles attended a meeting in New York to denounce President Cleveland and Secretary Bayard for making a treaty with Russia for the surrender of dynamitards.

— Mr. J. Chamberlain, by a speech at Ayr to a large audience, inaugurated the political campaign in Scotland undertaken by the Liberal Unionists.

14. The Bank of England reduced its rate of discount to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; the revenue having risen to 15,887,000*l.*, or 50 per cent. of the liabilities. The stock of bullion was stated to be 24,185,585*l.*

15. In the House of Commons, during the protracted debate on the Crimes Bill, Colonel Saunderson's assertion that certain members of the Home Rule party had associated themselves knowingly with murderers produced a "scene," in the course of which Mr. Healy was suspended from the service of the House, by 118 to 52, for refusing to withdraw the expression that Colonel Saunderson was a liar.

16. Throughout the week, meetings held in all parts of the country in opposition to or in support of the Crimes Bill (Ireland) the most important being Edinburgh (Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen), Derby (Sir W. Harcourt), Ayr and Hawick (Mr. Chamberlain). At Birmingham at the meeting of

the Liberal Associations, a resolution condemnatory of the Bill was carried by a majority of about 100.

17. The P. and O. Co.'s steamer *Tasmania*, on her way from Port Said to Marseilles, went ashore on the Monachi Rocks on the south coast of Corsica, about three miles from the shore. The women and children were at once landed there, and the remainder of the passengers and crew, altogether about 800, were not able to quit the ship for some hours, during which time they were in great danger, but ultimately all were saved with the exception of the captain, two quartermasters, and twenty lascars and stokers.

18. Thomas William Currell, who had been convicted of the wilful murder of his sweetheart Lydia Green, hanged at the Old Bailey, after having made confession that the crime had been committed by him through jealousy and was premeditated.

— In the House of Commons, the Government Crimes Bill (Ireland) read a second time without a division, after the defeat of Sir B. Samuelson's amendment by 370 to 269.

— Mr. Ritchie (President of the Local Government Board) and Earl Cadogan (Privy Seal) admitted to the Cabinet.

— Ex-Marshal Bazaine stabbed in his own house in Madrid by a Frenchman who had obtained admission on pretence of delivering a letter.

19. An outbreak of rabies among the deer in Richmond Park led to a large number of the animals being slaughtered.

— "Primrose Day" celebrated, according to the Conservative papers, with more than usual enthusiasm; whilst, according to the Liberals, it was neglected almost everywhere except at organised meetings of the party.

— The Great Metropolitan Stakes at Epsom won by the Duke of Beaufort's The Cob, 4 years, defeating a field of nine starters.

20. L'Abbé Béliard, a French priest at Dôle, buried with civic rites in accordance with the injunctions of his will. The Freethinkers and Radicals gave the deceased an imposing funeral, which many leading men from Paris and elsewhere attended.

— Two officials—one a quartermaster-sergeant, and the other a civilian—dismissed from the Royal Arsenal, Woolwich, for giving information to a foreign Government concerning the secrets of the Ordnance Department.

— A sharp shock of an earthquake travelling from west to east felt in Jersey and Guernsey, occasioning great alarm but no damage.

— The City and Suburban Handicap at Epsom won by Captain Wardle's Merry Duchess.

21. Mr. Goschen, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, expounded his first Budget, which showed an available surplus of above a million.

22. Great excitement caused in Paris and throughout France by the arrest by the German authorities of the French Commissary, at the frontier station of Pagny-sur-Moselle.

— In the House of Lords the Irish Land Bill, after two nights' discussion, read a second time without a division.

— A largely attended meeting held at the Lyceum Theatre, on the

invitation of Mr. Henry Irving, in support of the Library Fund of the Shakespeare Memorial Building at Stratford-on-Avon.

22. A terrific hurricane broke over the northern coast of Western Australia and struck the pearl-fishing fleet. Upwards of twenty-seven vessels and 250 lives were lost.

23. Hon. Percy Allsopp (Conservative) returned for Taunton by 1,426 votes, to 890 given to Mr. J. Harris Sanders (Gladstonian Liberal).

— The Queen, accompanied by the Prince and Princess Henry of Battenberg, visited the monastery of the Grande Chartreuse; the rule forbidding the entry of women, except reigning sovereigns, to its precincts being here relaxed by the Pope, as had been done previously, for the Empress of Brazil, in 1875.

— A grand convention of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, followed by a banquet held in St. James's Palace (it being the anniversary of the Order) in honour of the Queen's Jubilee.

24. A great fire occurred at Amant Keni on the Bosphorus, by which nearly 800 houses were destroyed, several lives lost and immense damage done.

25. A terrific thunderstorm raged over large portions of Moravia and Galicia, resulting in serious loss of life.

26. Heavy falls of snow took place in Scotland, the Lake District, and as far south as Birmingham.

27. Maharajah Dhuleep Singh and Mr. Patrick Carey, travelling together in Russia, bitterly denouncing the British Government, made the object of many attentions on the part of the Pan Slavist party at Moscow.

— At Newmarket, the Two Thousand Guineas Stakes won by Mr. D. Baird's Enterprise (T. Cannon), 9st., the favourite, defeating a small field of eight runners.

— Messrs. Thornycroft's (of Chiswick) torpedo-boat, built for the Spanish Government, when tried at Lower Hope, showed a mean speed of 26.11 knots (thirty miles) an hour, the utmost ever registered by a steamship.

28. The Bank of England reduced its rate of discount to 2 per cent., the reserve standing at 15,871,000*l.*, or 51 per cent. of the current liabilities.

— After two nights' debate on Mr. R. T. Reid's instruction, which was negatived by a majority of 101 votes, the House of Commons went into Committee on the Crimes Bill.

29. M. Schnaebelé, the French Commissary who had been arrested at Pagny under somewhat strange circumstances, unconditionally released by the order of the German Emperor.

— At Newmarket, the One Thousand Guineas Stakes won by the favourite, the Duke of Beaufort's Rêve d'Or (C. Wood), 8 st. 12 lbs. Twelve started.

— The flourishing village of Sils, in the Upper Engadine, with the exception of five houses, totally destroyed by fire.

— The Queen, crossing from Cherbourg to Portsmouth, reached Windsor about 4 P.M., having left Aix-le-Bains at 11 A.M. on the previous morning.

— The men, numbering over 6,000, employed in two of the largest ship-building yards in Belfast, went out on strike on the question of the substitution of weekly for fortnightly payments.

80. A private meeting of the Liberal Unionists held at Devonshire House under the presidency of Lord Hartington. No report of the proceedings was published.

— Alice Hackett, of the High School at Cork, elected to be "Rose Queen," and entertained before the bishop of the diocese and a large gathering. She was presented with a gold cross, the annual gift of Mr. Ruskin, together with six books for distribution among the school-fellows she loved best.

— During a severe thunderstorm which broke over the district and village of Castle Comer, Queen's Co., a thick black cloud appeared to envelop the place, the animals became frantic, and a black rain descended, discolouring the local streams and cisterns and all linen exposed to its influence.

## MAY.

2. Earthquakes took place in Texas and Arizona, and extended as far as the Pacific coast, and large portions of Santa Catalina Mountains, near Tucson (Arizona) were torn away, and fell down its sides, and the highest cliff of the Chivoto Mountains was similarly shattered.

— The remains of Rossini, which had been removed from the cemetery of Père-la-chaise, at Paris, reached Florence, and received with great honours, in anticipation of their re-interment in Santa Croce.

8. A tremendous explosion took place at the gunpowder mills of Messrs. Curtis & Harvey, Hounslow, the shock of which was felt for many miles round, and even in London. Only one life, however, was lost, although the damage done was very great.

— After two days' trial, Mr. Brenon obtained 500*l.* damages from Messrs. Ridgeway for a libel contained in a pamphlet published by them, entitled "The I.R.B." (Irish Republican Brotherhood).

— The Manchester Art Exhibition, in honour of the Royal Jubilee, opened with great ceremony by the Prince and Princess of Wales.

— Sir Charles Lewis in the House of Commons brought forward the question of privilege of members being infringed by the *Times* articles.

4. A terrible explosion of firedamp occurred in a coal-mine at Nanaimo, Vancouver's Island, involving serious loss of life. All those inside the mine, comprising 101 whites and seventy-five Chinamen, were, with the exception of twelve of the former, suffocated, and one of the rescue party was also killed.

5. A series of earthquake shocks, extending over nearly a fortnight, during which there were no appreciable intervals of rest except between May 15 and 18, occurred in Hawaii. By the first shock 169 persons were buried under the ruins, and the subsequent shocks did not leave a single house uninjured.

— The inquiry into the circumstances of the wreck of the Channel steamer *Victoria* off Dieppe resulted, after a long trial, in the censure of the captain, who had not taken proper care to verify his course.

— In consequence of the repeated demonstrations of anti-German feeling before the Eden Theatre, the performance of Wagner's "*Lohengrin*," which had been the source of long and expensive preparations, was abandoned.



5. Rev. J. Bell Cox, of St. Margaret's, Liverpool, arrested under a warrant of Lord Penzance for contumacy in the matter of conducting Divine service, and removed to Walton gaol.

— The House of Commons decided by 299 to 220 that the *Times'* rejoinder to Mr. Dillon's declaration that he had not been connected with Sheridan and the dynamite party did not constitute a breach of privilege.

Mr. Justice Kay, on the application of a shareholder, granted an injunction against the Directors of the South Eastern Railway, restraining them from the payment of 1,000*l.* to the Imperial Institute, authorised at a general meeting of the shareholders. The judge declared that the payment was *ultra vires*.

— The towns of Nagy Karoly and Eperies, both in Hungary, almost totally destroyed by fire, and upwards of 300 lives lost and 5,000 persons rendered temporarily houseless. At the latter town the Protestant inhabitants were preparing to celebrate the 200th anniversary of "the Day of Slaughter," when most of the Protestant citizens of Eperies had been executed by order of the Austrian general Karaffa.

— The House of Commons negatived by 317 to 233 Mr. Gladstone's motion to refer to a select committee the question of Mr. Dillon's veracity with regard to the *Times'* charges.

7. Lord Salisbury presided at a grand banquet, given to celebrate Mr. Goschen's return to Parliament for St. George's, Hanover Square.

— The Jubilee Stakes (value 3,000 guineas) at Kempton Park, one mile, won by Mr. Barclay's Bendigo, aged, 8 st. 7 lbs., the winner of the Eclipse Stakes at Sandown in the previous year. Eighteen started.

9. The Queen came to London from Windsor, and received at Buckingham Palace the congratulatory addresses of the Corporation of the City of London.

— Terrible forest fires reported to be raging in various parts of Galicia and Bukovina, attributed to the long-continued drought. It was estimated that many hundreds of miles of valuable forests had been destroyed.

— The House of Commons had an all-night sitting (adjourning at 6.15 a.m.), in the course of which the closure was applied twice and refused once in the debate on the Crimes Bill.

10. Prince and Princess Henry of Battenberg (Princess Beatrice), on behalf of the Queen, opened the Art and Industrial Exhibition at Saltaire.

— Anti-Jewish riots broke out in Moravia, where, at Kojeteiv, a peasant girl having committed suicide, the old story of the slaughter of Christian maidens was revived, and several Jewish houses and shops were sacked by the mob.

— The Queen attended a private representation of the 'The Wild West,' given at the American Exhibition, South Kensington.

11. Josef Hofmann, a boy aged nine years, created great enthusiasm in Paris as a pianist in the public performance of a number of classical pieces.

— A great demonstration of Viennese students made against the Professor of Law, Dr. Maassen, as a protest against an anti-German speech delivered by the Professor in the Upper House of the Reichsrath.

11. H.R.H. The Duke of Cambridge, on behalf of her Majesty, opened the Art and Industrial Exhibition at Newcastle-on-Tyne.

12. In the House of Commons the motion to reduce the cost of preparing Westminster Abbey for the Jubilee Service, viz. 17,000*l.* to 2,000*l.*, negatived by 208 to 84.

— Grand *fêtes* given at Florence in honour of the completion of the façade of the Duomo, uncovered by the King of Italy.

13. Three per cent. consols were sold at 108½, the highest price recorded since their creation in 1751 ; although the tradition survives, unsupported by conclusive evidence, that in 1788 a similar stock was quoted at 107.

— The Regency of Gwalior having decided to place its savings in the hands of the Indian Government, an agent of the financial department was sent to receive the treasure, which was found to be buried in large pits, covered with earth and pavement. Pit after pit was opened, and rupees to the value of five millions sterling were disinterred and shovelled into bags for conveyance to Calcutta.

14. The Queen left Windsor at 8 p.m., for London, in order to open the People's Palace at Mile End. The whole route from Paddington, by way of Oxford Street, Holborn, &c., to the Palace was gaily decorated, and thronged by enthusiastic crowds. After the formal opening had taken place, a few amongst those who had especially interested themselves in the undertaking were presented to her Majesty, including Mr. Walter Besant, the author of "All Sorts and Conditions of Men"—a novel, based on the realisation of a similar hall of amusement for the working-classes—and Captain Spencer Beaumont, representing the Beaumont Trust, out of the funds of which a large portion of the cost of the building was defrayed. On her return the Queen stopped at the Mansion House to take tea with the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress, and, returning by the Holborn and Oxford Street route to Paddington, reached Windsor about 8 p.m.

15. The largest meeting ever held in Toronto met to protest against Mr. W. O'Brien's campaign in Canada, having for object the excitement of ill-feeling against the Viceroy, the Marquess of Lansdowne, on account of his dealings with his tenantry.

16. H.R.H. The Princess Louise, representing the Queen, opened the Liverpool Jubilee Exhibition.

17. A deputation of "pit-brow women" received by the Home Secretary to protest against the proposed State interference with their labour.

— In Paris, the differences which had existed for some time between the Budget Committee and the French Minister of Finance culminated in the rejection by the Chamber of the latter's proposal by 275 votes against 257. M. Goblet's Ministry thereupon resigned.

— Mr. Wm. O'Brien held an open-air meeting at Toronto, attended by about 15,000 persons, to protest against Lord Lansdowne's conduct as an Irish landlord, but was unable to obtain a hearing.

18. The *London Gazette* announced the issue of the "Jubilee Coinage," to be marked by a modification in the Queen's profile, and by the introduction of a new coin—the double florin.

— Strikes reported from various mining districts throughout Belgium

18. The contest for the St. Austell division of Cornwall, vacant by the resignation of Mr. Borlase, resulted in the return of Mr. M<sup>r</sup>Arthur (Gladstonian) by 3,540, against Mr. Brydges Wilyams (Unionist) 3,329 votes.

— At a meeting of the Eighty Club, called to determine its attitude towards Home Rule, 143 voted in support of Mr. Gladstone's policy, against 55 Unionists. The minority subsequently withdrew from the Club.

19. Mr. O'Brien mobbed by a crowd of Orangemen and others when attempting to leave his hotel at Toronto. A good deal of rioting followed, but Mr. O'Brien was placed in safety by the police.

— The Emperor of Russia received in great state at Novo-Tscherkaak by the Don Cossacks, to whom he presented his eldest son as their hetman.

— Two steamships of the White Star Line, the *Celtic* and the *Britannic*, came into collision during a fog about 300 miles east of Sandy Hook, but reached their destination in safety. The former had her bows stove in, and four persons were killed and nine seriously injured on board the latter.

20 A destructive gale, accompanied by hailstorm and rain, broke over the greater part of England, doing great damage to fruit-trees, flowers, &c. At various places round the coast communication by sea was temporarily suspended, and many disasters were reported. Further north, in Perthshire, a heavy snowfall occurred.

— Five of the persons implicated in the plot against the Czar's life on March 18 executed privately at St. Petersburg.

— The Queen, accompanied by the Prince and Princess Henry of Battenberg, left Windsor for Balmoral.

21. In accordance with the decision of the Court of Queen's Bench, the Rev. J. Bell Cox released from Walton gaol.

— The Prince and Princess of Wales visited the London Hospital, Whitechapel, in order to formally open the nursery-home, new library, &c., attached to the hospital. The Princess Mary of Teck, in the name of the Queen, opened the Terrace Gardens at Richmond, purchased for the public by the Vestry for 30,000*l*.

22. The Speaker of the House of Commons, attended by the two ex-Speakers, Viscounts Eversley and Hampden, and about 450 members of the House of Commons, attended in state a special service at St. Margaret's, Westminster, in celebration of the Queen's Jubilee. The sermon was preached by the Bishop of Ripon. Both the Archbishops and most of the Chapter of Westminster attended.

— The French Derby (Prix du Jockey Club), run at Chantilly, won by M. Aumont's Monarque (Hartley), defeating twelve other competitors. The Austrian Derby, run at Freudenau, won by Baron Nath. de Rothschild's Zsupan, in a field of twenty-four starters.

— The Crown Prince of Germany underwent a delicate operation to remove an obstruction in the throat which seriously impeded his power of speech.

— The new Egyptian Convention between the Porte and Great Britain signed at Constantinople by Sir H. D. Wolff on behalf of the latter.

23. Great strikes occurred amongst the colliers and ironworkers in

various parts of Belgium. In the Borinage alone upwards of 15,000 went out.

24. After addressing a meeting of Irishmen at Hamilton, Ontario, Mr. W. O'Brien was attacked and pursued by a large body of Loyalists and Orangemen, and several shots were fired from the crowd at the carriage in which Mr. O'Brien was driving.

— The sale of French crown jewels, lasting ten days, realised the total sum of 7,207,252 francs, exclusive of the jewels having any historic interest, valued at 510,000*l.* sterling, which were transferred to the Louvre.

25. The "Derby" won by an outsider, Mr. Abington's Merry Hampton (J. Watts) defeating the favourite, "The Baron," in a canter by four lengths. Eleven started.

— The Opéra Comique at Paris totally destroyed by a fire which broke out during the first act of the performance of "Mignon." The actual number of lives lost was never satisfactorily ascertained, many bodies being reduced to ashes. Upwards of eighty bodies were buried, the majority of the deaths having been caused by suffocation or by injuries incurred in attempting to escape; whilst about forty-five persons were reported as missing.

26. The Epsom Grand Prize (1½ mile) won by Mr. Manton's Eiridsport (J. Fagan), 8 yrs. 8 st. 10 lbs. Seven started.

— Disturbances took place at Meifod, Montgomeryshire, on a body of police proceeding to farms that had been distrained upon for tithes. At Llangwan, near Corwen, an auctioneer who tried to effect a sale was mobbed, and narrowly escaped serious injury.

27. After restorations and rebuildings extending over four years, the Lantern Tower of Peterborough Cathedral, which had shown signs of subsidence, completed and reopened to the public.

— At Epsom, the Oaks Stakes won by the favorite, the Duke of Beaufort's Rève d'Or (C. Wood), by three lengths. Nine started.

28. A terrible explosion occurred in one of the pits of the Udston Coal Company at Blantyre, Lanarkshire, by which over seventy lives were lost.

— The Prince and Princess of Wales drove to Tottenham High Cross to open the new wing of the Deaconesses' Institution and Hospital, named after Mr. Samuel Morley, and erected at the expense of his sons.

— The attempts to sell farmers' produce, &c., in discharge of tithes in North Wales aroused strong opposition in the neighbourhood of Rhyl; the farmers forcing the auctioneer to swear he would never so sell for tithes again.

80. A portion of the Spitzén, a mountain 7,964 feet above the sea-level on the Schächenthal (Canton Uri), detached itself from the main body of the chain, and caused terrible destruction in the valley between Spiringen and Unterschächen.

— The nineteenth annual congress of the Co-operative Societies opened at Carlisle, under the presidency of Mr. G. J. Holyoake, and attended by about 500 delegates.

— A parade of London cart-horses took place in the grounds of the Albert Palace, and was attended by 244 teams, which, after the judging, went through the streets from Battersea to Kensington.

80. First stone laid of the Roman Catholic Cathedral at Peking, designed to take the place of the edifice overlooking the Emperor's palace.

81. The Sikh priests of the golden temple at Umritsuhr, having learned that the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh had openly lent himself to Russian intrigues, discontinued to offer the customary prayers for his welfare.

## JUNE.

1. A conference of the National Radical Union, presided over by Mr. J. Chamberlain, held at Birmingham, and largely attended.

— A serious fire at the Strand Quay, Hamburg, did considerable damage to the shipping and sheds, and occasioned numerous serious accidents.

2. Mr. Gladstone left Hawarden for Swansea, making speeches to enthusiastic crowds at the principal stations at which the train stopped.

— Alarming floods reported from various parts of Central Europe. In Hungary, the river Theiss broke through the sluice between Tape and Algyo, inundating 40,000 acres of the most fruitful cornfields, and entailing a loss computed at from 12 to 15 millions of florins.

8. At Bodyke, co. Limerick, the sheriff's officers, attempting to evict tenants, met with determined opposition from an assembly of upwards of 5,000 persons. The military and constabulary were alike called into requisition, and ultimately carried the law into effect.

— The German Emperor, unaccompanied by either the Crown Prince or the Chancellor, laid the foundation-stone of a new lock at Holtenau, near Kiel, which was to form an important feature in the North Sea and Baltic ship canal.

4. Mr. Gladstone, as the guest of Sir Henry Vivian, received at Singleton Abbey, near Swansea, deputations from the principal Welsh Liberal bodies, and subsequently addressed an enormous and enthusiastic audience, estimated at 100,000 persons, who had arrived from various parts of the principality.

— A grand "Jubilee" banquet given in the Central Hall of the Royal Courts of Justice, attended by members of the Bench, the Bar, and by many solicitors.

— The Cunard steamer *Umbria* reached Sandy Hook six days and three hours after leaving Queenstown—the quickest record.

5. The Grand Prix de Paris won by M. Aumont's filly *Ténébreuse* (Woodburn), an outsider, which defeated The Baron easily by two lengths, whilst Merry Hampton finished fourth. Eleven started.

6. The council of the Society of Arts awarded to the Queen the Albert Medal for the year "for distinguished merit in promoting arts, manufactures, and commerce."

— The strike of the Northumberland miners against a reduction of wages (12½ per cent. in steam coal, and 7½ per cent. in soft coal collieries) terminated, after seventeen weeks' duration, by the acceptance of the masters' terms. The strike, in which 16,000 men and boys took part, was estimated

to have cost 156,000*l.* in loss of wages, to meet which the Miners' Union contributed 84,000*l.*, whilst about 10,000*l.* was contributed from other collieries and trades outside the area of the strike.

7. Mr. Wm. O'Brien, after a short tour in the United States, left New York for Queenstown, taking with him \$25,000 collected during his tour for the Parnell Fund.

8. A terrible colliery explosion took place soon after midnight at the Hibernia coal-pit at Gelsenkirchen (Westphalia), by which sixty miners lost their lives.

— The old palace of the Archbishops of Canterbury at Croydon, together with a portion of the grounds, purchased by the Duke of Newcastle for presentation to an Anglican sisterhood.

9. A serious fire broke out at the Manhattan oil wharf at Silvertown on the banks of the Thames, and at one time threatened the destruction of 80,000 gallons of paraffin oil. By the efforts of the firemen the fire was isolated; and although the tanks were saved, enormous destruction was done to other property.

— A serious earthquake shock destroyed the principal buildings of Vernoe in Eastern Turkestan, and, extending in a westerly direction, occasioned considerable loss of life and destruction of property.

10. The principal events of the Ascot Meeting were thus decided:—

Jubilee Cup (New Mile).—Mr. Vyner's Minting (J. Osborne), 4 yrs., 9 st. 8 lbs. Five started.

Prince of Wales's Stakes (1 mile 5 furlongs).—Mr. Manton's Claymore (F. Barrett), 3 yrs., 8 st. 3 lbs. Seven started.

Ascot Stakes (2 miles).—Mr. J. Hammond's Eurasian (F. Barrett), 5 yrs. 8 st. 6 lbs. Seven started.

Gold Vase (2 miles).—Mr. Abington's Quilp (A. White), 3 yrs., 7 st. 8 lbs. Four started.

Royal Hunt Cup (New Mile).—Mr. Manton's Gay Hermit (C. Wood), 4 yrs., 7 st. 13 lbs. Sixteen started.

Gold Cup (2½ miles).—Mr. D. Baird's Bird of Freedom (Warne), 5 yrs., 9 st. 4 lbs. Six started.

Hardwicke Stakes (Swinley Course).—Duke of Westminster's Ormonde (T. Cannon), 4 yrs., 9 st. 10 lbs. Four started.

Alexandra Plate (3 miles).—Mr. J. Hammond's Eurasian (F. Barrett), 5 yrs., 9 st. 6 lbs. Seven started.

— In the House of Commons, after the closure had been enforced five times, the First Lord of the Treasury carried his resolution that the Crimes Bill should be reported to the House on that day week.

11. A naval sham fight took place at Portsmouth in the presence of about 800 members of the House of Commons.

— A fire broke out in the city of Brooklyn by which the Havermeyer Refinery, the Devoes Oilworks, and several other buildings, estimated at a million of dollars, were destroyed.

18. A large body of the Kentish constabulary suddenly called upon to preserve order at Chatham, where riotous demonstrations had broken out against the Jezreelites, a religious sect formed about two years previously by James White, a private soldier. Before his death the control of the body had been assumed by his widow, who styled herself Queen Esther. Dissensions had, however, occurred among the body, and vague charges of

fraud were made by those disaffected to the governing body. The populace of Chatham, siding with the seceders, attacked a Jezreelite procession, broke its instruments of music, and sacked a building in construction which was destined to contain 14,000 persons.

14. The Jubilee Yacht Race round the United Kingdom began at South-end, the Prince and Princess of Wales giving the signal for starting. Eleven yachts started, the smallest being Lord F. Cecil's *Sleuth-hound* (cutter), 32 tons, and the largest Major Ewing's *Gwendoline* (schooner), 192 tons.

— The temperature rose somewhat suddenly to a remarkable height, attaining 79° in the shade and 139° in the sunshine at the Greenwich Observatory.

— The Duchess d'Alençon, Princess Sophie of Bavaria, and at one time betrothed to the late King Ludwig II., removed to a private asylum near Graz, her health having broken down under mental anxiety combined with diphtheria and scarlet fever.

15. The Reform Club celebrated its "Jubilee" by a grand ball, which was attended by the Prince of Wales and other members of the royal family, and a large assemblage of guests belonging to all political parties.

— A great panic occurred in the Chicago wheat-market, where prices had for some months been artificially maintained by a clique. The "ring" lost upwards of three millions of dollars, some of its members being forced to go into liquidation.

— Mr. Carlisle Graham succeeded in shooting the Niagara on a life-saving raft of his own invention—of which the principal feature was a large barrel. Mr. Graham's desire to ride outside the barrel was overcome by the authorities, and his journey inside was performed without the least hitch; and, having passed through the eddy where Captain Webb lost his life, and having spun round the whirlpool, Mr. Graham came safely to land about three miles below his starting-point.

16. The Queen's Jubilee kept at Glasgow with great enthusiasm, and favoured by the most propitious weather. A review of 10,000 troops and volunteers took place on Glasgow Green, and 6,000 of the poor were entertained at dinner at halls in various parts of the city.

— Madlle. Martinez Campos, whilst walking with a companion in the Avenue du Bois de Boulogne, Paris, suddenly surrounded by a number of men, who hurried her into a carriage in waiting, and drove off at a rapid pace, before the bystanders could interfere. Madlle. Martinez Campos was a young lady of great wealth and beauty, whose marriage with a son of Marshal Serrano, Duca de la Torre, had, on her own prayer, after a short duration been dissolved by the Pope a few months before her abduction. It subsequently transpired that Madlle. Martinez Campos was a consenting party to the episode—her family being opposed to her marriage with M. Miellvaque de Lacour Garbeuf, whom they regarded as a needy adventurer. The couple, after escaping to Belgium, thence crossed to Dover, where the lady announced her intention of remaining until legally enabled to be married in this country.

17. The Queen arrived at Windsor from Balmoral, her journey southwards having been marked by enthusiastic receptions at the stations where the train stopped.

17. The Prince and Princess of Wales laid the foundation-stone of the Home for Destitute Boys in St. Giles's, to be called "Shaftesbury House," as a memorial of the distinguished philanthropist, and in commemoration of the Queen's Jubilee.

— In the House of Commons, at 10 p.m., the Chairman rose whilst Sir Charles Russell was speaking on Sec. 5 of the Irish Crimes Bill, and put the clause, which was passed by 332 to 168. After the division the opposition members left the House, and the remaining clauses were separately put by the Chairman, and agreed to without challenge, and the Bill was reported to the House.

18. In the Cambridge Classical Tripos (part i.), Miss A. Ramsay, of Girton (daughter of Sir J. Ramsay of Banff), was placed alone in the first class—thus being Senior Classic of the year; whilst two Newnham students were placed in the first class (part ii.) And in the Modern Languages Tripos, Miss Harvey, of Newnham, was placed second in the first class.

19. A train coming from Potsdam ran into another standing in the Wannsee station. The gas-reservoir of the incoming train was broken, and an explosion occurred, followed by an outburst of flames, by which three persons were burnt to death and seven others were more or less seriously injured.

20. The Queen, on her arrival at Buckingham Palace from Windsor, received the various special envoys (including Monsignore Ruffo Scilla on behalf of the Pope) who had come to present the congratulations of their respective sovereigns, &c.

— The P. and O. steamer *Hydaspes* ran aground off Rass Mohamed, at the entry of the Gulf of Suez; but the passengers and mails were, after some days' delay, safely landed at Suez.

21. The Queen, accompanied by her children and grandchildren, and attended by a number of foreign sovereigns or their representatives, went in state from Buckingham Palace to Westminster Abbey, where a Special Jubilee Service was held. The Queen's reception by an immense concourse of people was most enthusiastic: the route was decorated with taste and profusion, and in the evening the illuminations of private houses and buildings almost universal. The procession from the Palace to the Abbey was a gorgeous pageant, probably never equalled in this country. Throughout the country local celebrations were held, the day having been proclaimed a general holiday; but in some cases other days of the week were selected as more convenient. In the evening, at 10 p.m., a signal-rocket was discharged from Malvern Beacon—and beacon-fires at once were blazing on all the principal promontories and inland heights from Shetland and Orkney to the Land's End.

22. A children's Jubilee festival, due to the initiative of Mr. Edward Lawson of the *Daily Telegraph*, was held in Hyde Park, when 80,000 children marched to the park in perfect order, and were there allowed to enjoy themselves with complete freedom, games and amusements of all kinds having been provided in the space set apart for them. Each child was provided with a meat pie, a piece of cake, a bun, and an orange, besides being presented with a mug specially made for the occasion by Messrs. Doulton. The Prince and Princess of Wales arrived early in the afternoon, and subsequently the Queen



passed along the carriage-way where the children were assembled, one of whom was presented to her. The Queen then drove to Paddington, and thence travelled to Slough, whence she again drove to Eton, and was received with great enthusiasm at the College.

22. At the Encænïa at Oxford, honorary degrees were conferred upon Lord Acton, the Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir Henry Roscoe, M.P., F.R.S., Dr. Jellet (Provost of Trinity College, Dublin), M. Maspero, the Egyptologist, and others.

23. Mr. Reginald Bidmead brought to the bar of the House of Commons and formally censured by the Speaker for fraudulently obtaining signatures for certain public petitions.

— The Jubilee festivities continued at Windsor and elsewhere, dinners being given to the aged poor, tea and amusements to children in various parts of the country. Windsor Home Park was brilliantly illuminated in honour of the Queen and her royal guests at the Castle.

24. A sudden collapse in the principal securities dealt in at the New York Stock Exchange set in without definite cause. The value of money rapidly advanced on the rumour of the losses sustained by the New York banks. The fall in prices began in Mr. Jay Gould's stocks, of which Manhattan Railway declined from 156 to 115, Missouri Pacific 105 to 92, Western Union 78 to 65. A considerable recovery occurred before the close of business, but there was an average decline of 5 per cent. throughout the list.

— A statue of Alfonso XII. unveiled at Alhama in the centre of the earthquake-stricken district, where a few months before his death the King had displayed so much sympathy with the inhabitants, and energy in the relief of their distress.

25. A peaceful revolution effected in Hawaii, where the people, scandalised by the corruption of King Kalakaua's ministry, assembled in force and passed resolutions calling upon the King to abdicate. They then proceeded to the palace, where the King at once consented to dismiss his ministry, and to submit to a constitution, by which his own power would be merely nominal.

— The King of the Belgians, on paying a visit to the East London People's Palace, consented to lay the first stone of the library about to be erected, and subsequently made a speech with reference to the uses of such an undertaking.

— A bronze statue of William Wallace unveiled at Stirling in presence of a large gathering of people from all parts of Scotland.

— Seven more conspirators out of a batch of twenty-one political prisoners secretly tried at St. Petersburg and sentenced to death.

— An extraordinary number of the *London Gazette* issued, containing a letter from the Queen to her people expressing her gratification at the way in which she and her children and grandchildren had been received on their way to Westminster Abbey.

26. A fire broke out in a private house in Newman Street, Oxford Street, by which four persons lost their lives. At Chicago also a destructive fire broke out on the premises of the Chicago Packing and Provision Company, by which buildings covering five acres of ground and millions of pounds of pork and lard were destroyed.

27. The Jubilee Yacht Race (1,000 guineas) won by Sir R. Sutton's yacht *Genesta*, 85 tons, which arrived at Dover at 5.15 A.M., having completed the circuit of the United Kingdom (1,590 miles) in 12 days 16 hours and 55 minutes. The cutter *Sleuth-hound* reached Dover at 11.50 P.M., winning thereby the 250*l.* cup.

— Prince Albert Victor and Prince George of Wales arrived in Dublin to assist at the Jubilee celebrations. In spite of the absence of the Lord Mayor and of the High Sheriff from the procession, the princes were well received, although counter-demonstrations were attempted at some points of the route.

— Serious droughts reported from various parts of the country, and in South Wales, Lancashire, and elsewhere the inconvenience resulting from the scanty supply of water was severely felt.

28. The village of Marshfield, Wisconsin, entirely destroyed by fire, a spark from a locomotive having fallen on a timber-yard. Two thousand persons rendered homeless, and the loss of property exceeded a million dollars. Almost simultaneously 100 houses were destroyed at Hurley, Wisconsin, and great damage done.

29. The Queen, on her way from Paddington to Buckingham Palace, paid a visit to Kensington, her birthplace, and where she had received the news of her accession. In the evening the Lord Mayor and Corporation gave a grand ball in the Guildhall, which was attended by a large number of British and foreign princes, and distinguished men from all parts of the empire.

80. In the House of Commons, on the motion of the First Lord of the Treasury, it having been decided by a clear majority of 100 that the Crimes Bill should be reported on the following Monday (July 4), the Irish and Gladstonian Liberals left the House, the former taking up places in the gallery, whilst the clauses of the Bill were passed unchallenged through the House.

— The following is the list of pensions granted during the year, and charged upon the Civil List:—Louisa Johanna Lady Farnborough, in consideration of the distinguished parliamentary and literary services of her late husband, 250*l.*; Mr. Augustus Mongredien, in consideration of the merits and public utility of his literary work, 100*l.*; Mr. Jacob Brett, in recognition of his services in connection with the introduction of submarine telegraphy, 100*l.*; Mr. Thomas Adolphus Trollope, in consideration of the value of his literary work, his straitened means, and his advanced age, 200*l.*; Mr. Edmund Chester Waters, in consideration of his long and arduous labours as a writer on genealogy, 100*l.*; Mr. Thomas Bolton, in consideration of the services which he has rendered to science by his investigations in connection with microscopic fauna, 50*l.*; Mr. Charles Kent, in recognition of the value of his contributions to biographical and other literature, 100*l.*; Mr. Gerald Massey, in consideration of his literary merit, and of the smallness of his means of support, 80*l.*; Anna Maria Lady Palliser (additional), in consideration of the services of her late husband, Sir William Palliser, as an inventor of munitions of war, etc., and of her destitute condition, and to enable her to provide for her daughters, 150*l.*; Mrs. Jessie Clerk, in consideration of the literary merits of her late husband, the Reverend Archibald Clerk, LL.D., as Celtic scholar, and of her destitute condition, 120*l.* The total of the grants is 1,200*l.*

## JULY.

1. The principal races at the Henley Regatta were decided as follows, Cambridge winning all eight events and Trinity Hall five:—

|   | min. | sec. |  |
|---|------|------|--|
| Silver Goblets (Pair oars). Third Trinity Boat Club .                 | 8    | 15   | easily.                                  |
| Grand Challenge Cup (Eight oars). Trinity Hall Boat Club .            | 6    | 56   | 4 feet.                                  |
| Ladies' Challenge Plate (Eight oars). 2nd Trinity Hall Boat Club      | 7    | 10   | 1½ lengths.                              |
| Wyfold Challenge Cup (Four oars). Pembroke College (Cambridge)        | 7    | 50   | 3½ lengths.                              |
| Diamond Challenge Sculls. J. Y. Gardner, Emmanuel College (Cambridge) | 8    | 51   | (G. Nickalls ran foul of a pleasureboat) |
| Visitors' Challenge Cup (Four oars). 2nd Trinity Hall Boat Club       | 8    | 8    | 2 lengths.                               |
| Steward's Challenge Cup (Four oars). 1st Trinity Hall Boat Club       | 7    | 53   | easily.                                  |
| Thames Challenge Cup (Eight oars). 2nd Trinity Hall Boat Club         | 7    | 20   | 2 lengths.                               |

— The election for the Spalding division of Lincolnshire resulted in the return of Mr. Halley-Stewart (Gladstonian Liberal), by 5,110 votes, over Admiral Tryon (Conservative), who polled 4,865 votes.

— A grand ball given by the benchers of the Inner Temple, in honour of the Queen's Jubilee. Numerous covered walks were made in the rambling courts and buildings of the Inn, the whole of which was brilliantly illuminated.

2. The Metropolitan and Suburban Volunteers, to the number of 24,000, divided into six brigades, marched past the Queen, in front of Buckingham Palace. The Prince of Wales, the Duke of Connaught, and Prince Albert Victor appeared with their respective regiments.

— The Lord Chief Justice (Coleridge) and Mr. Justice Field made absolute the rule for a writ of *habeas corpus*, under which Rev. J. Bell Cox., had been released from prison.

3. The thermometer in London registered 91° in the shade and 146° in the sun.

4. The Queen came to London from Windsor to lay the foundation-stone of the Imperial Institute, to be erected at South Kensington. The Queen was received by the Prince of Wales, the President of the Institute, and by a magnificent assemblage of representatives of all parts of her dominions. An ode written by Mr. Lewis Morris, and set to music by Sir Arthur Sullivan, was performed by the Royal Albert Hall Choral Society, and was followed by the ceremony of laying the first stone, a block of colonial granite over three tons in weight.

— The Queen, after the conclusion of the ceremony, went to the Royal Albert Hall to distribute the prizes given by the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, for essays on the subject of "Kindness to Animals." The total number of essays sent in was 26,525, for which above 800 ordinary awards were made and distributed by Lady Burdett Coutts. The principal prize-winners, 35 in number, were represented by Miss Edith Merifield, who was called to the dais and presented with her award by the Queen.

5. In the House of Commons the Government defeated by a majority of five on a motion of adjournment, made to discuss the conduct of the Home Secretary and police with reference to Miss Cass.

— Several newly constructed quays at the town of Zug, on the eastern shore of the lake, suddenly disappeared beneath the water, of which the depth is well known, carrying with them twenty adjacent houses with their occupants. A second landslip, carrying away fifty more houses, speedily followed, and over sixty lives were lost.

— A terrible dynamite explosion occurred in the Artillery School at Jasz Beremy, in Hungary, when fifty-two soldiers were being instructed in the use of explosives. A pianoforte cord fell by accident on a dynamite cartridge, which exploded. Seven men were killed on the spot, many blown to atoms; ten died in the course of the afternoon, and forty others were seriously injured.

6. The Queen held a Court at Windsor to receive deputations from various public bodies presenting addresses of congratulation.

— The University cricket match resulted in the defeat of Cambridge by seven wickets. The following was the score:—

## CAMBRIDGE.

| First Innings.                                    |     | Second Innings.                   |     |
|---|-----|-----------------------------------|-----|
| Mr. F. Marchant, c Whitby, b Buckland . . . . .   | 49  | st Philipson, b Nepean . . . . .  | 32  |
| Mr. C. D. Buxton, b Forster . . . . .             | 2   | b Buckland . . . . .              | 1   |
| Mr. F. Thomas, b Buckland . . . . .               | 22  | b Forster . . . . .               | 13  |
| Mr. E. Crawley, c Ricketts, b Buckland . . . . .  | 35  | not out . . . . .                 | 103 |
| Mr. A. M. Sutthery, c Gresson, b Nepean . . . . . | 73  | c Key, b Buckland . . . . .       | 21  |
| Mr. F. G. J. Ford, b Buckland . . . . .           | 4   | b Nepean . . . . .                | 8   |
| Mr. W. C. Bridgeman, l b w, b Gresson . . . . .   | 9   | b Buckland . . . . .              | 3   |
| Mr. L. Martineau, not out . . . . .               | 6   | b Whitby . . . . .                | 5   |
| Mr. L. Orford, b Gresson . . . . .                | 0   | c Brain, b Gresson . . . . .      | 13  |
| Mr. H. Hale, b Gresson . . . . .                  | 0   | st Philipson, b Forster . . . . . | 21  |
| Mr. C. Toppin, c and b Nepean . . . . .           | 1   | c Whitby, b Nepean . . . . .      | 18  |
| Byes 2, l-b 3, n-b 1 . . . . .                    | 6   | Byes 7, l-b 7 . . . . .           | 14  |
| Total . . . . .                                   | 207 | Total . . . . .                   | 252 |

## OXFORD.

| First Innings.                                   |     | Second Innings.               |     |
|--|-----|-------------------------------|-----|
| Mr. F. H. Gresson, c and b Sutthery . . . . .    | 33  | b Toppin . . . . .            | 8   |
| Mr. E. A. Nepean, b Hale . . . . .               | 0   | not out . . . . .             | 58  |
| Mr. W. Rashleigh, c Sutthery, b Hale . . . . .   | 12  | c Martineau, b Ford . . . . . | 6   |
| Lord George Scott, c Bridgeman, b Ford . . . . . | 100 | c Hale, b Marchant . . . . .  | 66  |
| Mr. K. J. Key, c Orford, b Ford . . . . .        | 64  | not out . . . . .             | 8   |
| Mr. J. H. Brain, c Orford, b Toppin . . . . .    | 15  |                               |     |
| Mr. E. H. Buckland, c Orford, b Toppin . . . . . | 0   |                               |     |
| Mr. H. W. Forster, not out . . . . .             | 60  |                               |     |
| Mr. G. W. Ricketts, b Hale . . . . .             | 17  |                               |     |
| Mr. H. Philipson, b Hale . . . . .               | 0   |                               |     |
| Mr. H. O. Whitby, c Ford, b Hale . . . . .       | 0   |                               |     |
| Byes 9, l-b 3 . . . . .                          | 12  | Byes 1, l-b 1 . . . . .       | 2   |
| Total . . . . .                                  | 313 | Total . . . . .               | 148 |

— An alarming fire broke out in the citadel of Quebec, which spread with great rapidity, and threatened at one time to attack the powder magazine. Large quantities of stores and material were destroyed and a number of houses burnt.

— The town of Great Carolyi, in Hungary, which had been partially destroyed by fire on May 6, visited by a hurricane and waterspout, which in

an hour converted the district into a lake and foaming sea. All the houses were damaged and many lives were lost.

6. Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg unanimously elected by the Sobranje to be Prince of Bulgaria.

— The benchers of Gray's Inn, in honour of the Queen's Jubilee, revived the "Masque of Flowers," which had been got up by Sir Francis Bacon, and was originally played in their Hall in 1618, in honour of the marriage of the Earl of Somerset. The performance, which was an accurate reproduction of the original masque, with the addition of some songs, was attended by the Prince and Princess of Wales and many members of the Royal Family.

8. The election for North Paddington resulted in the return of Mr. John Aird (Conservative) by 2,230, over Mr. E. Routledge (Gladstonian Liberal), who polled 1,812 votes.

— The House of Commons, on the fortieth night of its discussion, finally disposed of the Crimes Bill (Ireland) in rejecting Mr. Gladstone's amendment to the third reading by 349 to 262.

— In the final match for the lawn tennis championship, at Wimbledon, Mr. W. Lawford defeated, by six games to three, Mr. Renshaw, who had held the championship for five years.

#### FIRST ROUND.

H. B. Lyon beat M. G. Macnamara, 6—2, 6—4, retired  
H. Grove beat H. W. Wilberforce, 6—1, 6—3, 6—3  
W. Lawford beat H. S. Barlow, 6—0, 9—7, 6—3  
O. Milne beat "E. V. Thompson," 5—7, 6—4, 1—6, 6—4, 8—6  
E. Renshaw beat P. B. Lyon, 6—1, 6—0, 6—0  
E. W. Lewis beat F. A. Bowlby, 6—2, 6—2, 6—1  
W. Milne a bye; G. Montgomerie absent  
C. Lacy Sweet beat W. C. Taylor, 6—2, 6—2, 4—6, 6—1.

#### SECOND ROUND.

Grove beat H. B. Lyon, 6—3, 6—2, 10—8 | E. Renshaw beat Lewis, 7—5, 6—2, 6—4  
Lawford beat O. Milne, 7—5, 6—0, 6—3 | Sweet beat W. Milne, 6—3, 6—1, 6—3

#### THIRD ROUND.

Lawford beat Grove, 4—6, 6—3, 7—5, 7—5 | E. Renshaw a bye; Sweet retired.

#### FINAL ROUND.

Lawford beat E. Renshaw, 1—6, 6—3, 3—6, 6—4, 6—4.

9. The Queen, attended by a brilliant staff, held a review of 60,000 troops of all arms at Aldershot, where she had slept on the previous night.

— At Lord's the Eton and Harrow cricket match decided in favour of the former by five wickets. The following was the score:—

#### HARROW.

| First Innings.                             |     | Second Innings.                     |     |
|--|-----|-------------------------------------|-----|
| Mr. J. St. F. Fair (captain), b Bathurst   | 7   | b Brand                             | 1   |
| Mr. A. C. M'Laren, c Coventry, b Brand     | 55  | b Brand                             | 67  |
| Mr. H. D. Watson, b Davenport              | 16  | st Field, b Bathurst                | 30  |
| Mr. F. S. Jackson, c Coventry, b Davenport | 3   | b Brand                             | 1   |
| Mr. W. M. Torrens, b Davenport             | 0   | run out                             | 18  |
| Mr. A. C. S. Barchard, b Brand             | 3   | b Brand                             | 10  |
| Mr. P. Ashworth, not out                   | 0   | st Field, b Davenport               | 23  |
| Mr. E. G. Raphael, c Bathurst, b Brand     | 0   | b MacLachlan                        | 8   |
| Mr. J. A. M'Laren, b Davenport             | 4   | b Davenport                         | 21  |
| Mr. T. B. A. Clarke, b Davenport           | 0   | not out                             | 12  |
| Mr. N. Ramsay, c Tollemache, b Davenport   | 0   | b MacLachlan                        | 6   |
| Byes, 6; leg-byes, 6; no-ball, 1           | 13  | Byes, 4; leg-byes, 2;<br>no-ball, 1 | 7   |
| Total                                      | 101 | Total                               | 204 |

## ETON.

| First Innings.                          |     | Second Innings.      |     |
|---|-----|----------------------|-----|
| Mr. C. P. Foley, b Jackson              | 37  | b Jackson            | 8   |
| Mr. W. D. Llewellyn, b Fair             | 5   | l-b-w, b Fair        | 1   |
| Mr. R. C. Gosling, c and b Fair         | 4   | not out              | 56  |
| Hon. H. T. Coventry, b Jackson          | 35  | b Ramsay             | 6   |
| Hon. M. Tollemache, b Jackson           | 6   | not out              | 2   |
| Lord Chelsea, not out                   | 72  | b Ramsay             | 6   |
| Mr. H. R. Bromley-Davenport, b Watson   | 2   |                      |     |
| Mr. T. W. Brand (captain), b Fair       | 27  | c Clarke, b Fair     | 17  |
| Mr. L. C. MacLachlan, c Raphael, b Fair | 9   |                      |     |
| Mr. F. R. Hervey Bathurst, b Ramsay     | 3   |                      |     |
| Mr. C. A. Field, b Ramsay               | 0   |                      |     |
| Byes, 3; leg-byes, 2                    | 5   | Byes, 3; leg-byes, 2 | 6   |
| Total                                   | 205 | Total                | 101 |

9. Mr. W. Ballantine (Gladstonian Liberal) elected for Coventry by 4,229 votes, against 4,213 given to Colonel Eaton (Conservative).

— The town of Henley, Wisconsin, which had been devastated by fire on June 28, was the scene of a second conflagration, which, bursting out in the theatre, occasioned the loss of seventeen lives, mostly actors, and destroyed property and buildings to the value of 500,000 dollars.

10. Archbishop Corrigan of New York pronounced sentence of major excommunication against Father M'Glynn for refusing to submit himself to the summons of the Pope.

11. The Prince of Wales, accompanied by his two sons, left London for Blagdon Hall, the seat of Sir Matthew White Ridley, whose guests they remained during their visit to the Royal Agricultural Society's show at Newcastle-on-Tyne.

— The Colonial Secretary (Sir Henry Holland) announced in the House of Commons that the charges against Sir J. Pope Hennessy, on account of which he had been suspended from the Governorship of Mauritius, were not borne out, and that he would resume his post on the island.

13. The Queen with other members of the Royal Family went from Windsor to Hatfield to attend a garden party given by the Marquess of Salisbury, being her second visit to Hatfield House in the course of her reign.

— The Wingfield Sculls won by Mr. George Nickalls of Magdalen College, Oxford, after a severe struggle with Mr. J. C. Gardner of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, the winner of the Diamond Sculls at Henley. There were three other competitors, who, however, stopped after rowing a portion of the course.

14. In the House of Lords the Crimes Bill (Ireland), and in the House of Commons the Land Bill (Ireland), were read a second time without a division.

— Jacob Sharp, convicted in the Broadway Railway case of bribing the New York Board of Aldermen, sentenced to four years' imprisonment and a fine of 5,000 dollars.

— The National fête at Paris passed off with complete tranquillity, due probably to the extensive military and police preparations made to suppress any patriotic or other manifestation. General Boulanger's name was the most popular amongst the crowd.

15. The Queen laid, on Smith's Lawn, Windsor Park, the foundation-stone

of the equestrian statue of the Prince Consort presented by the women and girls of the United Kingdom.

15. During the sharp thunderstorm which broke over London, the steeple of St. Bride's Church, Fleet Street, was struck by lightning, and some of the masonry at its base was upheaved ; but no serious damage was done.

— A terrible accident took place at St. Thomas's, Ontario, at the part where the Michigan Central and the London and Port Stanley Railways cross. A luggage train was run into by an excursion train, and before the victims could be extricated from the wreckage of the latter it caught fire from the bursting of an oil tank in the goods train. Nineteen persons lost their lives, mostly burnt to death ; and forty others were seriously injured.

16. Sir Drummond Wolff finally quitted Constantinople, having failed to obtain the Sultan's signature to the Egyptian convention.

— A terrible accident occurred on the Jungfrau, involving the death of six Swiss mountaineers who had made the ascent without guides. Some days elapsed before their bodies were found.

— Mr. Gladstone entertained at dinner at the National Liberal Club by the Scotch members of the House of Commons.

17. Violent earthquake shocks felt at Cairo, and the minarets of three mosques damaged. Shocks were also felt at Alexandria, Brindisi, Malta, Rome, along the Riviera, and as far west as Spain.

18. In the House of Lords, the Criminal Law Amendment (Ireland) Bill read a third time and passed without a division ; the dissentient peers (twenty-six in number) subsequently signing a protest, which was entered on the journals of the House.

— The ships of war *Ajax* and *Devastation* came into collision whilst leaving Portland Harbour, the latter vessel being seriously damaged.

19. A meeting of the Conservative party held at the Carlton Club, under the presidency of the Marquess of Salisbury, to consider the course to be adopted with regard to the Irish Land Bill and the proposed amendments of the Unionist Liberals.

20. A dinner at the National Liberal Club given to Mr. Parnell and the Irish members by a number of the English Liberals, presided over by Mr. Dillwyn.

— A sudden outbreak of cholera declared itself in Catania and the neighbouring communes, the proportion of fatal cases being very large. It subsequently spread over a large portion of Southern Italy and Sicily, causing great mortality.

21. In the House of Commons a long discussion took place on the language used by Dr. Tanner within the precincts of the House towards Mr. Walter Lang. Ultimately, on the advice of the Speaker that Dr. Tanner's apology might be accepted, the motion to suspend him for a month was withdrawn.

— A Chicago express train running on the New York, Erie, and Western Railroad dashed into a party of Italian labourers near Allendale, N.Y., killing thirteen persons, and injuring many more.

22. A fire broke out at the Markoff petroleum fountain near Baku, a source spouting 4,000 tons of oil daily.

23. The great naval review at Spithead, closing the Jubilee celebrations, passed off with complete success. The Queen passed through a fleet of 184

ships of various descriptions, moored in three columns. The royal yacht was attended by the Admiralty yachts and troop-ships conveying the Lords and Commons, distinguished guests, &c. The ships then dispersed for operations round the coast.

28. An extra issue of the *Dublin Gazette*, proclaiming the whole of the Irish counties except Antrim (subsequently added), and the ten largest towns, under one or more provisions of the Crimes Act.

— The annual meeting of the National Rifle Association at Wimbledon closed. The following were the principal winners:—

## MATCHES.

| Match   | Yards           | Highest possible score | Total Scores   |
|---|-----------------|------------------------|--|
| Auxiliary Forces (any rifle) . .                    | 800, 900, 1,000 | 1,350                  | { Auxiliary Forces . 1,061<br>Regular " . 1,049                  |
| Humphrey Challenge Cup (any rifle) . . . . .        | Do.             | 900                    | { Oxford University . 638<br>Cambridge " . 667                   |
| Vislanagram Cup (Martini Henry) . . . . .           | 500             | 400                    | { Commons . . . 289<br>Lords . . . . 210                         |
| China Cup (Martini Henry) . . . . .                 | 500             | 500                    | { Lanark . . . . 447<br>5th Lanark . . . 199                     |
| Belgian Challenge Cup (Martini Henry) . . . . .     | 500             | 250                    | { England . . . . 1,724<br>Scotland . . . . 1,713                |
| National Challenge Trophy (Martini Henry) . . . . . | 200, 500, 600   | 2,100                  | { 1st V.B.Berks (won for the fifth time in succession) . 43 hits |
| Mullens (Martini Henry) . . . . .                   | —               | —                      | { Oxford University . 638<br>Cambridge " . 604                   |
| Chancellor's Plate (Martini Henry) . . . . .        | 200, 500, 600   | 840                    | { Mother Country . 710<br>Canada . . . . 683                     |
| Kolapore Cup (Martini Henry) . . . . .              | 200, 500, 600   | 840                    | { Volunteers . . . 682<br>Army . . . . . 665                     |
| United Services (Martini Henry) . . . . .           | 200, 500, 600   | 840                    | { Eton . . . . . 480<br>England . . . . 1,370                    |
| Ashburton Shield (Martini Henry) . . . . .          | 200, 500        | 560                    | { Scotland . . . . 1,559<br>Ireland . . . . 1,556                |
| Elcho Shield (any rifle) . . . . .                  | 800, 900, 1,000 | 1,800                  | { 18th Middlesex (2nd Team) . . 178<br>Ayrshire Yeomanry 104     |
| Mappin's Cup (Martini Henry) . . . . .              | 400, 500        | —                      |  |
| Lloyd Lindsay (Car.) . . . . .                      | 500, 600        | —                      |  |

## INDIVIDUAL PRIZES.

| Prize   | Yards                           | Highest possible score | Scores   |
|---|---------------------------------|------------------------|--|
| Alexandra (Martini Henry) . . . . .               | 500, 600                        | 70                     | Private Ward, 4th Devon . . 68   |
| Alfred (Martini Henry) . . . . .                  | 200 (standing)                  | 35                     | Sergt. Ringer, V.B. Norfolk . 81   |
| St. George's Vase (Martini Henry) . . . . .       | 500                             | 35                     | { Lieut. Hole, 2nd Somerset (after tie with four others) 35  |
| Daily Telegraph Cup (Martini Henry) . . . . .     | 500                             | 35                     | { Sergt. Atkinson, 1st Durham (after tie with six others). 35  |
| Martin's Cup (Martini Henry) . . . . .            | 600                             | 35                     | Capt. Young, 2nd Renfrew . 34  |
| Windmill (Martini Henry) . . . . .                | 200, 500                        | 70                     | { Private Rae, 2nd N. Staffordshire . . . . . 68   |
| Queen's Prize (Martini Henry)—1st stage . . . . . | 200, 500, 600                   | 105                    | { Private Gardiner, 1st Cumberland (after tie with Sergt. Dodds, 1st Dumfries) . . 95                |
| " 2nd Stage . . . . .                             | { 1st stage 500, 600 }          | 220                    | { Sergt. Hill, 5th Lanark (after tie with Private Robinson, 5th Durham) . . . . . 200                |
| " 3rd Stage . . . . .                             | { 1st and 2nd stages 800, 900 } | 330                    | { Lieut. Warren, 1st Middlesex (Victorias) . . . . 274   |
| Albert Jewel (any rifle) . . . . .                | 1,000                           | 75                     | { Mr. T. Caldwell, Belfast (after tie with Mr. Rigby, Dublin, and Capt. Gibbs, Bristol) . . . . . 67 |
| Prince of Wales' Prize (Martini Henry) . . . . .  | 200, 600                        | 110                    | { Priv. Gillies, Canada (after tie with Lieut. Heap) . . 97  |
| Nursery Aggregate . . . . .                       | —                               | —                      | Corp. Pife, 1st Inverness . 97   |
| All Comers " . . . . .                            | —                               | —                      | Capt. Lamb, 1st Lancashire . 185   |
| Grand " . . . . .                                 | —                               | —                      | Priv. McGibbon, 3rd Lanark . 329   |



25. Easton Lodge, Dunmow, Essex, the seat of Lord Brooke, totally destroyed by fire.

— Lord Charles Beresford, a naval Lord of the Admiralty, formally tendered his resignation in consequence of having, by inadvertence, caused a private signal to be conveyed from the royal yacht during the naval review at Spithead. The Queen, however, declined to accept the resignation.

26. Two gunboats, the *Archer* and the *Pickle*, engaged in the naval manoeuvres, came into collision off Deal Harbour.

— The appearance of the "Hessian fly" in many wheat crops in Essex and Cambridge officially announced.

— A tidal wave, estimated to rise at least fifty feet, struck the s.s. *Umbria* about 1,000 miles from Queenstown, and carried away a portion of the bridge, several boats, and flooded the cabins.

27. The "Jubilee" of the electric telegraph celebrated by a banquet, over which the Postmaster-General presided. The date almost exactly coincided with that (July 25, 1837) on which Wheatstone transmitted his first message from Camden Town to Euston station.

— Lord Salisbury addressed a large meeting at the Agricultural Hall, Norwich, and appealed to East Anglia to support the unity of the Empire.

— M. Bareiller, ex-Maire of the small town of Boississe-le-Roi (Seine-et-Marne), having died, it was found that by his will he had bequeathed his estate (valued at over half a million of francs) to Germany, represented by the Crown Prince, with the object of establishing there a settlement of young Germans. The Prince renounced his right to inherit.

28. General Boulanger sent a challenge to M. Jules Ferry in consequence of the latter having, in a speech to his constituents at Epinal, described the general as "un St. Arnaud de Café Concert." After some negotiation between the seconds, it was announced that the conditions imposed by the general's friends rendered a duel impossible.

— Mr. T. Healy suspended for a fortnight from service in the House of Commons in consequence of disregarding the decorum of the House.

29. At the Goodwood meeting the principal races were—

Stewards' Cup.—Mr. Mackenzie's Upset, 4 yrs., 6 st. 3 lbs. (M. Cannon).  
Twenty-three started.

Gratwicke Stakes. { Lord Bradford's Fretwork, 2 yrs., 8 st. 10 lbs. (J. Osborne). }  
                              { Mr. Manton's Heloise, 3 yrs., 8 st. 10 lbs. (G. Barrett). }

A dead heat. Four started.

Richmond Stakes.—Sir F. Johnstone's Friar's Balsam, 2 yrs., 9 st. 6 lbs. (G. Barrett). Three started.

Chesterfield Cup.—Sir F. Johnstone's Spot, 3 yrs., 5 st. 1 lb. (Cannon). Nine started.

Sussex Stakes.—Duke of Beaufort's Réve d'Or, 3 yrs., 8 st. 12 lbs. (C. Wood). Four started.

Rous Memorial Stakes.—Mr. J. Pater's Mon Droit, 2 yrs., 8 st. 10 lbs (T. Cannon). Eight started.

Goodwood Cup.—Duke of Westminster's Saville, 3 yrs., 7 st. 7 lbs. (G. Barrett). Five started.

Victoria Plate.—After a dead heat with Mr. D. Baird's St. Michael, 4 yrs., 8 st. 12 lbs. (T. Cannon). Mr. J. L. Wardle's Merry Duchess, 5 yrs., 8 st. 12 lbs. (Watts). Six started.

Goodwood Stakes.—Mr. Somers' Carlton, 4 yrs., 9 st. (G. Barrett). Five started.

29. In the Forest of Dean division of Gloucestershire Mr. E. Samuelson (G.L.) was elected by 4,286 over Mr. C. Wyndham (C.), who polled 2,786 votes.

80. Mr. Gladstone, after dining at the National Liberal Club as the guest of the London Liberal and Radical Union, attended a meeting at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, presided over by Mr. John Morley. In the course of a long speech Mr. Gladstone announced his willingness to consider any scheme for separating Ulster from the government of the rest of Ireland.

— A severe thunderstorm burst over Paris, rain and lightning creating considerable havoc. Many large buildings were struck, and the Vincennes Railway was so flooded as to be unworkable.

## AUGUST.

1. Disastrous floods reported from various parts of Georgia. In the city of Augusta property valued at a million and a half of dollars was destroyed by the overflowing river. Terrific storms of wind and rain were also reported from Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Connecticut.

2. 'War having been declared' by the attacking force of the Evolutionary Fleet, Admiral Fremantle commenced his operations in the Channel, and after some manœuvres telegraphed to the Admiralty that he had taken Falmouth and seized the ships lying in the harbour.

— The vacancy for the Bridgeton division of Glasgow, caused by the retirement of Mr. E. R. Russell (G.R.), filled by Sir Geo. Trevelyan (G.L.), who polled 4,654, against 3,258 votes given to Hon. Evelyn Ashley (U.L.).

— An alarming fire broke out in Wapping on the premises of Messrs. Birt, cork merchants, and rapidly spread to the adjoining premises on both sides, which included numerous wharves, &c. The facility for obtaining water at length enabled the firemen to get the mastery, but not until much property had been destroyed.

8. Conrad Mooney, a resident in Brooklyn, attempted to set fire to the National steamship *Queen* whilst taking in her cargo, by throwing on board a bottle containing some explosive compound. An accomplice was arrested, and on their lodgings being searched a large supply of chemicals was discovered.

— Admiral Fremantle with the attacking squadron, having managed to elude the guard-ships and to force the passage of the Downs, arrived at the Nore, and thus obtained the command of the entrance of the Thames and Medway. He was, however, closely followed by Admiral Hewett, who succeeded in blockading the attacking squadron, whereupon a cessation of hostilities was proclaimed.

— Zobeir Pasha, who had been detained at Gibraltar for upwards of two years, released after signing a document, and allowed to return to Egypt.

— The second reading of the Channel Tunnel Bill rejected by 153 votes to 107.

4. The attack upon Liverpool by another squadron wholly unsuccessful, Admiral Baird, who commanded the defence, taking prisoners the war-ships *Ajax*, *Devastation*, *Edinburgh*, *Neptune*, and *Shannon*.

4. The Bank rate of discount raised from 2 to 8 per cent., the total of the deposits standing at 25,788,000*l.*, and of the reserve at 11,121,000*l.*

— At midnight a large number of the engine-drivers and stokers employed on the Midland Railway struck against the new system of payment proposed by the directors. The trains on the branch lines and the mineral traffic were suspended, but the main line passenger trains continued to run with slight delay.

5. A banquet, presided over by Mr. John Bright, and attended by the Liberal Unionists, given in honour of the Marquess of Hartington.

— An outbreak of cholera reported from Malta, in consequence of which all ships from that island and from Naples were ordered to undergo quarantine.

— The trials of the Chicago officials for bribery and embezzlement, after lasting several weeks, ended in the conviction of eleven of the accused. Seven were sentenced to two years' imprisonment, and four to a fine of \$1,000 each.

6. The premises of Mr. Whiteley, "the universal provider," discovered for the seventh time to be on fire. On this occasion nearly fifty shops and houses were more or less injured, four lives were lost from the sudden falling of a wall, seven persons severely injured, and property to the extent of half a million sterling destroyed. The fire burnt fiercely for nearly twenty hours, in spite of the efforts of the whole of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade, which had to be summoned from all parts of London.

— The meeting of the two Emperors (Germany and Austria) took place at Gastein, the Emperor Francis Joseph appearing for the first time in a ceremony in his own country in plain dress, in order to spare the German Emperor the fatigue of appearing in uniform.

— In the House of Commons the Irish Land Bill passed the third reading without a division, Mr. Dillon's amendment with regard to the order of debts being treated in the Land Court having been rejected by 126 to 98.

9. The Welsh national Eisteddfod opened in London by the holding of the Gorsedd in Hyde Park. Hwfa Môn, in the absence of the Archdruid, took his place upon the Logan stone, round which were placed twelve unhewn stones with twelve bards to guard the circle. The proceedings were then adjourned to the Albert Hall.

— The 500th anniversary of the birth of Henry V. celebrated at Monmouth, and the bells of St. Mary's Church, which were brought by that king from France, were rung throughout the day.

10. The "Langworthy" case, which for many months had occupied the attention of the public and the time of numerous judges in various courts of law, settled by arrangement, Mr. Langworthy consenting to pay 20,000*l.* and costs in satisfaction of the claims made against him.

— Prince Ferdinand of Coburg left Vienna, whither he had come from Ebenthal, for Buda-Pesth and Bulgaria.

— Macclesfield House, Gerrard Street, Soho, which had for some time been occupied as a warehouse, completely destroyed by fire, which spread so rapidly that the tenants of the upper stories had great difficulty in escaping.

— The steamship *City of Montreal* burnt at sea 500 miles from the American coast. All the passengers and crew, upwards of 250, were ulti-

mately rescued by passing ships. She had a heavy cargo of cotton on board, which became ignited, but in what manner was not ascertained.

10. The Lord Mayor, after the usual custom, entertained her Majesty's Ministers at the Mansion House. Lord Salisbury was the chief speaker, and reviewed the legislation of the session.

11. At Brussels a fire broke out in the laboratories of the Palais du Midi, used as the municipal industrial school, and upwards of seventy yards of buildings with their contents were destroyed.

— For two whole days and nights a fire raged among the woods upon the south-eastern slopes of Mount Pentelicus, extending also along the valley between Pentelicus and Hymettus. Miles of pine-trees and thousands of olives were destroyed.

— A frightful accident happened to an excursion train near Chatsworth, Illinois, on the Toledo, Peoria, and Western Railway. As an excursion train for Niagara Falls was approaching a river-bed spanned by a wooden bridge, a fire, probably occasioned by a passing train, had spread to the bridge and destroyed the supports; the train crashed through, six out of nine cars being telescoped. Upwards of 150 persons were killed, and over 800 seriously injured. The cars were set on fire by the lamps; but the uninjured passengers, in default of water, dug up earth and sand, with which they kept the fire in check.

12. A great fire took place at Pittsburg (Pennsylvania) in the heart of the city, destroying the Masonic Hall, the *Dispatch* newspaper offices, the Hamilton, and other important buildings, to the value of one million of dollars.

13. Messrs. Jovis and Mallet, two French aëronauts, ascended in the balloon "Horla," from La Villette, Paris, at 7.30 A.M., and after reaching an altitude of about 22,000 feet descended, about 11 A.M., near La Marche, in Luxembourg.

— In the Northwich division of Cheshire Mr. H. Brunner (Gladstonian) was elected by 5,112 votes against Lord Henry Grosvenor (Unionist), who polled only 8,988.

— Mlle. Drouin, a French lady, attended by her maid, arrived at the Marine Hotel, Cowes, where she had engaged rooms in advance. Shortly after her arrival the police paid her a visit and took her into custody on discovering, in her luggage, three small cakes of supposed dynamite. After a few days she was released with many expressions of apology, and 50*l.* was offered to her as compensation for the annoyance to which she had been subjected.

14. Ayoub Khan, a pretendant to the throne of Cabul, escaped from Tcheran, where he had been under the surveillance of the Persian Government.

— Prince Ferdinand of Coburg having reached Tirnova proceeded to the cathedral, where a solemn thanksgiving service was held. Thence he went to Sobranji, where he took the oath in presence of the clergy, the regents, Ministers, deputies, and chiefs of the army. The Grand National Assembly was then dissolved, and the Ministry resigned.

15. A great fire broke out at Scutari, on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus; hundreds of houses were destroyed, as well as an Armenian and a Greek church, and upwards of 5,000 persons left homeless.

16. After a drought and excessively hot weather lasting for thirteen weeks,

almost unbroken by isolated thunderstorms, the weather became cooler, and rain fell generally over England and Scotland.

— At Chester Mr. Gladstone lowered the first cylinder of a new swing-bridge across the Dee, designed to establish direct railway communication between the North Wales and the Cheshire lines.

— Knole Park, Sevenoaks, narrowly escaped being destroyed, a serious fire having broken out in the stables near the quadrangle. By the exertions of the servants and neighbours the house was saved.

17. A thunderstorm of great violence broke over the south and west of England, many persons being killed by lightning. In London, Christ Church, Endell Street, was twice struck; the large sewer between Baker Street and Portland Road burst and flooded the Metropolitan Railway, causing a suspension of traffic for many hours. St. John's Church, Walham Green, was also struck, and the traffic on the Midland and South-Western lines much impeded.

— The Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople handed in to the Porte a formal protest against the assumption of the Bulgarian government by Prince Ferdinand.

18. The Queen notified her decision that the surplus of the Women's Jubilee offering should be devoted to the benefit of nurses or nursing establishments, and requested a committee to advise her as to the best mode of giving effect to this intention.

— At a meeting of merchants, bankers, and citizens of the City of London, convened by the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House, resolutions were passed against the Inland Revenue Bill introduced by the Government, as tending to deprive taxpayers of some of the means provided for their protection.

19. The National Land League proclaimed as a dangerous association under the power conferred by section 6 of the Crimes Act (Ireland).

— An eclipse of the sun, which was total only in Siberia and certain parts of Russia, unfavourably seen at the majority of the points of observation established throughout Europe.

22. Israel Lipski, a Polish Jew, who had been convicted of the murder of Miriam Angel, a fellow-lodger in Whitechapel, hanged in Newgate. Lipski, in consequence of strong remonstrances, had been respited for a week, but in the interval he made a full confession of his guilt.

— During a rowing match at Horselydown, on the Thames, a hay barge covered with tarpaulin, on to which a number of persons had climbed, capsized, and all were thrown into the river. One body only was recovered.

23. A meeting was held at the Rotunda, Dublin, to protest against the proclamation of the National League. Several English Radicals, members of Parliament, took part in the proceedings.

— M. Vallot, a Frenchman, encamped for three nights and days on the summit of Mont Blanc for the purpose of making scientific experiments.

— Disturbances took place at Ostend between the Belgian fishermen and the owners of some English smacks, which attempted to land their cargoes of fish. The military were ultimately obliged to be sent for, and three of the Belgians received serious bayonet wounds. The riots were renewed on the following day, when two men were shot and many wounded.

24. The Venble. John Wareing Bardsley, Archdeacon of Liverpool, consecrated Bishop of Sodor and Man at York Minster.

— The new docks at Cardiff, completing the dock system, and covering in all 180 acres, opened with much ceremony by the Earl of Dumfries, and the first sod of a People's Park subsequently cut by the Marchioness of Bute.

— At York the great Ebor Handicap won by Mr. Bryden-Willyams' Silence, 5 yrs., 6 st. 9 lbs. (Calder). Seven started.

— A nugget containing 51 lbs. pure ore found in the Midas mine at Sullay Gully, near Ballarat. It received the name of "Lady Loch," after the wife of the Governor of Victoria.

25. The French *Figaro* prematurely disclosed the intention of the Government to mobilise the 17th Army Corps (of which the headquarters were at Toulouse), thereby rendering the value of the experiment almost useless.

— The Great Yorkshire stakes won by Lord Zetland's Panzerschiff, 8 yrs., 8 st. 10 lbs. (Waters). Six started.

26. The yacht *Monarch* making excursions in the neighbourhood of Ilfracombe, when off the Torrs was caught by a squall and capsized. Fifteen out of a total of twenty-six passengers and boatswain were drowned.

— A Chinese seaman interred in the Portsmouth cemetery with the religious rites of his own country. The coffin, followed by the officers and men of his ship *Lai Yuen*, was lowered into the grave. Incense was then lighted at the foot of the grave, and two rows of plates laid out containing eggs, meat, and fish. The funeral party then knelt down, gave their salaam; the food was replaced in a bucket, and dust sprinkled on the coffin before retiring.

27. A demonstration organised by the London Radical Association was held in Trafalgar Square to protest against the proclamation of the National League. The attendance was not large, and the crowds dispersed quietly.

— A serious outbreak of scarlet fever occurred in London, more than 850 cases having been registered during the week; the death rate, however, was lower than ever before registered.

— A young lady travelling between Wellington and Shrewsbury assaulted by a madman soon after the train left the former place. To escape she got on to the footboard while the train was running about thirty miles an hour, and was drawn through the window of an adjoining compartment. Her assailant followed, but was met by her deliverer with a sword-stick. He then retreated, and was subsequently found wounded and unconscious on the line.

29. A serious fire broke out in the premises of the General Steam Navigation Company at St. Katharine's Wharf, and at one time threatened to extend to the neighbouring warehouses.

— Severe thunderstorms broke over various parts of the United Kingdom, Lancashire and Cumberland suffering the most from the deluge of rain which flooded the fields and roads. In the north of Scotland the storm was also very severe, a house at Durness, near Cape Wrath, being completely shattered by lightning. In Kent great damage was done to the fruit crops by the violent wind which accompanied the torrents of rain.

30. The election for North Hunts terminated in the election of Hon. A. Fellowes (Conservative) by 2,700 votes, against 2,414 polled by Mr. Harris Sanders (Gladstonian Liberal).

80. At a military council held at Vienna it was decided that the whole Austro-Hungarian army and its reserves should be armed with the Mannlicher repeating rifle before the close of the year 1890. It was estimated that 1,200,000 rifles would be required, costing four and a half millions of florins.

— Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone entertained in the grounds of Hawarden Castle between two and three hundred persons of the same age as the Queen and upwards. Mr. Gladstone, in proposing the toast of the Queen, contrasted her Jubilee with that of George III.

81. Sir Henry Roscoe, M.P., delivered the presidential address to the British Association in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, reviewing the progress made in chemical science during the previous fifty years.

— Rt. Hon. J. Chamberlain, M.P., appointed to represent the United Kingdom on the Fisheries Commission, agreed to by the United States and Canada to determine the rights of the various countries.

— A serious fire threatened for a moment to destroy some of the old buildings in the ancient city of Boppard, on the Rhine. The fire was, however, easily mastered, but not until fifteen houses, mostly of historical interest, had been destroyed.

## SEPTEMBER.

1. The close of the cricket season showed that in county matches Surrey stood the first, having won 12 matches, lost 2, and drawn 2. Notts followed with 10 won, 8 lost, and 1 drawn.

— Franzini, the Paris murderer, guillotined on the Place de la Roquette, in the presence of a large crowd which for some nights previously had assembled to witness the execution.

— The Bank of England raised its rate of discount from 3 to 4 per cent.; the reserve standing at 11,682,770*l.*, or about 42½ per cent. of the liabilities.

2. Severe gales swept over a great part of England, the southern counties especially suffering. At Coventry a house was blown down; the rivers Severn and Dee overflowed their banks for many miles, carrying away much of the wheat sheafed for ricking. The Cunard steamer *Samaria*, which had left Queenstown for Boston, was forced to put back to repair damages she had incurred from the violence of the gale.

— Socialist disturbances occurred at the Hague on the occasion of the release of the Socialist leader, M. Damala Nieuvenhuis.

4. A Nationalist demonstration, called by the Home Rulers at Ennis, having been proclaimed by the Lord Lieutenant, it was attempted to hold it at some little distance from the originally selected spot. A number of members of Parliament having driven from their hotel about a quarter of a mile, hastily delivered their speeches, but on the arrival of the constabulary and military the crowd immediately dispersed.

5. During a performance at the Theatre Royal, Exeter, at which about 600 persons were present, a fire broke out above the stage, and rapidly extended to the whole building. The means of exit, especially from the gallery, were inadequate, and upwards of 180 (the precise number was

never accurately ascertained) were either burnt, suffocated, or trampled to death.

5. A demonstration held by the Liberal League at the Alexandra Palace, at which Mr. F. W. Mande explained his reason for separating from the Liberal Unionists.

— The 20th session of the Trades Union Congress opened at Swansea by an address from Mr. H. Broadhurst, M.P.

6. The banking firm of Greenway, Smith, and Greenway, of Warwick and Leamington, suspended payment, the stoppage causing great consternation in central Warwickshire, where for many years it had carried on an extensive business. Their liabilities were estimated at about 200,000*l*.

— Mr. Justice Grove resigned, and Mr. Arthur Charles, Q.C., appointed to be a Judge of the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice.

7. At Newburgh, Ontario, nearly the whole of the business portion of the town destroyed by a fire which originated in a drug store, and many families rendered homeless.

— A correspondence published between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Hurlbert acting for the Constitutional Centennial Commission of the United States, in which Mr. Gladstone explained at length his reasons and regrets for not being able to accept the invitation to be present at the celebration in Philadelphia of the centenary of the "freeing and promulgating the constitution of the United States."

8. The Queen's prize and championship of the Army Rifle Meeting (held at Aldershot) won by Staff-Sergeant Rodway, R.M.A., whose score in the first stage was—200 yds., 30; 500 yds., 84; 800 yds. 30—total 94; and in the second stage 7 shots (1,000 yds.), 28: grand total 122.

— A succession of hurricanes burst upon the Grand Banks, Newfoundland, lasting a fortnight commencing August 26; sixteen fishing vessels were wrecked, and 160 persons drowned during the storm.

9. At Mitchelstown, after the issue of a warrant by the magistrates for the arrest of Mr. Wm. O'Brien, M.P., under the Crimes Act, a large meeting, attended by 5,000 persons, was held in the market-place. The police, in endeavouring to protect the Government reporter, roused a strong opposition. They were attacked with blackthorns and stones, and were forced to take refuge in their barracks, which the crowd also attacked. The police, to protect their retreat, fired upon the crowd, and two men were killed, and a third subsequently died from his wounds.

10. Ninety-three persons captured by the police in a gaming-house known as the "Clock Tower Club," at Newington Butts. The majority of the prisoners were released, only ten of the principals being detained for prosecution.

11. A body of moonlighters attacked the house of a farmer named Sexton, near Ballycastel, co. Clare; but the police, having received information of their intention, concealed themselves in the house. A fierce struggle ensued, in which the chief constable, Whelehan, was killed; but seven of the moonlighters were captured, and three others were subsequently arrested.

12. A serious explosion of dynamite, the cause of which was undiscovered, took place at the Custom House at Callao. Thirteen people were killed on



the spot and twenty-three seriously injured, whilst the building was completely wrecked.

12. The German Government applied to the Porte for permission to send three war vessels through the Dardanelles to demand satisfaction from the Bulgarian Government for an insult to the German Vice-Consul at Rustchuk, but an apology having been made, the matter dropped.

13. The mobilisation of the 17th Army Corps of the French forces concluded with a review at Castelnaudary, when General Bréard complimented all the branches on the discipline and activity they had displayed during the concentration on the southern frontier.

— The German Emperor reviewed at Stettin the 2nd Pomeranian Army Corps, which put into the field thirty-four battalions, and a corresponding force of artillery.

14. The Doncaster St. Leger won by Lord Rodney's Kilwardin (Robinson), defeating the favourite Merry Hampton by half a length, and seven others.

— A convention of Irish landlords, largely attended, opened at Dublin, under the presidency of Sir Thomas Butler, to refute the charges brought against their body.

— The Comte de Paris issued from England a lengthy manifesto "to the representatives of the Monarchical party in France," directing his followers in the Chamber to defend Conservative interests, and to show France how necessary monarchy was to her, and how easy would be its re-establishment.

15. At Philadelphia three days' festival commenced, commemorative of the hundredth anniversary of the acceptance of the United States Constitution, each trade illustrating its material progress by the exhibition of the processes of the past and present. The procession of the trades was nearly five miles in length.

16. Parliament prorogued by Royal Commission, after a session of almost unexampled length, during which the number of sittings after midnight had been without precedent.

— A terrible railway accident, in which twenty-three persons were killed on the spot and sixty severely injured, occurred at Hexthorpe, near Doncaster. An express train of the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincoln line dashed into a Midland excursion train which had stopped for the collection of tickets. All the killed and most of the injured were in the Midland train. The coroner's jury subsequently returned a verdict of manslaughter against the driver and fireman of the Manchester train.

17. The result of the voting of the South Northumberland Miners' Union showed 4,806 votes against the maintenance of Messrs. Burt and Fenwick as labour representatives in Parliament, and 3,887 votes in its favour. Mr. Burt, who was elected in 1874, received 500*l.* per annum, and Mr. Fenwick 300*l.* per annum from the society's funds. The vote was subsequently rescinded.

— The attempt made by a number of Californian speculators to keep up the price of wheat by means of a gigantic "corner" collapsed with the failure of the chief operator, Mr. Dresbach of San Francisco, with liabilities exceeding ten millions of dollars.

19. A serious explosion, involving the death of nine persons, occurred on board the Royal Mail Co.'s steamship *Elbe*, whilst undergoing her trial trip

in Stokes Bay, the steampipe conducting the steam from the boiler to the engines bursting on its third trip over the measured mile.

19. The buildings at the Lillie Bridge Grounds, West Brompton, chiefly used for athletic sports, completely wrecked by the crowd, in consequence of the sudden collapse of a running match arranged between Hutchens of Putney and Gent of Darlington. Both runners attended, but their backers decided not to allow the race to take place, and withdrew with the principals. The crowd finding itself duped, and the entrance money having been carried off, attacked the buildings, which were pulled down and burnt in spite of the attempts of the police to preserve order.

20. The ironclad *Trafalgar*, the largest and most formidable ship built for the British navy, launched at Portsmouth. She was commenced in January 1886, and it was estimated that her cost on completion would be upwards of 950,000*l*.

— The extraordinary high Nile of the year, whilst bringing fertility to large tracts of country seldom inundated, caused great temporary suffering and destitution at every place in Upper Egypt.

— The Government, acting under the powers conferred by sect. 7 of the Crimes Act, issued proclamations suppressing the National League throughout the county Clare, and in portions of Kerry, Cork, and Wexford.

21. The steamer *Romeo* of Liverpool, bound to Rouen, capsized in the river Seine, and seven of her passengers and six sailors drowned.

— The cholera epidemic, which had shown itself in various parts of Sicily, became so alarming in the principal towns that a general exodus of the inhabitants of Palermo, Messina, &c., ensued. The panic-stricken villagers refused to admit the refugees, and a number of horrible incidents ensued.

22. The town of Gravenhurst, Ontario, almost wholly destroyed by fire, only four buildings being left uninjured, and a large number of the people left homeless and completely destitute.

23. Lord Randolph Churchill addressed a large meeting at Whitby, and in the course of his speech denounced the waste of public money, especially in the award of pensions to officials, civil as well as military, in the prime of life.

24. A German soldier acting as a forest guard on the frontier at Raon-sur-Plaine, near Colmar, fired at a French shooting party, under the impression they were poaching. One of the French was killed, and another, an officer, was severely wounded. The German soldier at once ran off and declared that the French had been shot on German territory, although the wounded and dead men were both picked up on the French side.

26. The Nizam of Hyderabad offered the Indian Government 200,000*l*. for three years towards the expenses of strengthening the northern frontier of India.

— The International Shorthand Congress assembled in London, and was attended by delegates from all parts of the world, including Japan. The inaugural address was delivered by the Earl of Rosebery.

27. The first of the three races between the American yacht *Volunteer* and the Clyde-built yacht *Thistle*, owned by an English syndicate headed by Mr. Bell, ended in the victory of the former by nearly nineteen minutes on a

course of about thirty-eight knots. The wind was light, and often fell to a dead calm; but under all conditions the *Volunteer* had the best of her opponent.

27. The Hygienic Congress met at Vienna, and was attended by 2,500 *savants* and specialists. Amongst the questions debated was the use of quarantine as a preventive against cholera, the general opinion being against the restriction imposed by Continental Governments.

28. The Hoang Ho, or Yellow River, which, according to Chinese records, had already changed its course nine times in 2,500 years, burst its artificial embankments about forty miles west of Kaifeng. The breach, small at first, gradually widened to the breadth of 1,200 yards, through which the river poured over the district of Chungmon and other portions of the province of Hooan. The loss of life was estimated at from one to two millions, whole villages were swept away, and the destruction of property was almost unparalleled.

29. Mr. Alderman de Keyser, a Belgian by birth, elected Lord Mayor, the first Roman Catholic who had held the office since the Reformation.

— A monument to Francis Déak, the Hungarian statesman to whose influence the compromise between Austria and Hungary was mainly due, unveiled at Pesth, with great ceremony, in the presence of the Emperor and a large assembly of notables.

30. The second race between the yachts *Volunteer* and *Thistle*, twenty miles to windward and back, resulted in another victory for the American craft, which reached the winning line ten minutes, or about three miles, in advance of the English yacht. There was a fine breeze and a good sea throughout the course.

— By the decision of the Jockey Club, the Marquess of Ailesbury, the owner of the horse Everitt, and Tyler the trainer, warned off Newmarket Heath and all racecourses under the jurisdiction of the club for life, in consequence of orders given to Martin, the jockey, not to win the race for the Harewood Plate at the York August meeting. In the race Everitt ran a dead heat, which, on being run off, ended in an easy victory for that horse.

## OCTOBER.

1. A large gathering of Liberals from the counties of Somerset, Hants, Wilts, and Dorset was held under the presidency of Lord Wolverton at Templecombe, and addressed by Mr. John Morley on the Irish question.

— Signor Crispi, the Italian Prime Minister, arrived at Friederichsruhe on a visit to Prince Bismarck.

2. Shortly after midnight, the Rev. W. M. Farley, vicar of Creetingham, Suffolk, was murdered by his curate, the Rev. A. Gilbert Cooper, an inmate of the house. He forced his way into the vicar's bedroom, and whilst talking to him in the presence of Mrs. Farley, he suddenly stooped down and cut the vicar's throat from ear to ear.

3. The Church Congress opened at Wolverhampton, the Bishop of Lichfield delivering the inaugural address.

3. A demonstration, fairly well attended by sugar-bakers and others, held in Hyde Park to protest against the system of sugar-bounties, and to urge that bounty-paid sugar should be subjected to duty.

4. A severe shock of an earthquake felt throughout Greece, especially on the shores of the Gulf of Corinth.

— The Grand Duke Nicholas, on arriving at Dunkirk on board the steamer from Teneriffe, made a violent anti-German speech, advising the French nation not to be stirred to action until the Russian Government was composed wholly of men who loved France.

5. Several thousand women employed in a tobacco manufactory in Madrid began rioting in consequence of a rumour that it was intended to reduce their wages. The authorities called out the civic guard, whereupon the women closed and barricaded the doors and windows of the buildings, smashing the furniture and throwing it at the troops. After some further parleying order was restored, and the women left the buildings quietly.

6. The hearing of the summonses against the Lord Mayor of Dublin and Mr. William O'Brien, for publishing reports of suppressed meetings of the Irish Land League, was made the occasion of a great popular demonstration. The Lord Mayor, in his official robes, and accompanied by a long procession of carriages, attended the public court, into which he attempted to enter, attended by his mace-bearer. After a very brief hearing the magistrate dismissed the case, which he said the Crown had failed to prove.

— A Jubilee memorial statue of the Queen, presented by the tenantry of her Highland estates and the servants of Balmoral, unveiled by the Prince of Wales in the presence of the Queen, the ex-Empress Eugénie, and others. The statue, erected on an eminence to the east of the castle, was a bronze replica of Mr. J. E. Boehm's statue intended for Sydney.

7. The German Government, through Count Munster, its ambassador at Paris, expressed to M. Flourens its deep regret for the deplorable incident at Raon-sur-Plaine, and whilst promising full investigation handed over 50,000 marks for the benefit of the widow of the gamekeeper, Brignon, who had been unfortunately shot.

8. General Caffarel, deputy chief of the French staff, placed under arrest, charged with *escroquerie*, and having used his influence in obtaining decorations for which he received payment. Madame Limousin, Madame Ratazzi, and others, charged with complicity, were likewise arrested. General Caffarel was subsequently found guilty by a court of honour.

9. The new elections throughout Bulgaria resulted in the return of 250 supporters of M. Stambouloff, the actual prime minister, and about 50 supporters of his various opponents. There was rioting in some places, and altogether 26 persons were stated to have been killed or wounded.

— The hunting stud of Captain Steed, of Clonsalla House, co. Dublin, consisting of 38 horses, many of great value, poisoned. Nineteen of the horses died in the greatest agony, and nearly all the others suffered more or less severely.

10. The armoured cruiser *Reina Regente*, constructed for the Spanish Government by Messrs. I. and G. Thomson of Glasgow, and said to be the

fastest war-ship afloat, steamed 21 knots in the hour in the course of her trial down the Clyde.

10. H.M. gunboat *Wasp*, one of the best and newest of the screw gunboats, lost somewhere in the China seas on her voyage from Singapore to Hongkong. No tidings were heard of her actual fate, but she was supposed to have foundered in a typhoon with all hands.

11. The Cesarewitch stakes at Newmarket won by Lord Rodney's Hume-wood, 3 yrs., 7 st. 6 lbs. (Robinson), by 1½ lengths; 23 started.

— On the Chicago and Atlantic Railway, near Nuts Judson, Indiana, a freight train ran into the back portion of an express passenger train, smashing the sleeping car and telescoping two other carriages, and finally set fire to the *débris*, spreading to the rest of the train. Seventeen passengers were killed or burned to death, and 25 others injured.

— Mr. Chamberlain arrived at Belfast to inaugurate a Unionist campaign in Ulster, and was warmly received by a large concourse of people.

12. The Middle Park plate won by Sir F. Johnstone's Friar's Balsam, 9 st. 8 lbs. (G. Barrett); 5 started.

— Snow, which also fell in London to a slight extent, reported to have fallen heavily in the northern and midland counties, accompanied by a sharp frost.

— The coroner's jury impanelled to inquire into the cause of death of the three men shot during the riots at Mitchelstown found the county inspector and five of the police constables guilty of wilful murder.

— In Wicklow a coroner's jury also found an absent landlord and six emergency men guilty of wilfully killing a member of the National League who attempted to interfere with the men when doing their work.

13. After two unsuccessful attempts, Mr. Morton crossed the Channel in a balloon from Dover, and having travelled about 70 miles in 5½ hours, safely descended at Roon, a village about 88 miles east of Calais.

— General Boulanger placed under close arrest for thirty days for animadverting on the action of the Government in the Caffarel case.

— An elk shot at Rudnik, in Galicia, and another sighted in the same neighbourhood. They were supposed to have come from Lithuania, where they still survive, although in Central Europe none had been seen for upwards of 180 years.

14. The "unemployed," to the number of about 2,000, having assembled in Trafalgar Square, marched through the Strand and Fleet Street to the Mansion House, and demanded an interview with the Lord Mayor, who returned a message that he declined to see men who came with black flags and caps of liberty. After some hesitation the crowd marched off, and subsequently broke up without disturbance.

— The Metropolitan Board of Works agreed to contribute the moiety (not more than 152,500*l.*) of the cost of acquiring 260 additional acres to carry out the Hampstead Heath extension, and a sum of 25,000*l.* towards the purchase of Clissold Park.

15. An outbreak of measles suddenly showed itself among the younger members of the families of the Czar of Russia and the Prince of Wales, who

had been spending a part of the summer at the Fredensborg Palace, Copenhagen, nearly all of the children taking the infection.

16. A demonstration of the National League took place at Woodford, Co. Galway, the managers having succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the police and cut the telegraph wires. The Nationalists were summoned from all quarters about 8 A.M. by bonfires, which passed the signal from hill to hill, and on reaching Woodford, the rallying-place, of which every cottage was illuminated, Mr. O'Brien, who was the chief speaker, before addressing the crowd from the priest's house, where he was staying, threw the Lord Lieutenant's proclamation into the fire.

17. The "unemployed" who throughout the previous week had assembled in Trafalgar Square, met in somewhat larger numbers, and after some speeches marched to the Mansion House to see the Lord Mayor. In his absence Sir H. Knight consented to receive a deputation. The members returning to the mass of demonstrators in Trafalgar Square with no satisfactory assurance, a serious disturbance took place, which the police had great difficulty in repressing. On the next day the "unemployed," having been dispersed in Trafalgar Square, met in Hyde Park, where they did much damage.

— A grand fête took place at Stratford-on-Avon on the inauguration of a splendid drinking fountain and clock tower, presented to the town by Mr. G. W. Childs, of Philadelphia, U.S.A. The dedicative speech was made by Mr. Henry Irving, who expressed the thanks of the corporation and the whole of the English-speaking world for this tribute to Shakspeare's memory.

18. Mr. Gladstone, after a series of ovations on his way from Hawarden and Manchester, stopping to deliver speeches at Stockport, Sheffield, Newark, &c. reached Nottingham, where the National Liberal Federation held its annual meeting.

— The Cork Steam Packet Company's steamer *Upupa* and the German barque *Planteur* came into collision off Beachy Head, the latter sinking almost immediately and entailing a loss of eleven lives.

19. The "unemployed," after holding a meeting in Hyde Park, suddenly turned into May Fair through Grosvenor Street and South Street, with the intention, it was supposed, of attacking the shops. The police followed them at once, whilst reinforcements were rapidly brought up. In Dover Street, Piccadilly, a collision between the mob and police took place, where after a few casualties on either side the former were thoroughly dispersed.

— General Caffarel's name struck off the army list, the Council of the Legion of Honour at the same time recommending that he should also be removed from the list of its members.

Lord Clinton unveiled in the public gardens of Northernhay, Exeter, the statue of the Earl of Iddesleigh, subscribed for by the men of Devon at the time of his appointment as Lord Lieutenant of the county.

20. The steamer *Cheviot* from Melbourne for Sydney went ashore off the Port Philip Heads, and became a total wreck.

— The *Victory*, upwards of 112 years old, and since the peace moored in Portsmouth Harbour, suddenly sprung a leak on the eve of the anniversary of the battle of Trafalgar. For some time, in spite of the efforts of the pumps, the water gained way, but at length the leak was partially stopped by divers.

20. Dr. Johnson's house at Lichfield, which was threatened with demolition, sold by auction for 800*l.*, and purchased by Mr. G. H. Johnson, of Southport and West Lindeth, with a view of its preservation.

21. The British India Steam Navigation Company's steamer *Arco*t, 1,782 tons, struck while crossing the Muckraputty Sands, outside the mouth of the Hooghly, and capsized at once. The crew and passengers with the exception of five were saved.

23. Having met in large numbers at Clerkenwell. Green, a number of Socialists and others marched in procession to Westminster Abbey, where they behaved in a disgraceful manner, talking and smoking in the building during the service.

— Mr. Wilfrid G. Blunt arrested and held to bail by the constabulary for persisting in holding a meeting at Woodford, Co. Galway, to protest against Lord Clanricarde's evictions after the assemblage had been proclaimed by the Lord Lieutenant.

24. Mr. Egerton, acting Chargé d'Affaires in Paris, signed on behalf of the British Government an agreement arrived at with the French Government for the neutralisation of the Suez Canal and the evacuation of the New Hebrides.

— The Marquess of Hartington addressed at Nottingham a meeting of the Unionist delegates and others, and replied at length to Mr. Gladstone's speech of the previous week.

— A daughter born to the Princess Beatrice (Princess Henry of Battenberg) at Balmoral, being the first instance of a member of the Royal Family being born in Scotland since 1600.

— A violent gale raged throughout the Lake region of Canada and the United States, accompanied by blinding snow-storms, which caused much damage to shipping. In Scotland and England the weather was extremely cold, the former and the northern counties of the latter being visited by a severe fall of snow.

25. Speeches, wholly devoted to the Irish question, delivered by Mr. Gladstone at Ripon and Leeds, by Mr. Morley at Halifax, by Lord Spencer at Edinburgh, and by Mr. J. Chamberlain at Islington.

— In an explosion of gas at the Ann Pit of Walker Colliery near Newcastle six men were killed and some others injured.

— At Newmarket the Cambridgeshire Stakes won by a complete outsider, Mr. R. Vyner's Gloriation, 8 yrs., 7 st. 6 lb. (Glover), defeating a field of twenty starters after a magnificent race.

26. M. Wilson, President Grévy's son-in-law, attended a meeting of his electors at Tours to defend himself against the charges brought against him of trafficking in decorations. After a noisy discussion the meeting broke up amid shouts of "Resign!" M. Wilson subsequently paid over to the National Treasury 40,000 francs in discharge of any claims which might arise against him for having used the President's frank for his private correspondence.

— A gala performance of Mozart's "Don Giovanni" given at the Grand Opera at Paris to celebrate the centenary of its production. At Vienna, Prague, and throughout Germany the anniversary was similarly celebrated.

26. Rev. C. H. Spurgeon announced his withdrawal from the Baptist Union, owing to the unsatisfactory action taken on his charges against the ministry of being on a down grade spiritually and theologically.

— At an inquest held in London on the body of a man named Cohen, who had died of consumption, the police gave evidence tending to show that he was acting under the orders of General Millen, a prominent member of the Clan-na-Gael. Cohen had come to London in April with instructions to bring off an outrage during the Jubilee. The police paralysed his operations by sending an officer to Boulogne, where General Millen was residing, and warning him that his plot was known.

28. At the meeting of the Metropolitan Board of Works a deputation of the "unemployed" attended to demand that the building of artisans' dwellings and other buildings on vacant spaces should be at once undertaken by the Board, and also that the workmen should be paid fair wages direct without the intervention of a contractor.

— The sculling match between Teemer and Gaudaur for the American championship took place on Lake Maranacoop, and resulted in a victory for Teemer.

— An earthquake occurred in Iceland, confined almost wholly to the south part of the island, and the rock at Cape Reikianeas was swept asunder and the lighthouse much damaged.

29. A gale of more than usual violence broke over the English Channel and the surrounding English and French coasts. Ten lives were lost off Portland, six off Shanklin, four off Dunkirk, besides others at Sheerness, Boulogne, and the Channel Islands. The damage to property on land as well as to shipping was very great.

— A body of 100 Abas (natives of Assam) made a raid upon the village of Duppla, near Harmults, carrying off eleven men and all the property of the place.

30. A secret congress of the Irish "Extreme" party, or "Invincibles," met at Brussels to discuss the future policy of the party. After a strong debate Patrick Casey's motion for immediate action of the most fiery sort was negatived by twelve votes to eight, four delegates from London declining to take part in the poll.

31. Mr. W. O'Brien's appeal against the sentence of three months' imprisonment passed upon him by the Mitchelstown magistrates heard at Midleton and the sentence upheld. Mr. O'Brien on attempting to leave the court was stopped, and a riotous struggle in court between the police and Mr. O'Brien and his friends ensued, but ultimately the editor of *United Ireland* was overpowered and conveyed to prison.

— The Earl of Lytton, G.C.B., appointed Ambassador at Paris, in succession to Lord Lyons, who retired after nineteen years' tenure of the post. Lord Lyons was offered an earldom in recognition of his services.

— After a lull of six-and-thirty hours the gale revived with great force, especially on the western and south-western coasts. At Holyhead the waves made a breach over the railroad, and carried away a large piece of the permanent way, and on the South Western Railway the trains between Parkstown and Poole was similarly interrupted.



## NOVEMBER.

1. Police Constable Endacott, who was accused of having committed perjury in the case of Miss Cass, discharged after two days' trial, Mr. Justice Stephen stating that there was no legal case sustainable.

— The general result of the Municipal Elections, although not always turning on political questions, showed that throughout the United Kingdom the Liberals had gained 78 seats, the Conservatives 59, and the Liberal Unionists 8. The Liberals were most successful at Cardiff (4 seats), Gloucester (8), Manchester, and Waltham.

2. A serious explosion of fire-damp occurred in the Mill Close Lead Mine, near Matlock, Bath. About twenty-five men were working in the mine at the time, and had exploded a dynamite charge in order to remove a mass of rock. Five men were burnt by the fire-damp.

— The proposal to establish at Oxford a class list in the Schools for Modern Languages resulted in a tie, ninety-two voting on each side. According to precedent the Proctor consequently gave his casting vote in the negative, and the motion was lost.

3. The Cathedral at Truro—built by public subscription, and made the seat of the revised see of Cornwall—consecrated by the Bishop of the diocese, assisted by the Archbishop of Canterbury and a number of other prelates. The Prince of Wales also attended, accompanied by the chief local authorities.

— Rev. Charles A. Berry, of Wolverhampton, unanimously selected by the committee of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, N.Y., in succession to the late Rev. H. Ward Beecher, but the offer was eventually declined.

4. The Prince of Wales left St. Germans, where he had been the guest of Lord St. Germans, and arrived at Devonport to present new colours to the 2nd battalion of the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry.

— A banquet given at the United Service Club to H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge in celebration of his completion of fifty years' military service. Lord Napier of Magdala presided, and all the field marshals, including the Prince of Wales, and above 160 older staff officers attended.

— In honour of the same occasion the Duke of Cambridge, who had hitherto held the title of Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief, was appointed by the Queen to be Commander-in-Chief.

— The meetings of the Socialists and unemployed in Trafalgar Square having continued, to the increasing interruption of public traffic, the police arrested two of the leaders for seditious language.

5. The Lord Mayor and sheriffs inaugurated the Queen's Park at Kilburn, a new recreation-ground, purchased by private funds supplemented by a grant from the Corporation funds.

6. At Chicago the sudden illness of one of the condemned Anarchists, which was found to be an attempted self-poisoning by laudanum, induced the authorities to search the cells in which prisoners were confined. Six bombs were found in one cell and three in another, all charged with dynamite.

7. Sir Morell Mackenzie, M.D., summoned to San Remo in consequence of the reappearance of serious symptoms in the throat of the German Crown Prince.

— The Secretary of State for the Colonies conveyed to the Governor of Western Australia the concession of the Imperial Government of the principle of responsible government.

— Mr. John L. Sullivan, champion of the American Prize Ring, received, on his arrival at Euston station, by a crowd of enthusiasts, variously estimated at 7,000 to 12,000 persons. His admirers were so eager to express their welcome that Mr. Sullivan took refuge in a mourning coach, into which he was followed by so many people that the bottom fell out. At Liverpool, when starting, and at the stations along the route at which the train stopped, large crowds were assembled to catch sight of and to welcome the pugilist.

8. A man named Patrick Quirke, who had recently taken an "evicted" farm at Liscahane, near Ardfer, in Kerry, shot dead by a party of moonlighters, who induced him to come out of his house by telling him that his cattle were straying.

— Archdeacon Wright, in a letter to the *Times*, called attention to the rapid and wide-spreading increase of leprosy, of which cases were constantly being admitted into the hospitals of London, Paris, Dublin, and Glasgow, whilst in foreign parts it was found to be of so frequent occurrence that separate asylums for the patients had been found necessary.

9. The Lord Mayor's procession greatly marred by the steady downpour of rain, which continued throughout the day. The streets were nevertheless crowded, and no attempt to disturb the peace was made by the Socialists or others. At the subsequent banquet Lord Salisbury stated that Ayoub Khan had voluntarily surrendered himself to the British agent at Meshed.

— In the course of the trial of General Caffarel at Paris two letters of M. Wilson (M. Grévy's son-in-law), which had been put before the court as authentic documents found in the house of Madame Limousin, were, although dated in May and June 1884 proved to have been written on paper made not earlier than October 1885.

— At Thurles the Gaelic Athletic Convention having elected by a large majority an extremist of Fenian antecedents to be president, the more moderate Nationalists, including the parish priests, withdrew.

10. Serious shocks of earthquake felt in the districts surrounding Ravenna, Bologna, and Venice, and other parts of North Italy.

— The Liverpool Cup won by the Duke of Westminster's St. Mirin, 4 yrs. 8st. 12lb. (T. Cannon.) Eight ran.

— Mr. Pyne, M.P., against whom the Irish Government issued a summons to answer to charges under the Crimes Act, retired to his castle at Lisfinny, which he had previously fortified and provisioned for six months.

— The Irish Court of Exchequer reversed the decision of the Dublin magistrate with reference to the publication of the proceedings of a Nationalist meeting in county Wexford, and sent back the case against Mr. T. D. Sullivan, M.P., to be tried by the magistrate.

11. Four out of the seven Chicago Anarchists, who had been condemned

to death a year previously, were hanged within the precincts of the Chicago prison. In the case of two others the capital sentence was commuted to penal servitude for life. The other, Lingg, committed suicide on the eve of his execution by means of a cigar containing fulminate of mercury, which had been conveyed to him by some undiscovered agency. Lingg deliberately lighted the cigar at a candle, and it exploded in his mouth, blowing off the greater portion of one side of his face. He lingered for some hours.

11. The first sod of the Manchester Ship Canal cut in a quiet and unostentatious manner by Lord Egerton of Tatton in the presence of about twenty of the directors. The point selected was at Eastham, on the Cheshire shore, and about a quarter of a mile distant from the shore.

— Irnham Hall, near Grantham, an old Tudor house of great architectural beauty, dating from 1510, caught fire and completely destroyed.

12. The election of the Lord Rector of Aberdeen University terminated in the return of Mr. Goschen (455 votes) over Mr. John Morley, 314.

— The horse and bicycle contest at the Agricultural Hall, to test their relative value for postal purposes, terminated in favour of the horsemen, Broncho Charley and Beadsley (cowboys of the Wild West Show) covering in the 48 hours (eight hours a day) 814 miles 4 laps, whilst the champion cyclists were about two miles behind. The horsemen employed thirty horses, and gained much by the agility with which they changed horses.

13. The Metropolitan Radical Federation having called a meeting in Trafalgar Square to demand the release of Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., Sir Charles Warren issued a notice prohibiting the meeting, as well as the approach of any organised procession. The square was occupied by the police from an early hour, and in the afternoon organised processions approached from every quarter. A series of struggles ensued with the police at various places on the way, in Shaftesbury Avenue, Parliament Street, Pall Mall, and the Strand, and serious conflicts took place. A little before 5 p.m. the Foot Guards were brought up to relieve the police, and a little later the Life Guards arrived, and in both cases the troops were accompanied by magistrates. A large number of arrests were made, chiefly for assaulting the police, including Mr. Cunningham Graham, M.P., and Mr. Burns, and upwards of 100 persons and constables were more or less hurt, two of the police being stabbed.

— A serious fire broke out in the Ministry of Agriculture at Brussels, and at one time threatened to extend to the other Ministries and the Chamber of Representatives. It was not extinguished until very great damage was done.

— The physicians and specialists summoned to San Remo to confer with Sir Morell Mackenzie on the health of the German Crown Prince, pronounced the swelling in the throat to be of a cancerous nature. After an hour's reflection, the Crown Prince decided not to submit to an operation, of which the result would at best be doubtful.

14. The Orient line steamer *Ormuz* reached King George's Sound, Australia, 23 days 17 hours after leaving London, being the fastest passage on record, and showing an average speed of 15½ knots per hour.

— A fire broke out in Vanderbilt Avenue, Brooklyn, at the stables of the

Brooklyn tramways, by which 157 horses and property valued at \$200,000 were destroyed.

14. At the Colston banquet at Bristol Sir Michael Hicks-Beach was the principal guest of the Conservatives, and made his first public speech since his forced retirement from office.

15. The election for the Lord Rectorship of the Glasgow University resulted in each candidate having a majority in two of the four "nations," thus giving the casting vote to the Chancellor (Earl of Stair); but the votes recorded were—Lord Rosebery 867, Lord Lytton 845. After some days' delay the Chancellor gave his vote in favour of Lord Lytton.

— The British steamer *Wah Yeung*, trading between Canton and Hong-kong, burnt to the water's edge, and upwards of 400 passengers lost their lives, chiefly by drowning.

— Professor C. G. Stokes, President of the Royal Society, elected member for the Cambridge University in succession to the Right Hon. A. J. B. Beresford Hope.

16. At the 119th annual banquet of the New York Chamber of Commerce Mr. J. Chamberlain was the principal guest and chief speaker.

— A convention relative to the prohibition of the sale of alcoholic drinks to fishermen on the North Sea signed at the Hague by the representatives of England, Belgium, Denmark, France, and Holland.

— M. Mangot and M. L'Hoste, two well-known French *aéronauts*, drowned whilst attempting to cross the English Channel. They were last seen about thirty-nine miles south of the Isle of Wight, and were probably dashed into the sea by the violence of the storm of wind and rain which was raging at the time.

17. In view of the threatened renewal of the Trafalgar Square and Hyde Park meetings the Government made arrangements for the swearing in of special constables at the various police courts and elsewhere. About 6,000 were enrolled and at once employed.

— The French *Préfet* of Police (M. Gragnon) and the chief of the Detective Department (M. Cornu) superseded in consequence of the charges made against them in connection with M. Wilson's letters. M. Mazeau, the Minister of Justice, resigned, and the Chamber voted, with one dissentient, in favour of M. Wilson being prosecuted.

— Mr. Norman Lockyer, F.R.S., read before the Royal Society a remarkable paper on the constitution of heavenly bodies, in which he expressed his belief that "all self-luminous bodies in celestial space were composed of meteorites or masses of vapour produced by heat brought about by condensation of meteor swarms due to gravity."

18. The Czar and Czarina, on their way from Copenhagen to St. Petersburg (the Baltic navigation being closed), arrived at Berlin 11 A.M., and after spending the day in receiving and paying State visits dined with the German Emperor at a grand banquet, and left at 9.30 P.M. for the Russian frontier.

— A great rising of slaves took place on the plantation near San Paulo (Brazil). The policemen sent in pursuit were disarmed, and the troops who were called out showed great unwillingness to hunt the slaves through the forests in which they had taken refuge.

19. In the French Chamber of Deputies the Rouvier Ministry having been defeated by 317 against 227 on a question of urgency brought forward by M. Clémenceau, resigned.

— During a fog in the English Channel near Dover the Red Star line screw steamer *W. A. Scholten*, 4,000 tons burden, from Rotterdam for New York, came into collision with the steamer *Mary Rosa*, of Hartlepool. The Dutch ship, which had passengers, chiefly emigrants, and crew numbering 217, speedily sank, and only 83 persons were rescued by a passing vessel.

20. The meetings intended to be held by the Radical and other associations in Hyde Park passed off without disorder. Trafalgar Square was occupied by the police and special constables from an early hour, and no attempt was made to hold a meeting there. A few trifling skirmishes between the police and the processionists attempting to reach Trafalgar Square took place.

21. Barnum's show and menagerie, which had been taken to their winter quarters at Bridgeport, Connecticut, discovered to be on fire. Fear of the animals, driven wild with terror, prevented any near approach to the sheds, and most of the buildings were soon in a blaze, and were quite destroyed, the loss entailed being estimated at \$700,000. Thirty-six elephants and one lion got loose, and those which were not too much burnt roamed across the country until recaptured or killed.

— Thomas Scott, *alias* Callan, and Michael Harkins, brought up at Bow Street Police Court on a charge of conspiring together to cause an explosion in the United Kingdom of a nature likely to endanger life.

— A serious fire, attributed to the overheating of the kitchen flues, broke out at the Ship Hotel, Greenwich, and was not subdued until great damage had been done to the premises and contents.

— At Amoy a powder magazine containing 40,000 kilogrammes of gunpowder exploded, entirely destroying one quarter of the city, killing fifty soldiers and several hundreds of civilians.

22. The twentieth annual conference of the National Union and Conservative and Constitutional Association opened at Oxford, and attended by nearly 1,000 delegates from all parts of England, Wales, and Scotland. A resolution in favour of a return to some form of "Fair Trade" or Protection moved by Mr. Howard Vincent and carried by an overwhelming majority.

— The Countess of Dufferin announced that the result of her appeal for a Jubilee endowment fund for the Association for Supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India had resulted in contributions amounting to five lakhs of rupees (50,000*l.*).

23. M. Grévy, after several ineffectual overtures to the leaders of the various Republican groups to form a Ministry, announced his intention of resigning the Presidency of the Republic.

— It was semi-officially announced that at the interview between the Czar and Prince Bismarck the latter proved to the satisfaction of the former that the supposed hostility of German to Russian policy in Eastern Europe was founded upon forged telegrams and despatches purporting to have come from the German Chancellery, but which in reality were due to Orleanist intrigues.

— A conference on the subject of commercial education held under the

auspices of the London Chamber of Commerce, and simultaneously a scheme for commercial certificates, approved by the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board, was published.

24. In the island of Lewis a body of squatters, who declared that the pasture and food of the island was devoured by deer, made a raid upon some of the largest deer forests. They encamped by night on the mountain side, and by day drove the deer into gullies and elsewhere to slaughter them.

25. Mr. Lacaita, M.P. for Dundee, announced his intention of giving up his seat in consequence of finding himself unable to co-operate with the Gladstonian Liberals, whose policy he had been elected to support.

26. The *Times* announced that Mr. C. S. Parnell, M.P., whose whereabouts had so long been a mystery, had for a long time been residing in one of the London suburbs under the assumed name of Preston.

— The sculling match between Hanlan and Beach for the championship of the world rowed on the Nepean river, Sydney, N.S.W., and resulted in the victory of Beach after a hard struggle by two lengths. Time 19 min. 55 sec.

— A considerable portion of the Royal Oak station on the Great Western Railway destroyed by a fire which originated in the ticket office.

27. At Dublin and Limerick demonstrations were made in commemoration of the "Manchester martyrs." In the capital, where Mr. Davitt was the chief speaker, the meeting passed off quietly, but at Limerick there was a more determined display of force on the part of both the Nationalists and the police, and several sharp encounters took place between them, ending, however, in nothing more serious than a few broken heads.

28. In the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice the Archbishop of York appeared personally to show cause against the *mandamus* of the Civil Court to compel him to accept Dr. Tristram as a member of the Northern Convocation.

29. Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen received a warm welcome from the Irish Unionists assembled in Dublin, both statesmen subsequently holding crowded meetings, which were not interrupted by the Nationalists.

— At New York, Johann Most, the Anarchist speaker, was tried for delivering speeches at a public meeting tending to incite to violence. He was found guilty and sentenced.

30. After successive remands Mr. Cunningham Graham and Mr. Burns committed for trial for seditious language and rioting, the charges of assaulting the police having been abandoned by the Crown.

— The President of the Royal Society (Professor Stokes, M.P.) delivered his annual address, and presented the gold medals of the year: the Copley medal to Sir J. D. Hooker for his services to botanical science; royal medals to Colonel Clarke, R.E., for his comparison of standards and determination of the figure of the earth, and Professor Moseley for his researches in animal morphology; and the Davy medal to Mr. John Newlands for his discovery of the periodic law of the chemical elements.

— The Irish branch of the Liberal Union gave a banquet in Leinster Hall, Dublin, to Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen.

## DECEMBER.

1. The election for the Dulwich division resulted in the return of Mr. Blundell Maple (Conservative) by 4,021 votes against Mr. Henderson (Gladstonian), who polled 2,609.

2. M. Grévy, after much hesitation and postponement, formally resigned the Presidency of the French Republic and quitted the Elysée the same evening. Disturbances took place in various parts of Paris as soon as M. Grévy's resignation was known, the Extremists making manifestations against M. Jules Ferry's candidature. Order was, however, restored without any serious collision between the troops and the people.

— Thé Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sullivan) convicted at the Dublin Police Court of publishing in the *Nation* reports of meetings of suppressed branches of the National League, and sentenced to two months' imprisonment as a first-class misdemeanant. The Lord Mayor's name had been omitted from the Commission of Oyer and Terminer opened at the same time at Dublin.

— Mr. Timothy Harrington, M.P., arrested at the offices of the National League, Dublin, for having published in the *Kerry Sentinel* reports of suppressed meetings; his brother, Mr. E. Harrington, M.P., the joint editor and proprietor, having been previously arrested in Tralee.

8. The National Assembly convened at Versailles elected, after two ballots, M. Sadi Carnot by 616 to be President of the Republic in succession to M. Grévy. The decision of the Assembly was favourably received, and there were very slight disturbances in the streets of Paris.

— A serious fire broke out in the neighbourhood of Shoe Lane and Faringdon Street, destroying the warehouses of various wholesale chemists and druggists.

— A severe shock of earthquake felt throughout Calabria, producing very disastrous consequences. At Bisignano 4,000 persons were rendered homeless, and about thirty buried in the ruins of the place. The railway between Cosenza and Sebari was much damaged, and the houses of Pasla and Rogliano suffered considerably.

5. The old flagship *Victory* removed from her moorings in Portsmouth Harbour to be dismantled preparatory to being docked, in order to ascertain her actual condition.

— At Northampton the Manufacturers' Association, comprising the sixty-nine principal firms of the place, commenced a lock-out, affecting 15,000 operatives.

— A man was charged at Bow Street with causing an obstruction in St. Martin's Place, having chained himself to the railings of the Vestry Hall. He declared "his object was to indicate by means of peaceful anarchy the rights of free speech." He was discharged.

6. President Cleveland, in his address to Congress on its reassembling, called its special attention to the state of the finances, and to the need of

finding some legitimate use for the ever-increasing surplus of national income over expenditure.

6. Much agitation reported from Vienna and divers parts of Central Europe on account of the large numbers of Russian troops assembled on the Galician frontier.

7. The discovery in the Cader Idris range of a lode of quartz extraordinarily rich in gold stated to have been made in the Mawddach Valley, near Dolgelly.

— Dr. Villiers Stanford, of Trinity College, elected to the professorship of music in the University of Cambridge, in succession to Sir George Macfarren.

— In the Dublin Court of Common Pleas Mr. Joyce recovered from Lord Clanricarde, whose land agent he had been, 2,500*l.* damages for libel with regard to his conduct towards the tenants on his lordship's Woodford (co. Galway) estates.

8. A military conference held at the Hofburg, Vienna, under the presidency of the Emperor of Austria, attended by the chief military authorities, to confer upon the position of the eastern frontier.

— A conference of Liberal Unionist Associations attended by about 600 delegates met at the Westminster Town Hall, under the presidency of Lord Hartington, and subsequently attended a banquet at which he presided.

— At the St. James's Hall a meeting was held of the National Association for the preservation of agriculture and other industries. The chair was occupied by Mr. Howard Vincent, and resolutions in favour of the "Fair Trade" policy were adopted.

9. Dr. Middleton, the medical attendant of Lord Deramore, placed under formal arrest at Cordova for having caused the death of a gipsy named Heredia. The doctor had incautiously accepted the gipsy's offer to accompany him to the top of the cathedral tower, and on their return, whilst descending the winding staircase, Heredia pushed forward and attempted with one arm to strangle the doctor, whilst with the other he emptied his pockets. Dr. Middleton was, however, able to disengage one hand and to draw his revolver, which he fired twice behind him, when the thief loosed his hold. On the alarm being raised and search made the thief's dead body was found still holding the doctor's stick and money in his hand.

— Serious disturbances, resulting in the arrest of several hundreds of students, took place at the Moscow University, the whole city being in consequence practically placed under military rule. The Universities of Moscow and Kasan, as well as those of Odessa, Kharkoff, and Petersburg, were subsequently closed.

10. The Prince of Wales visited East London for the purpose of opening the Apprentices' Exhibition and Gymnasium at the People's Palace.

— At Paris, in the lobby of the Chamber of Deputies, a man named Aubertin fired three shots with a revolver at M. Jules Ferry, to whom he had given a petition to read. By the most wonderful good fortune M. Ferry escaped with slight contusions, the bullets scarcely piercing his clothes.

— Right Honourable A. J. Balfour delivered his inaugural address as Lord Rector of St. Andrew's University, choosing for his theme the Pleasure of Reading.



10. The distribution of the prizes to the Royal Academy students took place at Burlington House, followed by the President's address on Tuscan art. The two principal prizes of the year for painting—viz. the Gold Medal and Travelling Studentship for an historical picture and the Turner Prize for a landscape—were carried off by the same student, Mr. A. T. Nowell.

12. After numerous failures to form a French Ministry, M. Tirard presented a list to the President, which was accepted, and the members forthwith entered upon their functions.

— The premises of the Driffeld and East Riding Linseed Cake Company, one of the largest factories in the kingdom, took fire, and buildings and property valued at 150,000*l.* were completely destroyed.

13. The English Roman Catholic Liberals, represented by the Marquess of Ripon, the Earl of Ashburnham, and others, circulated an address to Monsignor Persico repudiating the action of those who blamed the Irish priesthood for their attitude towards Home Rule.

— The Princess Louise (Marchioness of Lorne) went to Nottingham to open at the Social Guild an exhibition of the work done at recreative evening classes throughout England.

— The Paris Court of Appeal dismissed the case against M. Wilson, Deputy, and M. Gragnon, Prefect of the Police, who had been charged with purloining and substituting letters in connection with the case against Mme. Limousin.

14. The *Times* published the voluntary statement of a Home Ruler who had separated himself from the advanced Nationalists. According to this information the head centre of the extreme faction, Dr. Hamilton Williams, who had a fund of 200,000*l.* at his disposal, had abandoned the idea of sending out fully equipped dynamitards from the United States. He proposed to find instruments ready "to wage war in the enemy's country" amongst its denizens.

— The National Fair Trade League issued as the resolution adopted unanimously by the representatives of all its branches: "That our common policy is to advocate the imposition of moderate import duties upon all competing foreign products other than raw materials for industry, leaving the definition of such raw materials and the special treatment of Indian and colonial products to be determined by the legislature."

15. The Home Secretary and President of the Local Government Board received a deputation of East London workpeople, who desired to prevent the unrestricted immigration of pauper aliens. It was stated that since 1880 there had been a reduction of 50 per cent. in the tailoring wages on account of the influx of Polish Jews induced to come over by the "sweaters," who had command of the labour market.

— After a long trial Leon Serné, hairdresser, and John Henry Goldfinch, his assistant, acquitted of the charge of having wilfully murdered the two children of the former by setting fire to the shop occupied by them in the Strand.

— At Nice, a sergeant in the 111th Regiment of the French army, arrested on the charge of having attempted to sell to Germany, for 20,000 francs, a Lebel rifle and some cartridges.

15. M. Carvalho, director of the ill-fated Opéra Comique at Paris (burnt in June), sentenced to three months' imprisonment and a fine of 50,000 francs, and the fireman André to one month's imprisonment, for negligence in their respective duties.

16. H.R.H. the Princess Christian visited Holloway College, Egham, and unveiled a statue of the Queen, the work of Prince Victor of Hohenlohe.

17. A serious panic took place on the Vienna Bourse in consequence of warlike rumours and of the attitude of Russia. It was estimated that the depreciation of stocks in two days exceeded 200 millions of florins.

18. The Pope received at the Vatican with great ceremonial the Duke of Norfolk, accredited as special envoy from the Queen to congratulate his Holiness on his jubilee. The last occasion on which an accredited envoy had been sent from England to the Papal See was in 1687, when Lord Castlemaine represented James II.

— William Linnell, who had died in Charing Cross Hospital in consequence of injuries received during the disturbances in Trafalgar Square, conveyed from Trafalgar Square to Bow Common Cemetery, followed by a large procession. Throughout the long line of march order was preserved but in the darkness which had set in before the grave was reached the cemetery became the scene of confusion and uproar.

— A huge timber raft, which left Nova Scotia on the 5th inst., abandoned during a storm off Block Island, Nantucket Bay. It was composed of 27,000 logs, and measured 560 feet in length by 65 feet in width and 88 feet in depth. The raft was speedily broken up by the waves, and a wide expanse of sea was for a long time strewn with the floating timbers.

19. Lord Salisbury visited Derby, and in the course of the afternoon and evening delivered three speeches on the state of politics. He was received at the stations at which his train stopped, as well as at Derby, with great enthusiasm.

— Thomas Callan and Michael Harkins, after several remands, formally committed for trial on the charge of conspiracy to commit dynamite outrages.

— A prize fight for the champion's belt and 1,000*l.* between Jem Smith, an Englishman, and Jake Kilrain, an American, took place on a small island in the Seine, near Rouen. The men fought 106 rounds, lasting 2½ hours, when an adjournment, on account of the increasing darkness (nearly 5 p.m.), was ordered, and on the journey home "a draw" was agreed to with the approval of all concerned. About 100 persons, chiefly English and American, witnessed the fight.

20. Count Perponcher, Chief Court Marshal to the German Emperor, resigned in consequence of Prince Bismarck's refusal to receive his explanation of not having allotted to the Chancellor, at the banquet to the Czar, the place corresponding with his rank.

— A monument to M. Edmond About, designed by M. Crantz, unveiled in the cemetery of Père la Chaise in the presence of a large number of his old friends and colleagues. M. Ernest Renan made an eloquent speech.

21. A number of farmers in the counties Meath and Dublin publicly noti-

fied the poisoning of their lands on political grounds, certain prominent hunting landlords being objected to by them.

21. At Rochester, N.Y., in consequence of the leakage of some naphtha works into the town sewers a terrific explosion took place, followed by a fire by which three flour mills were destroyed, two persons killed, and several injured.

— The Lord Mayor issued an appeal for funds to provide wages for the unemployed: the applicants for work were to be engaged on work on the public gardens and open spaces under the supervision of the Metropolitan Playground Association. It was estimated that there were about 30 acres of land ready, offering employment for 1,800 workmen.

22. Letters patent published in Malta providing for a new constitution for the island. In future the Council of Government would consist of the Governor, 6 official and 14 elected members, of whom four would be elected by a restricted constituency. The other provisions were framed in view of an extended local self-government.

23. The Budget of the Metropolitan Board of Works for the year 1888 showed an estimated income of 1,752,165*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*, exclusive of the balance of the Consolidated Loans Fund and the requirements of the Fire Brigade. The total expenditure was estimated at 1,805,849*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.*, of which 940,856*l.* was for interest of money borrowed.

24. A great strike commenced on the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad in consequence of certain men having been discharged for refusing to move boycotted goods. The Knights of Labour demanded the reinstatement of the men, and this being refused upwards of 25,000 men employed on the goods traffic came out on strike; but within a couple of days the majority resumed work.

— A manifesto (in Welsh) issued by the Welsh Land League, having for its objects the reform of the existing tithe system, the disestablishment and disendowment of the English Church in Wales, reform in the land laws, and the election to Parliament of members (to be paid) understanding the needs of the farmer and of the labouring classes.

25. The special mission from the Queen to the Pope presented her Majesty's jubilee present, a massive basin and ewer of gold *repoussé* work, copied from originals at Windsor. The basin bore on the central boss, "To his Holiness Pope Leo XIII. from Victoria, R. I. 1888."

26. The first display of wintry weather throughout Great Britain marked by several ice and snow accidents, including thirteen deaths.

— Lord and Lady Randolph Churchill received by the Czar at the Gatschina Palace.

— Baron and Baroness Albert Rothschild, of Vienna, declared *Hoffähig*—entitling them to the privilege of attending the Court balls—the first instance of Jews ever having been admitted to this distinction in Austria.

27. Mr. Gladstone, on his way to spend a few weeks at Italy, stopped at Dover, where he delivered a lengthy address on home and foreign politics.

— The Dublin *Gazette* published an order (27th) of the Land Law Act, 1887, varying the judicial rents fixed in the years 1881–5. The order was

applicable to the 162 poor-law unions into which Ireland is divided. The reductions varied from 6½ to 22 per cent. The Commissioners Litton and Wrench signed the order, Mr. Justice O'Hagan expressing regretful dissent.

27. A War Office return showed that the cavalry was far below its effective strength in respect of horses, the Household Cavalry having only 820 horses for 1,200 troopers, and the Dragoons, Hussars, and other mounted regiments having 14,000 horses for 17,400 men.

28. M. Jules Simon, M. Renan and M. Camille Doucet, as delegates of the French Institute, presented to the Duc d'Aumale at Brussels three impressions (in gold, silver, and bronze) of the medal struck by the Institute commemorating the gift of Chantilly to that body.

— At a meeting of the Meath Hunt Club, held at Kells, it was unanimously decided that the members could not concur in any arrangement by which the representative of the Queen or any other person would be excluded.

29. The Grand Theatre, Islington, rebuilt in 1882-8 on the site of the Philharmonic Hall (destroyed by fire in 1882) found to be on fire shortly after the close of the evening performance, and in two or three hours the whole building was destroyed, with the exception of the outside walls.

— Lord Lytton presented his credentials as Ambassador to the French Republic, and was received by President Carnot in full state and with great cordiality. In the course of the day Mr. Gladstone paid a visit to President Carnot.

30. At Carthage, during a performance at the principal theatre, a broker committed suicide in the stalls by means of a dynamite cartridge. Although pieces of his skull were scattered on the stage only one lady in the stalls was injured. The gas, however, was extinguished by the explosion, and great confusion ensued, upwards of 100 persons being injured in their attempt to escape.

— The Small Arms Committee decided on the adoption of a new magazine rifle on the Metford principle for the general service.

31. On the railway between Caraque and Bathurst (New Brunswick) a train finding itself blocked by a snow drift, the engine and tender were sent forward to clear the track. On crossing the Caraque river the snow-plough jumped from the rails, dragging down the engine to the frozen river. The ice was broken by the weight, and eight out of thirteen officials were drowned or frozen to death.

— The first Canadian Pacific train crossed the international bridge at Sault Ste. Marie.

— The "forged" documents, purporting to be letters from Prince Ferdinand of Coburg to the Comtesse de Flandre, published in the German *Reichsanzeiger*.

# RETROSPECT

OF

## LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN 1887.

### LITERATURE.

EXCLUSIVE of novels, it would seem that people read—for every year people write—more books upon history and biography than upon anything else. This year Mr. Lecky comes first among the historians with two new volumes—the fifth and sixth—of his **History of England in the Eighteenth Century** (Longmans). The volumes open with a review of the character and administration of the younger Pitt, who, more than any other man, is the central figure in them; but the interest of the fifth volume, apart from the personality of Pitt, centres in Mr. Lecky's account of the causes and origins of the French Revolution, and of the bearings of the Revolution not only upon the history of France, into which he goes very fully, but also upon the internal condition of England, and on the relations between this country and the Continental States. The first chapter in the sixth volume also deals very fully with questions of foreign policy involved in the outbreak of the great French war, but it is succeeded by a chapter of pleasanter reading, where Mr. Lecky tells us something of the minds and manners of our great-grandfathers and of the beginnings of the wide movement which was presently to effect the mitigation of the penal code, the abolition of the slave trade, and parliamentary reform. The latter half of the sixth volume is occupied with more debateable matter—with the history of Ireland from 1782 to 1798—and in these chapters Grattan takes the place of hero. But Mr. Lecky stops far short at present of the great ground of controversy, the closing years of the Irish Parliament, which he reserves to be dealt with in his last volume. As regards England his history is concluded, for with the war of 1798 the nineteenth century begins. The war which ends Mr. Lecky's history has had many chroniclers, but Mr. Oscar Browning has taken pains to discover why the Treaty of Amiens did not end it. The volume entitled **England and Napoleon in 1803** (Longmans), which Mr. Browning has edited for the Royal Historical Society, contains the despatches of Lord Whitworth, our Ambassador at Paris in 1802 and 1803, with some other papers bearing on the same subject. Mr. Browning does not pretend to decide definitely to which party the rupture of the negotiations of those years was due. He throws considerable new light on the question, and he disposes of one or two misconceptions, notably, of the famous story of Napoleon insulting Lord Whitworth. But his object is to provide materials for a judgment rather than to pronounce him-

self, although his preface leaves it to be inferred that he by no means lays the blame entirely on Napoleon's side.

Dr. Stubbs and Mr. Freeman have both published volumes of their Oxford lectures. The bishop's **Lectures on the Study of Mediæval and Modern History** (Clarendon Press) contain matter of many kinds. There are two very interesting lectures on "The Characteristic Differences between Mediæval and Modern History," in which Dr. Stubbs takes up the position that "mediæval history is a history of rights and wrongs," and that modern history is, firstly, "a history of powers, forces, and dynasties;" and, secondly, "a history in which ideas take the place of both rights and forces." Two other lectures deal with the Canon Law, two others again with the remote mediæval kingdoms of Cyprus and Armenia, and four more with the first two Tudor kings; but the best of them all are the lectures in which Dr. Stubbs returns to the period on which he is always greatest, and describes the condition of "Learning and Literature at the Court of Henry II." Mr. Freeman has called his book **The Chief Periods of European History** (Macmillan), but he is so deeply absorbed in proving the continuity of ancient and modern history, that to what are commonly regarded as the periods of modern history he has neither time nor attention to give. It is the decline of the Roman Empire which forms the centre of Mr. Freeman's subject, and the interest of the lectures lies in the sketch which they give of the advance of Rome towards supremacy over the Hellenic world; of the union of the Greek and Latin elements; of their separation in the founding of Constantinople; of the fortunes of the Byzantine state, and of the growth of the ecclesiastical power of Rome. But perhaps we may hope for the periods of modern history in some future book, for it is difficult to believe that with the thirteenth century the chief periods of European history end. But, if Mr. Freeman will allow it, an important period of modern history is dealt with in two other books which have been published. Perhaps the most striking feature of the Reformation in England was the suppression of the monasteries, and that event forms the subject of the work entitled **Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries** (Hodges), of which the first volume has just been published. The author is Mr. F. A. Gasquet, sometime prior of St. Gregory's Monastery at Downside, Bath, who of course holds a brief for his cause. But it is a cause that perhaps requires to be judged again, and the author presents his case well. He goes into the facts minutely, and examines keenly the character of the men and of the documents on whose evidence the heavy charge against the English monasteries of the Reformation rest. Mr. Moberly's little book upon **The Early Tudors** (Longmans) does not go into such details. It is one of the **Speeches of Modern History** Series, and the small volumes in that series have only space to see that they put clearly and concisely the facts which are true. Mr. Moberly deals only with the reigns of Henry VII. and his successor, but within his limits contrives to be both interesting and full. A different phase of the Reformation forms the background to a picture of **Archbishop Laud** (Kegan Paul), which Mr. A. C. Benson has drawn in a convenient little book. Mr. Benson has tried to give a moderate view of Laud, avoiding extremes on either side, and he wins one to agree with him. The sketch of the archbishop's life and surroundings is bright and sufficient. Mr. Benson makes the most of the picturesque incidents he meets with, and the concluding chapters, which treat of Laud's character and views, and notably his views as to religious ritual, are not without considerable interest.

In another field of ecclesiastical history Canon Creighton has done good

work. The third and fourth volumes of his **History of the Papacy** (Longmans) are fully equal to their predecessors. They cover the years from 1464 to 1518, perhaps the most interesting years of Italian history. In the earlier of these two volumes Canon Creighton relates, among other events, the history of the pontificates of Paul II. and of Sixtus IV., the memorable entry of Charles VIII. into Italy, which marks the starting-point of modern history, the rise and fall of Savonarola, and the "beginnings of Alexander VI." The fourth volume continues the long pontificate of Alexander, and passes on to chronicle the plots and wars and ceaseless activity of Julius II., and the splendid court of Leo, the magnificent Pope. The last years of the period bring one to the opening of the great duel which Charles and Francis were to fight for Italy, and both volumes are full of the stirring episodes and brilliant figures which render so attractive the history of the Renaissance. The Borgias, and their triumphs and their crimes, form the central interest of the period, and among other useful appendices Canon Creighton devotes a chapter to a discussion of the poisonings associated with their name. Two other volumes of history, none the less valuable in that they have much of personal interest in them, are Miss Norgate's two volumes of the history of **England under the Angevin Kings** (Macmillan). The only objection that can be offered to them—and that is an objection not to the book, but to the title—is "that they are a history, not of England, but of the Angevin Empire, of which England was only a small part." Much of the first volume is a history of the reigns of Henry I. and of Stephen, and the second volume only covers the earlier part of the reign of John. The hero of the book is of course Henry II., and Miss Norgate gives an admirable account of the growth and history of his great dominions. Her chapters on ecclesiastical history are also full and valuable, and Miss Norgate is appreciative in dealing with Becket, although in the famous controversy her sympathies are upon Henry's side. Considering all things, it was only to be expected that **The Reign of Queen Victoria** (Smith & Elder) should have its history told this year. Mr. Humphry Ward has edited two bulky volumes, which survey the progress made in every field of government and knowledge during the last half-century. He has endeavoured, as far as possible, to enlist in his service the most eminent specialists whom he could obtain. Thus Lord Wolseley writes upon "The Army," Professor Huxley upon "Science," Lord Justice Bowen on "The Administration of the Law," Mr. Giffen upon "The Growth and Distribution of Wealth," Sir Henry Maine on "India." Perhaps it is a little strange to find Mr. Matthew Arnold writing upon "Schools," while "Literature," which is largely occupied with the development of journalism, is dealt with by Mr. Garnett. The editor reserves for himself the survey of the legislation and foreign and colonial history of the reign. Mr. Leonard Courtney takes "Finance," and Mr. Parratt "Music." The book is intended, no doubt, chiefly for reference, and it is full of useful matter. But a more striking chapter in the history of the present reign will be found in two other volumes, in which Mr. Kinglake brings his great history of **The Invasion of the Crimea** (Blackwood) to a close. Here at least there is no lack of vivid incident. The seventh volume comprises the period "from the morrow of Inkerman to the fall of Canrobert;" the eighth volume begins with "the opening of Pélissier's command," and ends with the death of Lord Raglan. Very much of these two volumes is occupied with an exposure of the intrigues and underhand policy of Louis Napoleon, and of the trouble which he caused to Pélissier and to the allies. Of Pélissier himself,

as a statesman bent, at all hazards, on maintaining the alliance, Mr. Kinglake has a very high estimate; and the eighth volume is largely occupied with Péliissier's attitude and actions. The third chapter of the seventh volume gives a graphic account of the Emperor Nicholas's life, and the historian's judgment on the Czar is far from lenient, but it is the only judgment that Mr. Kinglake could be expected to pass. But Mr. Kinglake is always best in describing episodes, and it is in his account of the progress of the great siege of Sebastopol, and of the fighting that every now and then interrupted it, that the chief interest of these volumes lies. Of that part, and indeed of the whole book, Todleben is the real hero, but Mr. Kinglake rises to fine passages of eloquence in describing Lord Raglan's death.

This year has added three small volumes to the series of **Historic Towns** (Longmans). Mr. Boase is the historian of **Oxford**. "The history of the city," he says, "has naturally been the first object; later on that of the university comes in—mainly in its relations to the city." Thus the first two chapters are devoted to the growth of the city alone, and it is not till the third chapter that Mr. Boase begins to speak of the university at all. The chief interest of the book lies perhaps in the account of "Wielicism" at Oxford, and of the glories of the city in the days of the Civil War. Mr. Freeman himself writes on **Exeter**, and gives a delightful account of the early history of the famous old city in Saxon and in Norman days. There is a pleasant chapter, too, upon the Wars of the Roses, and upon the stirring history of the place all through the Civil War. A separate chapter treats of "Ecclesiastical Exeter," and another of the later annals of the town. The last of the three volumes contains the history of **Bristol**, written by Mr. William Hunt, and in this case also the interest centres chiefly in the earlier years, in the chapter called "The Castle," which treats of Norman times, in the chapters which cover the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and in the account given of the great days of Bristol under Elizabeth, and of the fortunes of the city in the Civil War. One is glad, however, to find that Mr. Hunt believes the period of Bristol's decline to be over, and the period of her revival begun.

There are several new additions to the history of Scotland. The Duke of Argyll has published a volume upon **Scotland as it Was and as it Is** (Douglas). It is a scientific study of the growth of Scottish society, beginning with an account of Celtic feudalism, and of the development of "leadership and chieftery," and slowly tracing the history of the country, not in its episodes or warlike annals, but in the processes of customs and of laws, through the "age of charters" and the "age of covenants" to "the epoch of the clans" in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. From that time onwards the author concentrates himself upon the problem of land tenure, and deals with it in all its aspects, giving in his seventh chapter, under the somewhat fantastic title of "Before the Dawn," a very interesting account of the social condition of the Highlands in the eighteenth century. The last two chapters are devoted to an account of the development of modern Scotland. A different view of Scottish history is to be found in Mr. Skelton's book. **Maitland of Lethington** (Blackwood), of which only the first volume has been published, is full of that stirring and personal interest which is so prominent in the history of Scotland. It deals, of course, with the reign of Queen Mary. There is a very pleasant chapter called "The Scotland of Mary Stuart," which describes the state of Scotland in the sixteenth century—the monastic life, the borough life, the literary



life, and the life of the nobles of the time. Another chapter is devoted to an account of the great feudal families—the Douglasses, the Campbells, and the Gordons; and two chapters, as was to be expected, are occupied with the religious controversies of the time. But of these chapters, as of the succeeding ones, which relate more directly to the political history of the reign, and to the intrigues which were so large a part of it, Maitland is always the hero, and the central figure in the book. Mr. Allardyce has edited another work on Scottish history. The *Ochtertyre Manuscripts*, “written during the last quarter of the eighteenth century” by Mr. John Ramsay, of Ochtertyre, have been reduced to the compass of two substantial volumes, and published under the title of *Scotland and Scotsmen* (Blackwood). It is, however, only fair to remember that the volumes deal with the eighteenth century alone. The first volume opens with a chapter on “the revival of letters in Scotland,” and goes on to speak at length of the Scottish judges of the period, and of the clergymen and professors and “men of genius and taste” who revived the fame of Scotland in the middle of the century. The second volume contains sketches well worth reading of the Scottish gentry and landlords of the times, and three chapters upon the Highlands alone. The book is full of anecdote and of personal interest. Perhaps in this connection may be mentioned a book that is headed by a name familiar to most of us as a Scotch name, although here it is connected with England only. *The Sinclairs of England* (Trübner) is a chronicle of the fortunes of a family who at different times have played a considerable part in English history; and it is as a contribution to English history that its author recommends it to the public. Perhaps the interest of the book lies chiefly in its antiquarian side, and in its record of the Sinclairs of Norman days; but it gives a faithful account of the various branches of the family, and of their descendants in Essex, in Cornwall, and in Kent. One of the most famous figures (*Claverhouse*) of Scottish history and romance forms the hero of a little volume in the series of *English Worthies* (Longmans). There are many—and they are not wholly without excuse—who regard Claverhouse as infamous rather than famous. But Mr. Mowbray Morris has done much to dispose of this view, though his advocacy may not be considered entirely successful. Claverhouse was essentially a Scotchman; he was the soul of the Scotch resistance to the policy adopted in England after the Revolution, and he died in a battle fought between Englishmen and Scotch. Perhaps Mr. Morris is best in his account of Claverhouse’s battles, of Drumclog and of Bothwell Brigg, but at least he has done something to lift the cloud which has rested upon Claverhouse’s name. A very different hero, and a far more English one, is the subject of another volume in this series, in which Mr. Frank Hill draws a picture of *George Canning*. There is a bright sketch of Canning’s boyhood and early years, and of his introduction to Pitt, and an adequate account of Canning’s rise to power under the administrations of Portland and of Percival, and of the successes which marked the close of his life. Much of the book is, of course, devoted to the subject of foreign policy. But a better account of the celebrated statesman will be found in the two volumes in which Mr. Stapleton has edited *Some Official Correspondence of George Canning* (Longmans). This correspondence begins in 1821, and contains Mr. Canning’s letters to and from political personages and private people. Many of the letters are, of course, upon questions of foreign policy for which Canning was often personally responsible, and a very considerable number of them are written to Lord Liverpool. Many

people, however, will find the private letters more interesting than those on public and political topics, such as the letters to Lady Holland, to Mr. Zachary Macaulay, to Mr. W. Wordsworth, and to many others. Mr. Stapleton has brought the history of the two volumes down to the date of Canning's death, and has illustrated and explained the letters with a running commentary throughout. Another very memorable political figure is recalled in the *Life of Lord Carteret* (Bentley) which Mr. Ballantyne has published. "The almost complete oblivion," says the author with great force in his preface, "which covers the career of Lord Carteret is one of the curiosities of English political and historical literature." "No English statesman of his time had so wide a European reputation." It would have been almost equally true to add that no English statesman of his time, and few of any other, was in some ways so brilliant and remarkable a man. Carteret has been hidden under the shadow which obscures his time, and yet no man so forcibly impressed his generation. Horace Walpole reckoned him as the first of the five men of genius whom he had known. Chatham was proud to have had him for his friend. Mr. Ballantyne tells his life clearly and brightly, and if he is a little unjust to Walpole, he at least appreciates the great gifts of Carteret. Much of Lord Carteret's public life is occupied by his opposition to Walpole, and the only occasions when he had, perhaps, full scope for exercising his power were the years of his viceroyalty in Ireland—from 1724 to 1780—and the two years from 1742 to 1744. But it was as a foreign minister that Carteret was really great. The chapter upon Carteret's private life and personal characteristics is the last, and certainly not the least interesting, in Mr. Ballantyne's book.

Many new books have been written this year to elucidate Irish history. Mr. Shaw Lefevre heads the list with his book upon *Peel and O'Connell* (Kegan Paul). The book professes to be "a review of the Irish policy of Parliament from the Act of Union to the death of Sir Robert Peel," and it ably fulfils the profession which it makes. Mr. Shaw Lefevre divides his book into three parts. The first deals with Catholic Emancipation, the second with Whig Reforms, and the third with the Repeal Movement. The author admits, in his preface, the political conclusions to which a study of the period have brought him; but his book will be freely admitted to be fair in spirit and in tone. It is not, of course, a complete history of Ireland, but an account of the controversies which in the first fifty years of the century decided the destinies of Ireland, and of which Peel and O'Connell are on either side the chiefs. Ireland, too, has found a place in the series of popular histories called *The Story of the Nations* (Fisher Unwin), and Miss Emily Lawless has become its chronicler. The volume opens with a sketch of primeval Ireland, of the "great ice age," and the Scoto-Celtic invasion, and other early records that, perhaps, are not wholly fact. Then comes a pleasant chapter on Legends and Legend-makers, one upon St. Patrick, another upon Columba and the Western Church. But Miss Lawless writes just as brightly when she comes to face historic facts, and to tell of Henry II. and the Geraldines and the Kildares, and later on of Elizabeth and of Strafford and of Cromwell. She continues her story far on into modern generations, to the days of Grattan, of O'Connell, and of the agitation for Home Rule. The frequent illustrations are a welcome feature in the book. *Irish Wrongs and English Remedies* (Kegan Paul) is a new book by Mr. Barry O'Brien. It consists of a number of essays and pamphlets on the Irish question written during the past six years, and many of them reprinted from magazines.

Mr. O'Brien's book is a political volume, and deals of course largely with questions of the Irish Church and Irish land. There is an interesting chapter on Thomas Drummond, who was appointed Under Secretary in Ireland in 1835, and who was one of the very few really successful English officials that there have ever been in Ireland. A chapter is devoted to refuting Mr. Lecky, and another to attacking Mr. Goldwin Smith; and there are several appendices, which for purposes of reference may be useful. The Earl of Belmore has edited the **Parliamentary Memoirs of Fermanagh and Tyrone** (Alex. Thom) from 1618 to 1885. Part of this work has been published before. Its title sufficiently expresses the material of which it is composed. It is full of personal records, little fragments of biography, and tables—official, genealogical, and miscellaneous—and illustrates the predominant influence exercised by certain families in many successive generations. To the descendants of those families it will probably prove a very readable book. Two other little books on Irish subjects call for mention among the rest. One of them, **Ireland from the Restoration to the Revolution, 1660 to 1690** (Longmans), is written by Mr. Prendergast, and is not without considerable value as a contribution to the history of the period. The years with which it deals are years that are among the more discreditable of the many discreditable epochs of Irish history, and which have special interest as illustrating, perhaps more than any others, the settlement of landed property in Ireland. The other of these two books is the **Handbook of Home Rule** (Kegan Paul) which Mr. Bryce has edited, and to which Lord Spencer has written a preface. It contains articles on Home Rule from some of the most distinguished advocates of that policy, including not only Lord Spencer and Mr. Bryce, but, among others, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Morley, Lord Thring, and Mr. Godkin. From the point of view which this volume advocates, the case is, of course, strongly put.

Another contribution to political history is contained in Sir Charles Dilke's book on **The Present Position of European Politics** (Chapman & Hall). It consists of six essays, originally published in the *Fortnightly Review*, which deal in turn with each of the Great Powers of Europe, and endeavour to estimate their comparative strength. To these six essays the author has now added a concluding chapter in which he meets "the objections taken by writers in the press" to some of his "statements and inferences." Sir Charles Dilke has, of course, exceptional qualifications for writing such a book well. As regards the immediate future, he does "not share the view that it is probable that France will voluntarily enter upon war." He recognises the great revival of the strength of France, and he severely criticises her recent policy in various parts of the world. Germany, of course, is dealt with in the first chapter. The most alarming and significant chapters in the book are, perhaps, the chapters upon Austria and Russia. Sir Charles Dilke emphasises the weakness of Austria as much as the overwhelming strength of Russia. "Italy," he thinks, "has fewer dangers to face than any other of the Great Powers." But the full weight of his criticism falls most heavily on the unprepared condition of this country, and on the dangers to which, in spite of our inherent strength, the maladministration of the great funds which we expend on our national defence constantly, and so far without remedy, exposes us. While we are speaking of a military subject we may mention the admirable **Army and Navy Calendar** (Allen) for the financial year 1887-8, which contains all the information which even a military or naval mind can want on the Army, Navy, Militia, and Volun-

teers, and which is profusely interspersed with tabulated statements, maps, and plans. In the field of abstract, and not of concrete, politics, Mr. Boyd Kinnear has published a little volume called **Principles of Civil Government** (Smith & Elder), which professes to be "an outline of the principles on which government is founded, of the results at which it aims, and of the variety of methods in which it has been carried on." Mr. Boyd Kinnear begins with two chapters on the nature, the objects, and the scope of government; and then goes on to speak of different forms of government, of federal governments, of the necessity of local government, and of certain features of representative government. The features of various existing forms of government are used to illustrate the theories of the book. At first sight the title of Mr. Russell Lowell's book, **Democracy, and other Addresses** (Macmillan), sounds like the heading of a similar treatise. And in the essay which gives its name to the book Mr. Lowell does discuss a politic theory. "By temperament and education of a conservative turn," Mr. Lowell nevertheless is not afraid of the advent of democracies. He sees their dangers, and he admits their faults, but his staunch optimism still believes largely in the general good sense of educated men. But the volume contains many other addresses besides the one upon democracy; there is an address upon President Garfield, an address upon the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Harvard, and several other purely literary, and even more interesting, essays, on "Books and Libraries," on "Wordsworth," on "Coleridge," on "Fielding," and on "Don Quixote." And all alike are worthy of the author whose name they bear.

Biography is a form of literature that seems as popular as ever, and among biographies the **Dictionary of National Biography** (Smith & Elder) ought to come first. Mr. Leslie Stephen keeps well to his promise, and four new volumes have again appeared this year. But even with the end of the twelfth volume the letter "C" is yet unfinished. Among the chief historical articles are biographies of Charles I. and Charles II., the former by Professor Gardiner; of the five Catherine's who have been English queens—three of them monopolised by one monarch; of Clive, of Carteret, and of Lord Cornwallis. Among the lawyers come Sir Edward Coke and Sir Alexander Cockburn, and Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst under the name of Copley. Sir Theodore Martin is Lord Lyndhurst's biographer, as he is also the biographer of the other Copley, the painter. The editor himself takes Carlyle—perhaps the most interesting of all the articles in these four volumes—and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and among others, Congreve, Cowley, Cowper, Crabbe, and Churchill, the great Duke of Marlborough. Chaucer's life appears in the tenth volume, written by Professor Hales; and many lesser lives are chronicled, Constable's and Captain Cook's, and Chatterton's and Conington's, and the deeds of many another, from St. Columba down to Admiral Collingwood. But, on the whole, the four new volumes are not rich in great names. By the side of Mr. Leslie Stephen's great undertaking we may, perhaps, mention a book of considerable use, though of very much less value and of an inferior stamp, Messrs. Cassell's extremely bulky volume on the **Celebrities of the Century**. It is a dictionary of the distinguished men and women of the nineteenth century, of all countries and of all kinds. The space allotted even to the most important is extremely brief, three pages only being given to Sir Robert Peel, and less than two to the first Napoleon; but the facts are clearly and concisely put. Among the contributors are Mr.

Wilfrid Blunt, Sir F. Gore Ouseley, Mr. Buxton Forman, and Mr. Barnett Smith.

The third part of **The Greville Memoirs** (Longmans) is the last instalment, in two volumes, of Mr. Greville's Journal of Queen Victoria's Reign. It is not equal in interest to the two preceding parts. With much of the private information that made the first volumes of his memoirs so interesting, Charles Greville in his later years was rapidly losing his interest in official life. "Of politics I am heartily sick," he writes in 1854. But, though this is largely so, he was still much behind the scenes, and even where his information is not new or private his criticisms and comments are full of interest. There is much about the formation and working of the Aberdeen Ministry in 1852, much of the rivalries of Palmerston and Lord John Russell, and of Mr. Gladstone's attitude and position; much of Disraeli, whom Greville grew to dislike less after they became personally acquainted; many hits at Palmerston, and much pleasant gossip, political and private, about personages and current events. The two volumes cover the eight years from 1852 to 1860, and there is a good deal of information and criticism both as to the Indian Mutiny and as to the war in the Crimea. But the most interesting passages are, perhaps, those in which Greville turns off to speak of the memorable figures whom he knew in the society of his time, of Macaulay, of Lady Ashburton, of Samuel Rogers, and of many others. From Charles Greville one may go on to speak of a more delightful writer and a much greater man. We are never to have a life of Thackeray, so we must be grateful for the **Collection of Letters of W. M. Thackeray** (Smith & Elder) which have recently been published. They are not only valuable as specimens of exquisite letter-writing, but specially valuable for the light they throw on Thackeray himself. They were written mostly to Mr. and Mrs. Brookfield from about 1847 to 1855, and they are full of their writer's thoughts and feelings and doings, of himself and his books and his travels and his friends. They are full, too, of little sketches as characteristic as the letters; but it is to be regretted that the volume is of unwieldy size, and marred by not infrequent inaccuracies in the arrangement and the index. Many people, too, would have been glad to see the letters explained by notes. Another form of pleasant discursive reading will be found in the **Lectures and Essays of Lord Iddesleigh** (Blackwood). Most of them were addresses given at the Exeter Literary Society and similar institutions elsewhere, and they deal with a wide variety of subjects. Among them, of course, is the famous address on "Nothing," a delightful chapter on "Names and Nicknames," and others no less interesting on "Taste," on "Accuracy," on "Desultory Reading," and on subjects as different as Molière and English school life, or as "The Closing of the Exchequer by Charles II. in 1672," and the archaeology of Devon and Cornwall. An appendix at the end contains some fragments of verse, which Lady Iddesleigh needs not to apologise for making public.

In his preface to the **Life of Samuel Morley** (Hodder & Stoughton) Mr. Hodder complains of the small amount of material for biography left among Mr. Morley's papers. But in spite of that difficulty, and in spite of the fact that in Mr. Morley's "private life there were no striking incidents or surprises," Mr. Hodder has made an interesting book. He follows his hero in a clearly written sketch through the events of his long life from 1809 to 1886, quoting now and then letters and extracts to illustrate his story. The book begins with an account of the Morley family, and of Mr. Samuel

Morley's surroundings in his earlier years, and goes on to describe his business training, and the steps by which he became the leading representative of Nonconformist feeling. It was, of course, largely in that interest that he stood for Nottingham in 1866, when his parliamentary career began. Mr. Morley is well remembered as foremost in every movement for social improvement, and as associated with numberless philanthropic schemes, and all through the book there are many indications of the strong religious feeling which was so characteristic of him. Another life devoted to the best interests of religion is that of **James Fraser, Second Bishop of Manchester** (Macmillan), which Mr. Tom Hughes has written. Fraser was born in 1818, and his life falls naturally into three divisions, one comprising his days at school and at Oxford from 1814 to 1846, the second from 1847 to 1870, during which he was a parish priest, and the third covering the last fifteen years of his life, during which he held the bishopric of Manchester. The great bishop was always a great scholar, but it was in the ten years during which he held the living of Upton in Berkshire, where he ruled like "a little king," and during which he became recognised as one of the first authorities of the day on educational questions, that he won the reputation which led to his promotion in 1870. How well he justified that promotion is still fresh in all men's minds. Side by side with the life of Bishop Fraser stands Mr. Montague Bickersteth's sketch of the career of his father, **Robert Bickersteth**, Bishop of Ripon (Rivingtons). The volume gives a good summary of the life of the late Bishop of Ripon, of his boyhood and family, of his undergraduate days at Cambridge, of his work as curate at Sapcote and Reading, of his activity as vicar of St. John's, Clapham, and then as rector of St. Giles in the Fields, a post which he combined with a canonry at Salisbury, and lastly, of the twenty-seven years during which he filled the bishopric of Ripon, a preferment which in anti-Evangelical circles appears to have occasioned considerable surprise.

A very valuable contribution has been made this year to the literature about Carlyle. Mr. Norton's volume of **Correspondence between Goethe and Carlyle** (Macmillan) contains letters hitherto overlooked or undiscovered, edited with judicious notes. In 1824 Carlyle wrote, forwarding to Goethe, the English translation of "Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship," and Goethe sent back a graceful answer. This correspondence was reopened after a pause of two years, and only closed with Goethe's death in 1832. One letter, which accompanied a present of a purse worked by Mrs. Carlyle, seems to have delighted Goethe, and thenceforth a regular interchange of presents ensued. Goethe appreciated and stimulated Carlyle's efforts to open up German literature to Englishmen, and gave him much advice as to part of his work. The correspondence with Goethe is supplemented by some letters between Eckermann and Carlyle. Another great literary friend of Carlyle is portrayed in the **Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson** (Macmillan) which Mr. Cabot has written. These two volumes, which form probably the definitive memoir of the great American, contain abundant quotations from the letters and diaries of their hero. Emerson's life was no easy one. He had to give up for conscientious reasons his life as a minister. He was always poor. He lost his first wife and a favourite son. He was constantly in ill-health, and in his closing years suffered from loss of memory and some mental weakness. But there was always conspicuous in him a clear serenity and contentment which is before all characteristic of the man. Mr. Cabot has thoroughly understood the great writer whose life he has so well

told. Perhaps we may mention here, though they treat of very different subjects, two other books which offer sketches of two remarkable English writers. One of these is Mr. Compton Reade's memoir of his uncle, **Charles Reade** (Chapman & Hall). Charles Reade was the youngest of a family of eleven children, and was born at Ipsden in 1814. He went to school at Ifley, and thence to Magdalen, where the present Lord Sherbrooke was his private tutor and Lord Selborne one of his contemporaries. He obtained a fellowship, and was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, but his earlier literary enterprises were not successful until his intimacy with Mrs. Seymour began. There are some indications of Mr. Reade's mind and habits and of his religious opinions in the book, and of course there is a great deal about his novels and other writings; but the biography is not a successful one, and its style is exceptionally offensive. The other book we referred to is of a wholly different character. It is Mr. Sidney Colvin's monograph on **Keats**, in the **English Men of Letters** series (Macmillan). Mr. Colvin does not write on any subject without knowing thoroughly what he writes about, and writing with infinite care, and his little volume is thus doubly valuable. On two points he has practically settled long-disputed questions. One is the true relation of "Hyperion, a Vision," to the "Hyperion" published in 1820, as to which we may now unhesitatingly decide that the vision was a recast of the former poem. The other point is the doubtful authenticity of the cruel and shameful attack upon Keats in "Blackwood" which was signed "Z." Mr. Colvin gives strong grounds for thinking that the article was prompted, if not written, by Lockhart, and that he abused for that purpose the confidence reposed in him by a friend. But these are only matters of detail. All through, Mr. Colvin's book is a charming, sympathetic little volume.

The most important biography, however, which the year has produced will be generally admitted to be the **Life and Letters of Charles Darwin** (Murray). Mr. Francis Darwin has brought out an admirable book. The life falls naturally into three parts. The autobiographical chapter which begins it gives us Mr. Darwin as he portrayed himself; the "Reminiscences of my Father's Every-day Life," which is the editor's work, gives us Mr. Darwin as well portrayed perhaps as others could portray him; and lastly, the letters show how Mr. Darwin revealed himself unconsciously to others. The editor's chief object has been to illustrate his father's personal character, and he has done it exceedingly well. The private letters to Sir J. Hooker, Sir C. Lyell, Professor Huxley, and many others, are full of interest and humour and fun, notably those which Sir J. Hooker has preserved. And in the second volume, which is of very great scientific interest, the correspondence relating to the "Origin of Species," among which the most important letters are those to Hooker, Lyell, and Asa Gray, has been gathered together in a very able and useful fashion. Mr. Darwin's life was a very quiet one, with his comparatively uneventful days at Cambridge, his famous voyage in the *Beagle*, and latterly the long and busy retirement at Down. And yet he leaves a name among the greatest that the century has seen. Two much lesser but still eminent men have unfolded to the public the triumphs and troubles of their lives. Mr. W. P. Frith has issued two volumes which bear the title **My Autobiography and Reminiscences** (Bentley), and of course there is no reason why he should not write them; and Messrs. Macmillan have published the **Personal Reminiscences of Sir Frederick Pollock**. Mr. Frith's book is interesting because it tells much that we do not know

about a successful artist's career. Mr. Frith's father was an innkeeper in Yorkshire, whence the future artist came up to win fame and fortune in London in March 1835, beginning to study in Mr. Sass's school of art, and afterwards in the academy schools. Of course, in London he soon made many friends, and there is much in his two volumes about his friends—of Dickens, of Elmore, of Landseer, of Mulready; but Mr. Frith has refrained from saying much of the friends and contemporaries who are still living. The book is full of good stories, which everyone can enjoy. But Sir Frederick Pollock's anecdotes vie even with Mr. Frith's. Sir F. Pollock also has had a very successful life, from the days of his boyhood between Waterloo and the Reform Bill, and of his undergraduate achievements at Trinity, up to and long after the days, now long ago, when the successful barrister of the Northern Circuit became a Master of the Court of Exchequer. His reminiscences of Dundas and Macaulay, of Ward and Carlyle and Millet, of the first Lord Ellenborough, and of many others, are full of brightness and vivid interest, and his recollections of Kemble, Phelps, and Farren add no little value to his clever criticisms of the stage.

Mr. Clayden has written *The Early Life of Samuel Rogers* (Smith & Elder), and has reserved for a future volume the record of the second half-century of Rogers' life. The present volume only "covers a period of forty years," and ends about the time when Rogers settled in his famous house in St. James's Place. But this volume goes far enough in the history of the poet's long and remarkable life to tell how, at the age of thirty, he became, on his father's death, senior partner in a bank and inherited a very comfortable income; how, after six years of careful elaboration, he published the poem on "The Pleasures of Memory," which made his reputation, and which was reckoned among "the greatest literary successes of the time;" how he came to know Mrs. Barbauld and Joanna Baillie; and how, a little later on, he was fortunate enough to become the intimate friend of Fox and Sheridan and Tooke and Richard Sharp. Mr. Clayden's book encourages us to look forward to his second volume. *Through the Long Day* (Allen) is the autobiography of Charles Mackay. These two dumpy volumes—Dr. Mackay will excuse the term—form the "memorials of a literary life during half a century." Dr. Mackay has had many well-known friends, and has known some of the byways of literature. He has some interesting notes on London journalism half a century ago, and a chapter upon his "breakfasts with Samuel Rogers." The account of his journeys, too, is very readable with the information given about the acquaintances and friends he met. Much of the second volume is occupied with the story of his American travels, which is interspersed with sketches of the distinguished personages whom he saw. But most English people will admit that there is very much more worth reading in Mrs. Simpson's volume upon *Julius and Mary Mohl* (Kegan Paul). Of course it is Madame Mohl, and not her husband, who is the central figure in the book, and the picture given of her is very different from that drawn last year in Miss O'Meara's book. But Mrs. Simpson writes with fuller knowledge, and possibly rather more tenderly, as an attached and valued friend. The book is full, perhaps rather too full, of letters, but M. Mohl's letters are humorous and often very clever; and Madame Mohl's letters, especially those to Lady William Russell, are of strong personal and public interest. Mrs. Simpson passes rapidly over Madame Mohl's early years—indeed, over all the years up to 1847, the date of her heroine's marriage. But of all the years that followed, including the famous Friday evenings in



the Rue du Bac, the "salons" of the Second Empire, the long days and sufferings of the time of the war and the Commune, and the occupations and interests of Madame Mohl's life in England, Mrs. Simpson gives a vivid and a sympathetic history. There are some charming illustrations in the book. The lives of two other remarkable women, *Mrs. Siddons* and *Madame de Staël*, have been added to the *Eminent Women Series* (Allen). The sketch of Madame de Staël is brightly written, and the subject is of course full of interest, although there is no unpublished correspondence to reveal new secrets about that distinguished lady's life. The early chapters deal with Madame de Staël's girlhood, and with the days of her father's short-lived ministerial fame; but its chief interest lies in the later years that intervened between the outbreak of the Revolution and her marriage with Rocca in 1811, and in her relations with Napoleon and the other celebrities of the day. A notice of Madame de Staël's writings closes the book. Mrs. Siddons' life, though its romance was very different, is also no unromantic subject for biography, but Mrs. Kennard confesses to having had a hard task in divesting it "of the legendary tradition adhering to it." Many of Mrs. Siddons' letters are quoted in full, and a liberal, but still a wise use is made of them. The book is full of that personal and private interest which in Mrs. Siddons' case is almost equal to the interest of her great professional success.

Mr. Laurence Oliphant's *Episodes in a Life of Adventure* (Blackwood) is partly an autobiography, partly a history of travels, and wholly a delightful book. Mr. Oliphant has been everywhere, at Constantinople and in the Crimea with Lord Stratford, to the Caucasus in a Turkish army, to Central America and China and Japan, to Italy in 1860, where he became acquainted with Garibaldi, to Poland in the midst of the Polish insurrection, to Moldavian convents, to Denmark, and at the Montenegrin court. Of all he has pleasant tales to tell and vivid experiences to relate. There is a brilliant chapter on "Some Sporting Reminiscences," and the volume closes with an account of the origin of the mysterious little paper called the *Owl*, which appeared in London some twenty or more years ago. *Haifa, or Life in Modern Palestine* (Blackwood), deals with another of the many phases of Mr. Oliphant's life. In November 1882 he took up his abode among the slopes of Mount Carmel, and began to write a series of letters for the *New York Sun*, which are republished in this volume. Many of the letters deal with archaeological subjects, but the most interesting are those which describe the people and the growth and the religions of modern Palestine, with its great colonies of Germans, Circassians, and Jews. One chapter of special interest is devoted to "General Gordon's Last Visit to Haifa." Another book, written by an Oriental scholar, but of a very different stamp, is the *Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim, and Nepal* (Allen), by Sir Richard Temple. Captain Temple, the son of Sir Richard, is, however, the editor of the book. "The first diary is entirely a political one," and it deals with the year 1867, when its author was Political Resident at the court of the Nizam; next come "two separate diaries of travel in Kashmir for short terms in 1869 and 1871;" then, after some extracts from a letter to Lord Lytton in 1876, about travelling in Kashmir, come two diaries of journeys into Sikkim in 1875; and lastly, a brief recapitulation of information gathered during a journey into the valley of Nepal in 1876. To each separate part Captain Temple prefixes a separate introduction, and it is not his fault if in his father's Indian life there happens to be a certain void of romantic episode. Beside Sir R. Temple's journals one may well put Sir Henry Layard's *Early Adventures in*

**Persia, Susiana, and Babylonia** (Murray). Sir Richard Temple's diaries are twenty years old, but Sir Henry Layard's are forty years at least. But they are none the less interesting for that. In July 1839, Layard, in company with Mr. Edward Mitford, left London for the East, and visited in due course Constantinople, Jerusalem, Petra, and Aleppo, reaching Baghdad in May of the following year. Thence the two companions set out together to explore Persia, but they soon after separated, and Layard proceeded to Ispahan and Central Persia, to Susiana and Turkish Arabia. It is to these latter journeys of Layard alone that the greater part of the book is devoted. Two concluding chapters bring up the history of events to 1845.

A different scene of travel forms the subject of the two admirable volumes which Dr. F. H. H. Guillemard has prepared on **The Cruise of the "Marchesa"** (Murray). The long title of the book goes on to explain that the *Marchesa* sailed to Kamtschatka and New Guinea, and visited Formosa, Lin-kin, and various islands of the Malay Archipelago. The schooner-yacht *Marchesa* left England in January 1882, and sailed *viâ* Ceylon and Singapore to Formosa and the Lin-kin Islands. Thence she proceeded to Yokohama and Kamtschatka, and then back again to Japan and through the Chinese seas. The greater part of 1883 was spent in cruising among the islands of the Malay Archipelago, and the vessel returned home in April 1884. The result of her voyage is a store of fresh scientific knowledge, and an interesting book of travel. The woodcuts and coloured illustrations are so good as to leave little or nothing to be desired. A simpler, if less valuable, narrative of voyages among Eastern islands will be found in Mrs. Forbes' book called **Insulinde, or Experiences in the Eastern Archipelago** (Blackwood). Mrs. Forbes is a naturalist's wife, but she has plenty of interest to spare for the surroundings of her ordinary life. The description of Java is bright and readable, and so is that of Macassar and Amboina, and the Portuguese dependencies in the Archipelago; and if other names are less familiar, we shall all be glad to learn what Mrs. Forbes can tell us of the Ké Islands and the Tenimber, of the prince and people of Waai, and of the boys' and babies' ways at Ritabel. But from all chroniclers of voyages among islands Mr. Froude steps in to take the palm. **The English in the West Indies** (Longmans) shows that the spell is still unbroken with which Mr. Froude has the power to bind all his readers, even though pedantic people will persist in saying that Mr. Froude's facts are as slippery as fiction, and that men must not wholly barter accuracy for style. But the inelastic bigotries of pedants need never trouble ordinary folk. At the end of December 1886 Mr. Froude started upon his visit to the West Indies. Everyone knows how Mr. Froude revels in noble dreams of imperial dominion, and in his opening chapter he explains how his meditations on that and kindred subjects led him to determine to visit the West Indies. They had for long been to him a territory full of special interest. "They were the earliest, and once the most prized, of all our distant possessions. They had been won by the most desperate struggles, and had been the scene of our greatest naval glories;" and so Mr. Froude resolved to see them for himself. In his third chapter, just before his arrival, he turns aside to give a brilliant little sketch of English history in the Indies, by way of rousing our interest in the places of which he is going to speak. And then from the fourth chapter onwards Mr. Froude launches out into his subject, and writes of Barbadoes and St. Vincent and Granada, of Trinidad and its political problems, of the Leeward and Windward Isles, of Jamaica and its forts and towns, and black women, and dinner parties, of Cuba and Havana,

and Spanish and American influence there, and of a multitude of other topics, as only Mr. Froude can write. Of course the book is full of reflections and observations on all that Mr. Froude sees or hears, and it is only Mr. Froude who is to be pitied if with him all observation takes the form of lamentation, and reflection becomes only a black augury of ill. Mr. Augustus Hare's two books on **Paris** and **Days near Paris** (Smith & Elder) are an unfortunate mixture of the guide-book and the book of travel. The best part of them is perhaps the illustrations from Mr. Hare's own sketches. It is rather to be regretted that Mr. Hare's books are so full of quotations, which are not always apparently taken first-hand, and that the index and references are often incorrect. The two books, of course, mainly talk about places, but with his descriptions of places Mr. Hare often mingles some account of the scenes and personages connected with them. In the volume on Paris there is an interesting description of parts of old Paris, and the chapters on the University, and on the luxurious life of modern Paris, are very readable. The other volume treats of the places round about, of St. Cloud and Chantilly, of St. Denis and Compiègne and Fontainebleau and Meudon, and many others, and contains a very long chapter on Versailles. **London and Elsewhere** (Fisher Unwin) is a quaint little paper book, with a sign-post on the outside of its cover and a good deal of humour within, which discusses briefly the "sights" of London, such as hansom cabs, Tattersall's, and Madame Tussaud's. A different form of travels occupies Mr. Henry Coxwell's little volume, which he calls **My Life and Balloon Experiences** (Allen). Mr. Coxwell began his experiences of air-voyages early in company with the well-known aéronaut, Mr. Green, and from his youth onward has steadily persevered in his sport, with the enthusiasm of a scientific man. He gives some capital accounts of his ascents and of the history of ballooning in this century, and ends his book with some useful chapters on military ballooning. Cyclists must pardon us if we class with this book on ballooning an admirable volume which has appeared on the subject of another form of rapid evolutionary sport, Lord Bury's and Mr. Lacy Hillier's book on **Cycling**, in the "Badminton Library" (Longmans). We have already noticed in previous years former contributions to this successful series; this latest addition marks its catholicity and quite comes up to its high level. The book is, like all its predecessors, singularly complete, and deals thoroughly with the history, the associations, and the literature of its subject, as well as with the technicalities of this particular sport. The illustrations are adequate and useful.

Science is strongly represented this year. Mr. Alexander Stewart has written a book upon **Our Temperaments** (Crosby Lockwood), in which he goes far towards inaugurating a new development of science. Mr. Stewart classifies the physical peculiarities of temperament under two heads, colour and form, and each set of physical qualities has corresponding mental qualities allotted to it. Thus the peculiarities of the sanguine, the bilious, the lymphatic, and the nervous temperaments are worked out in turn, and their features illustrated often by biographical quotations. Some parts of the book, such as the chapters on "Temperaments and Education," and on "The Choice of a Profession," are eminently practical, and the whole book is interesting as well as beautifully got up. There are some excellent illustrations, reproduced from Lodge's "Historical Portraits." Mr. Proctor's book, **Other Suns than Ours** (Allen), will be no less popular. Two-thirds of it, Mr. Proctor tells us, "may be regarded as completing the preliminary study of astronomical facts and theories" necessary to the preparation of the author's

long-promised treatise on general astronomy, and these two-thirds treat of suns and stars and comets, and are interspersed with appropriate maps. But the remainder of the book is composed of miscellaneous essays and so forth, such as a note upon "Parents and Children," or on the "Misused H of England," two little papers on whist which have appeared before, and some correspondence with Sir John Herschel. All, of course, are interesting, but they make the volume inconveniently bulky, and it is hard to see what the heresies of "Cavendish" have to do with the spots upon the sun. Mr. Andrew Wilson's *Studies in Life and Sense* (Chatto & Windus) is in one small detail an improvement on Mr. Proctor's book. The vermilion hues of its binding are a little less vividly acute. It consists of a series of essays which have appeared before in magazines. Some treat of the "Economics of Nature," some of monkeys and elephants and cuttle-fish, and some of plants. But others are of a wider interest, such as the chapters on "The Problems of Distribution and their Solution," on the "Mind's Mirror," and on the "Old Phrenology and the New." The aim of the essays as a whole is to explain "some of the great facts and laws which underlie the everyday life both of man and his lower neighbours—animals and plants alike." Two other red-bound volumes, which bear the stamp of the International Scientific Series, have been issued by Messrs. Kegan Paul and Trench: *Weather*, by the Hon. Ralph Abercromby, and *Animal Magnetism*, by MM. Binet and Féré. "Weather" is divided into two parts; the first is called "elementary," and the second is labelled "advanced." The meaning of these terms will be obvious from a glance at the heading of the chapters. The first chapters deal with clouds; the latter with isobars, meteograms, and blizzards. The whole subject of weather and its variations and forecasts is very clearly discussed and elucidated with charts. But may a layman ask, without fear of being thought flippant, why "cirrus-stripes" should be thought elementary, while "squalls" are considered advanced? The book on animal magnetism is the work of clever specialists. M. Féré is assistant physician at the Salpêtrière, where the book was written, and he and his colleague are apparently pupils of the famous French doctor, M. Charcot. France is, of course, the country where this and kindred subjects are best understood; and there are some very interesting chapters on hypnosis, hallucinations, and "Paralysis by Suggestion." The subject of Mr. Lloyd Morgan's text-book on *Animal Biology* (Rivingtons) is wholly different. The book is intended for the use of candidates for the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations and others. The first part, the larger part too, is devoted to vertebrate anatomy and physiology, as exemplified in the frog, the fowl, the rabbit, and other types; and Mr. Morgan has treated this subject somewhat more fully for the sake of those of his readers "who intend to follow a medical career." The second part of the book—the last nine chapters—is occupied with the discussion of some invertebrate types. Special attention, it is stated, has been paid to the subject of embryology. As a text-book the little volume is clear and complete.

A different department of science is dealt with in Professor Max Müller's big volume on the *Science of Thought* (Longmans). It is a very big subject. "Some of the views here put forward," says Professor Max Müller in his preface, "date really from the days when I attended the lectures of Lotze . . . and of Schelling; . . . when I discussed Veda and Vedānta with Schopenhauer, and Eckhart and Tauler with Bunsen." Some parts of the book have appeared in lectures and articles before. As to the essence of the philosophy inculcated, it is perhaps difficult to pronounce, and Professor

Max Müller declines to give it a name. Some, he admits, will call it *Nominalism*, and others *Materialism*. Some will call him a Darwinian, for he says boldly, "I have never doubted, nor do I doubt, that man has been, is, and always will be, an animal, . . . but an animal with the 'proprium' of language and all that is implied by language." Many will perhaps find most interest in the first and last chapters, which deal rather with general principles than with the technical proof of any theory. In the third chapter there is a fine criticism of Kant, and in the next a discussion of language as "the barrier between man and beast." Professor Max Müller declares that the book has been written for himself and a few friends, but the world generally will assert its claim to the privilege of reading it. Professor Max Müller has also written a little book on *Biographies of Words and the Home of the Aryans* (Longmans), which is, as it were, a corollary to the greater work. "If," he says, "thought is impossible without language, as language is without thought, many things will follow ;" and one thing in particular, that the history of language will acquire double importance as being inseparable from the history of human thought. "Every word, therefore, has a story to tell." The first five chapters discuss the history and descent of words, and in the sixth and seventh an endeavour is made to argue out from these word-histories some definite facts as to the origin of Aryan civilisation. The last part of the book is occupied with "statistics and appendices." In this connection may best be mentioned two reports on *German Elementary Education*, which Mr. Perry has published in a book under that title (Rivingtons). The first of these reports, which were written respectively for the Education Department and for the Royal Commission on Education, applies to German Elementary Schools, and their rules and practices in various parts of Germany. The second report, which is much more complete and important, relates to German Training Colleges, and has a great deal of useful information on the system of lectures and examinations resorted to there.

It is, perhaps, a relief to turn to lighter fields of literature. *The History of Elizabethan Literature* (Macmillan) is the beginning of an important work. It is the firstfruits of a new history of English literature which Mr. Saintsbury, Mr. Dowden, Mr. Stopford Brooke, and Mr. Gosse have undertaken to produce. Mr. Saintsbury's, the first volume published, is the second volume of the series, and has for its subject the great outburst of English literary activity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Mr. Saintsbury adds to the value of his volume by advising the students of the period, generally with sound discretion, as to which of the lesser writers it is best worth while to read ; and he avoids deliberately the often puzzling problems of authorship and chronology. A very good index of modern reprints heightens the usefulness of what is, on the whole, a satisfactory book. Two charming little books, which do not pretend to immortality, may well be classed together—Mr. Birrell's second series of *Obiter Dicta* (Stock), and Mr. Andrew Lang's *Books and Bookmen* (Longmans). The main part of Mr. Birrell's book is occupied by four essays on Milton, Pope, Johnson, and Burke, and the criticisms are full of knowledge and of taste ; but, after all, the subjects of them are so well known that many will, perhaps, prefer the shorter, lighter papers at the end of the book, such as those on "The Office of Literature," on "The Muse of History," and so forth. Perhaps the volume is not quite equal to its predecessor, but at least Mr. Birrell has not lost his genial humour or his frequent felicity of touch. Mr. Andrew Lang's book is a series of papers first published in different magazines, and now reproduced

together, and connected by several delightful ballads and poems. Mr. Lang is at home among the book-fanciers, and in his papers on "French Bibliomania" and on "Literary Forgeries" stands on familiar ground. The book is full of quaint and fascinating illustrations, which show, perhaps, to best advantage in the chapters upon "Some Japanese Bogie-Books" and on "Old French Title-Pages." Mr. Lang's other contribution to the books of the year is a larger and more serious work. **Myth, Ritual, and Religion** (Longmans) is "an attempt to disengage and examine, as far as possible, separately and, as far as possible, historically, the various elements of religion and myth." And then, with regard to the rest of his title, Mr. Lang adds: "The evidence of ritual is adduced because of the conservative tendencies of rites on which the prosperity of tribes and states is believed to depend." Mr. Lang first examines into the peculiarities of "the mental condition of savages," which are best revealed in their myths, and then goes on to prove that once a similar condition existed in Egypt, India, and Greece. With this object he reviews the sources of Greek and Indian mythology, and finally analyses the special legends of the principal gods of the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Aryans of India. It is unnecessary to add that the contention is backed by very able argument. Mr. T. S. Bacon's book on **The Beginnings of Religion** (Rivingtons), though not wholly dissimilar in title, is very different in treatment. In its author's words the book "is simply 'an essay' to state what, upon the whole, according to facts and true reasonings, we ought to think of the beginning and course of religion among mankind, and the substantial truth of it." Mr. Bacon's essay is based on biblical authority, and written entirely from what is called the "orthodox" standpoint, and it has no pretensions to learning or profundity of thought. Within those limits it has interest. Mr. Cotter Morison approaches religion from quite another point of view. With him religion is only a training for the more perfect **Service of Man** (Kegan Paul). That is "the religion of the future." Economics take the place of creeds. It had been Mr. Morison's intention to complete his book by the discussion of some urgent social questions of the day, but this part of his task he has been obliged to leave unaccomplished, except in so far as he alludes to it, and to its one central problem, the growth of population, with somewhat melancholy auguries in his preface. His book is, in fact, an inquiry into how far the Christian religion, with its tenets and its promises, has adequately fulfilled the function of being the best and highest guide for men, and it points to the conclusion that the sequel of Christian faith is yet to be studied, and can only be found completely in the future training and service of mankind.

Four little volumes of interesting sermons find a place among the theological books of the year. In **Creed and Character** (Rivingtons) Canon H. S. Holland writes eloquently and simply upon "The Church in the Gospels," "Conversion," "Newness of Life," and other subjects in the same line of thought. Two of the sermons which will, perhaps, be most generally liked are those upon "The Fellowship of the Church," and "The Energy of Unselfishness." Equally simple, often far more so, and at least equally eloquent, are the short addresses given in Harrow Chapel, which Mr. Welldon has published under the name of **Sermons preached to Harrow Boys** (Rivingtons). Necessarily, as their author writes, they have a special local interest, and are intended "for the Harrow world" chiefly, if not alone. Those which he has headed "The Bearing of the Cross," and "Friendships," and the two chapters which treat of the meaning of the Lord's Prayer, contain some of

the passages which in reading the book impress one most. Canon Paget's and Mr. Edward Ottley's volumes have a rather more theological and controversial character. **Faculties and Difficulties for Belief and Disbelief** (Rivingtons) opens with two sermons on "The Virtue of Self-Assertion" in the "Life of the Intellect and of the Will," and goes on to speak in three very interesting chapters of "the love of beauty" in nature, in character, and in art. Three more of the sermons—those entitled "The Miracle of Repair," "The Transformation of Pity," and "The Dignity of Man"—were preached, like some of the others in the volume, in the University Church at Oxford. The book ends with a chapter upon "The Inner Life." Mr. Ottley's **Rational Aspects of some Revealed Truths** (Rivingtons) consists of addresses delivered during two "Quiet Days" in Holy Week, and are occupied chiefly with a demonstration of "the authority of the Holy Scriptures," and the "Divinity of Christ." Very similar in tone and thought are some of the chapters in a little volume called **Oxford House Papers** (Rivingtons), which has emanated from Bethnal Green. They are entitled "A Series of Papers for Working Men, written by members of the University of Oxford," and contain some interesting papers on freethinking, self-discipline, and similar subjects. The Warden of Keble and Canon Paget are among the contributors to the book. Mr. Mason's **The Faith of the Gospel** (Rivingtons) is not exactly a book of sermons, though the substance of many of its chapters was originally delivered, in the form of addresses or "instructions" on the leading doctrines of the Gospel, at St. George's, Hanover Square, and elsewhere. It is, of course, intended as an expression and explanation of dogmatic teaching on the cardinal doctrines of the Christian faith, and of those doctrines it is an able statement, often marked by some measure of eloquence and thought. But a far larger power of thought and eloquence is to be found in the volume of **Miscellanies** (Kegan Paul), published by F. W. Newman. The volume—the second one of the *Miscellanies*—consists of reprints of essays, articles, and addresses made public at different times before. It is full of the deepest interest. It opens with a chapter, dated so long ago as 1841, upon "the existence of evil," and goes on to treat, always with the same power and the same impressiveness, of a variety of questions often as diverse as they are alike. There is a noble chapter on "Religious Freedom," another "Against Religious Hero-Making," another on "The Bigot and the Sceptic," others upon "Intuition," upon "Pleasure and Joy," upon "The Historical Depravation of Christianity," an address on "Causes of Atheism," delivered to working men at Bristol in 1871; and, among many other passages of wisdom, a letter to an evangelical lay preacher, dated 1869, partly of explanation, partly of downright rebuke, in which towards the close there occurs a memorable sentence, which may well stand for the motto of the book and of the great preacher who speaks in it: "I hold morality to be far more important than theology—earlier in knowledge and more solid in foundation." In this connection, and before leaving the subject, we must mention two other books which bear indirectly upon religious teaching, one called the **Handbook of the Convocations** (Rivingtons), by Mr. J. W. Joyce, which explains the historical and constitutional importance, the forms and procedure, of the provincial synods of the Church of England, and the other, a much more ambitious work, by Richard Stanton, a priest of the Oratory, London, entitled **A Menology of England and Wales** (Burns & Oates). The latter is a historical memoir of the ancient British and English saints, compiled by order of Cardinal Manning and the Roman Catholic

Bishops of the province of Westminster." It is arranged in the order of the calendar, from January to December, and against each day is given the name and, if possible, a brief account of the saint under whose special patronage it is.

Before going on to speak of poetry, the last department of the literature of the year, we have to notice a handsome volume entitled *Scottish Painters* (Seeley) which Mr. Walter Armstrong has prepared. It is full of beautiful illustrations taken from Raeburn, Wilkie, Geddes, and Orchardson; of etchings by C. O. Murray, G. W. Rhead, Colin Hunter, and others; and of excellent vignettes. The critical study of Scottish artists, and of the pictures which they have left, from the days of George Jameson in the latter end of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, down to the times of Faed and Pettie and Sir Noel Paton, is full of interest and variety, and completes a very charming book.

Mr. Robert Browning stands first among the poets of this year. His little volume is composed of *Parleyings with Certain People* (Smith & Elder) "of importance in their day." It is a strange company whom Mr. Browning apostrophises, strange in their variety, and many of them singular in their gifts. The book opens with a dialogue between "Apollo and the Fates," as it concludes with a parallel dialogue between "John Fust and his Friends," both characteristic of their author, and then goes on to "parley" with the companions whom Mr. Browning has chosen in a series of soliloquies addressed by the poet to the shades of his friends. The first one is addressed to the "sage dead long since, Bernard de Mandeville"; the next is headed "Daniel Bartoli"; and thence the poet passes on to speak to Christopher Smart, to George Bubb Dodington, Lord Melcombe, to Francis Furini, the Tuscan "painter-priest, something about two hundred years ago," to the blind Gerard de Lairese, and finally to Charles Avison, "whileom of New-castle, organist." Mr. Browning's parleyings are none the less musical and often fine, because the companions whom he has chosen are, in his own words, "not too conspicuous on the list." Mr. Swinburne too has published a volume—*Loocrine* (Chatto & Windus). "*Loocrine*" is a tragedy in five acts. The scene is laid in Britain, although Mr. Swinburne calls his capital city "Troynovant." Of course there are fine passages and striking lines, but Mr. Swinburne is not here at his greatest, and one cannot resist a feeling that parts of the tragedy are rather thin. *Loocrine*, the King of Britain, is faithless to Gwendolen, his wife and queen, for the sake of Estrild, a widowed Scythian queen; Gwendolen discovers his secret, and she and her son take vengeance on him. *Loocrine* and Estrild pay in death the forfeit of their loves. Apart from the great poets we have several little volumes of verse from very graceful writers. Two distinguished writers of prose, Mr. R. L. Stevenson and Mr. George Meredith, have published poems. In *Underwoods* (Chatto & Windus) Mr. Stevenson shows, as he has shown in earlier poems, all the rare freshness and beauty of diction which make his prose so exquisite, and, alight as they are, some of his songs strike a new note. Where all are charming it is hard to choose, but perhaps the lines "To Andrew Lang," "To a Gardener," and upon "Skerryvore" are among the most attractive in the first part of the book. Among those in the second part, which are written in "the Scots tongue," only a Scot would be qualified to choose. Mr. George Meredith, both in verse and prose, regards genius as a thing to be sought with candles and clues, and, consequently, surrounds his own genius with a maze of unfathomable enigmas. And yet, in spite of all the enigmas, he has so singularly the power of thinking and saying the things which other men want to hear, that one welcomes heartily all he writes.



There certainly are some difficult things, perhaps many, in his **Ballads and Poems of Tragic Life** (Macmillan), but there are many charming and fine bits of poetry, notably, "The Song of Theodolinda," and "Bellerophon," and, to a greater degree still, in "The Nuptials of Attila," in the ode upon France in December 1871, and in the sounding lines of "Phaethon." Mr. Lewis Morris too has brought out another little book called **Songs of Britain** (Kegan Paul). The best parts of the book are the three "Legends from Wild Wales," named "The Curse of Pantannas," "The Physicians of Myddfai," and a third name, more Celtic still, in which Mr. Morris recalls some of the myths and fairy lore of Wales. The rest is made up of short songs and poems on many subjects, of which that called "On a Thrush singing in Autumn," and another of a different stamp, which describes a candidate at the election of 1886 addressing a hill-side audience, then the silence of the night that follows, are, perhaps, among the best. But there is another fruitful English poet who does not condescend to write of things which other poets sing, but who permits his ambitious fancy to strike out a way that is happily all its own. **After Paradise; or, Legends of Exile, with other Poems** (Stott) is the title which Lord Lytton gives to his last volume of poems. They are a strange effort; only that effort is the last thing which Lord Lytton appears to have used in composing them. They are replete with parables and conundrums, clothed in the most fluent verse. They treat of Adam and Eve, and the Serpent and the Elephant, of Eve's jewels, of Jubal's music, of the "Legend of Love," of "Prometheia," of "Cintra," and "Fragrance," and many other things as indistinguishable and miscellaneous. But the beauty of them is that it does not seem to matter very much what they are about, so long as the lines flow on in easy rigmaroles and nothing mars the rapid chatter of the verse. One can get through a great deal in a short time; but in order to do so one has to "give up" all the conundrums as one goes along. Mr. Aubrey de Vere's **Legends and Records** (Kegan Paul) is an attempt to illustrate "a historic period still more momentous than either the mediæval or the modern, the period which bridged the gulf between the ancient world and that in which we live." It contains legends and records in verse of the saints and heroes of the early Church and Empire, of St. Thecla and St. Agatha and St. Jerome, of Constantine and Stilicho and Charlemagne, and of many another round whom dim traditions cling. Three other little books have still to be mentioned before we close this notice of the books of the year, which, though hardly to be numbered with the works of poets, may best find mention here. One is a very small volume, in very large print, called **Westminster** (Allen), about "growth" and visions and Richard Cœur de Lion and Anne Boleyn and Mr. Gladstone and Chaucer and the Queen and many other distinguished persons, only it does not appear what it all has to do with Westminster, except, perhaps, that some of the folks mentioned may sometimes have been there. Another is a very charming volume, beautifully printed, of the best and most representative hymns of the last fifty years, chosen with considerable judgment, and published by Messrs. Trench and Kegan Paul, under the title of **Victorian Hymns**. And, lastly, the third of the three is an **Index to Shakspeare** (Kegan Paul), by Evangeline O'Connor, which, "as distinguished from a concordance," will be found very useful.

## ART, DRAMA, AND MUSIC.

## I. THE FINE ARTS.

**The National Gallery.**—The completion of the new rooms, which had been in progress since 1885, was the most noteworthy event in connection with this important gallery. Under the direction of Mr. J. Taylor, one of the chief surveyors of the Office of Works, the interior of the building has at length been made worthy of its contents, and the new rooms, well lighted and appropriately decorated, now serve to display to advantage one of the finest public galleries of pictures in Europe. The vestibule and the new staircase which now faces the principal entrance are ornamented with handsome columns of Numidian marble, obtained from Algeria at the instance of Mr. Shaw-Lefevre when First Commissioner of Works. The space obtained by the removal of the side staircases has been fully utilised, and the room thus obtained has enabled Sir Frederick Barton and his assistant, Mr. C. L. Eastlake, for the first time to arrange the national collection in something approaching intelligible order, the Italian masters being divided into their separate schools. Nine rooms are now devoted wholly to Italian pictures. The first and third contain those of the Tuscan school, the fourth being reserved to the early masters of the same school, including Francia and Masaccio. In the second room are the works of the Sienese, and in the fifth those of the Bolognese and Ferrarese. The great feature of the new buildings is the large gallery (numbered VI.) which is devoted to the Umbrian school, including the *Ansidei Raffaele* and the other specimens of the same master, of Perugino and others. The adjoining room (VII.) contains the works of the Venetian and Brescian schools, the older pictures of the same district being placed in an adjoining room; and in the last room (IX.) of Italian series the various Lombard schools have been brought together, whilst the later Italian schools find a resting place at some distance in room XIII. For the Peel Collection, the early Flemish, the Dutch and Flemish, the French, and the Spanish schools special rooms are also set apart; the old British masters occupy two others; the middle British another, and the modern British two, in addition to two rooms devoted to the display of the Turner Bequest. The total number of pictures exhibited does not exceed 1,000, so that for the present at least each one is hung in such a way as to show it to the best advantage.

No parliamentary grant was made during the year for the purchase of pictures, but the money required for the general administration, amounting to 10,000*l.*, was provided, in addition to the sum of 6,500*l.* required to complete the cost of the new buildings. A supplementary grant, however, enabled the trustees to acquire two panel pictures by Girot Mocetto, "*The Murder of the Innocents*" (850*l.*), "*Christ Preaching in the Temple*," by Pedro Campaña (250*l.*), and a landscape by Al. Nasmyth (125*l.*) The only other resources of the trustees being the interest on the Walker and Clarke Bequests, their purchases were limited to a "*Virgin and Child*," by Marcello Venusti (Mantuan school) and the "*Blood of the Redeemer*," by Giovanni Bellini, bought at Christie's

for 400 guineas; two studies of heads, one by Ghirlandajo, and the other by Antonio Moro, and a small work of a "Muse inspiring a Love Poet," by Dosso Dossi (Ferrarese school). Among the other additions may be mentioned Sir Edwin Landseer's "Distinguished Member of the Royal Humane Society," bequeathed by Mr. Newman Smith; "Titania and Bottom," by H. Fuseli, R.A., and a portrait of Samuel Scott, the marine painter, by Thomas Hudson. The efforts of the trustees to come to an arrangement with reference to the application of the surplus funds of the late British Institution have made little progress. The original proposition was that three-fifths of the sum (25,832*l.*) should be handed over to the trustees of the National Gallery, and that the interest should be applied to the purchase of pictures by deceased British artists.

**The National Portrait Gallery.**—In a different way from its more important companion this collection also suffered from the inaction of the State. Whilst no funds were provided to add to the treasures for which space had been provided in the new buildings in Trafalgar Square, no steps were taken during the year to provide a resting place for the collection of national portraits. Huddled away in the extreme east of London, under pretext of giving the population of that district an opportunity of becoming acquainted with historical names and faces, the National Portrait Gallery bids fair to drop out of the remembrance of the majority of those who have displayed a constant interest in its careful development. The only hopeful sign has been the distinct refusal of the trustees to allow their new purchases to be transferred to the Bethnal Green Museum; and although these are not accessible to the public, this decision keeps up the idea that the location of the bulk of the portraits in East London is only temporary, and that the trustees of the gallery have not abdicated in favour of the Museum authorities. Mr. George Scharf during the year has expended his small grant (435*l.*) with his wonted discrimination, and amongst the more important purchases have been portraits of George Washington, by Gilbert Stuart (815*l.*); Amelia Opie, by John Opie, R.A. (60*l.*); Sir Robert Peel, by John Linnell (68*l.*); Lady Jane Dudley, by Lucas de Heere (20*l.*); Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, by Gerald Soert (100*l.*); Sir Roger North, by Sir P. Lely (26*l.* 5*s.*); and Samuel Rogers, by T. Phillips, R.A. (12*l.* 12*s.*). Amongst the portraits presented were those of Lord Chief Baron Pollock, painted by S. Laurence; Viscount Cardwell, by George Richmond, R.A.; Abraham Raimbach (the engraver), by Sir David Wilkie, R.A.; William Wilberforce, by J. Russell, R.A., &c.

**The British Museum.**—The provision made for purchases during the year showed a reduction of nearly 8,000*l.* upon the preceding year; but the rearrangement of the vast treasures accumulated in the building has fully occupied the time of the keepers of the various departments. The increased interest in archæology and everything pertaining to the history of civilisation has been met by a corresponding willingness on the part of the trustees to make the resources of the Museum accessible to all comers. Specimens of Chinese printing dating from the eighth century, and of Japanese block printing dating from the eleventh, have been exhibited; the Domesday Commemoration, held during the summer, was illustrated by a display of printed books and manuscripts connected with William the Conqueror's survey. Books illustrative of Jewish history and literature in connection with this country; a series of illuminated missals from the tenth to the sixteenth century; and a chronological series of autographs and manuscripts, commencing with a Greek papyrus of B.C. 162 have been among the special exhibitions of the year. In the department of antiquities the Greek and

Roman antiquities have been rearranged, and the increased interest in vase painting has been met by a regular classification of Greek and other vases under the schools of recognised artists. An admirably selected and most instructive collection, illustrative of the art of engraving from the earliest to the most modern times, was arranged under the superintendence of Mr. Sidney Colvin, the Keeper of the Prints, to whose initiative was also due the provision of more adequate accommodation of students in the Print Room.

Amongst the principal additions made to the Museum were the collections made by Mr. Flinders Petrie, in charge of the Egypt Exploration Fund; Mr. Franks' valuable collection of pottery, and Sir Walter Elliott's splendid collection of coins of Southern India. The Natural History Museum (at South Kensington) had been enriched by a collection of nearly 10,000 specimens from Central America, purchased by Messrs. Salvin & Goodman, as well as by gifts from Lord Walsingham, Mr. Seebohm, and others.

The question of opening the Museum at night was discussed at considerable length in the House of Commons (Aug. 28) on the estimates being moved by Sir John Lubbock, and the Government undertook to carefully examine the matter during the recess. The year closed, however, without any modification in the rules or hours of admission having been made.

**South Kensington Museum.**—In common with other public institutions, the South Kensington Museum was called upon to make reductions in its expenditure. The watchful care, however, which of late years had been introduced into the administration of the parliamentary vote, has enabled the authorities to carry on their work without apparent relaxation; and if the Treasury would consent to the completion of the buildings in accordance with the original plans, London would be speedily endowed with the most complete and best managed art museum in Europe. The Museum of Carte, which has been completely rearranged, is far too limited to display the valuable works which, in view of the needs of the students of history as well as of art, have been brought together.

Amongst the gifts and bequests to the general collections may be mentioned six fresco paintings, by Mr. G. F. Watts, R.A., who also allowed to be seen specimens of the collections of paintings (portraits and allegories) which he proposed to offer to the nation; a collection of ancient sculptures from Central America, by A. P. Maudslay, Esq.; a collection of paintings, English and foreign, bequeathed by Mr. J. Dixon; and a portion of the late Mr. Tappin's collection of English and foreign medals and coins.

The Schools of Science and Art continue to show increasing efficiency, and the number of pupils receiving instruction in art and elementary drawing had risen to nearly 1,000,000, earning upwards of 90,000*l.* in the shape of State grants. A special effort to encourage lace-making in Ireland, due to the initiative of Mr. T. Armstrong, Mr. Allan Cole, and others, received considerable support from the Government, as well as from private persons especially interested; and the appointment of an inspector of lace-making to advise the convent and other schools as to pattern, &c., was assented to by the Treasury; and Mr. Power Lalor, of Long Orchard, Templemore, was nominated to the post. This question was discussed at considerable length in the House of Commons (Aug. 28) on the vote for the Science and Art Department.

The following is a list of art objects above the value of 100*l.* acquired during the year 1887:—

Tapestry, representing characters and incidents from the siege of Troy. This tapestry came from the castle of the Chevalier Bayard, on the banks of

the Isère, near Grenoble, whence it was removed in the year 1807, and subsequently came into the possession of M. Achille Jubinal, in whose work on ancient tapestries in France it is figured and described. Flemish. First half of fifteenth century. Bought, 1,200*l*.

Virginal, formerly belonging to Queen Elizabeth, cedar wood, the interior decorated. This instrument is described in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1815 as having been sold about the year 1808 at Lord Spencer Chichester's sale at Fisherwick, Staffordshire. Italian. Second half of sixteenth century. Bought, 125*l*.

Vase, porcelain, four-sided. Painted in enamel colours on alternate white and green grounds. Chinese. A.D. 1465-87. Bought, 100*l*.

Painting, water-colour. Interior of Mr. Angerstein's gallery in Pall Mall, showing the thirty-eight pictures purchased from him by the Government in 1824 for the sum of 57,000*l*., and which formed the nucleus of the National Gallery. By Frederick Mackenzie, about 1825. Bought, 115*l*. 10*s*.

The second part of the Orrock collection of blue and white Chinese porcelain. Bought, 2,110*l*. 18*s*. 2*d*.

A collection consisting chiefly of Nevers, Rouen, Moustiers, and Delft earthenware, purchased at the sale of the Fétis Collection in Paris. Bought, 1,149*l*. 5*s*. 8*d*.

Monument of the Marquess Spinetta Malaspina. The upper portion of the structure, which is chiefly composed of cement over a core of brick, represents the marquess, a distinguished warrior of the first half of the fourteenth century. The lower part of the monument is chiefly of red Verona marble, and consists of a projecting sarcophagus showing five sides, with a cornice carved with foliage, and five arched recesses with bell-shaped bunettes in which stand statuettes. This sarcophagus also appears from its inscription to have been used as a depository for the remains of the Marquess Leonardo Malaspina, a civilian, and his son Galeotto, a distinguished military commander, and governor of Bologna, both of whom flourished in the fifteenth century. Bought, 840*l*.

A collection consisting chiefly of Italian, Maiolica, and Rhodian earthenware. Purchased at the sale of the Nesbitt Collection, 809*l*. 8*s*.

Painting, water-colour. View in North Wales, by Sir A. W. Callcott, R.A. Bought, 105*l*.

Painting, water-colour. A view on the Thames, by J. M. W. Turner, R.A. Bought, 141*l*. 15*s*.

Painting, oil on paper. A sketch at Wetley Rocks, Staffordshire, by George Hemming Mason, A.R.A. Bought, 100*l*.

Painting, oil on canvas. The death of Cordelia, from the tragedy of "King Lear," by Paul Falconer Poole, R.A. Bought, 262*l*. 10*s*.

A small collection of ancient textiles from tombs at Akhmim (Panopolis), Upper Egypt. Bought, 100*l*.

Screen of two leaves, dark red wood, the upper panels on one side ornamented with carved and applied mother-o'-pearl and tinted ivory and horn, so as to represent a peacock and a peahen standing on rocks from which grow blossoming chrysanthemums and peonies. The lower panels are carved with strapwork in relief, and the edges are lacquered in gold with the imperial Kiri crest and the mythical phoenix. Japanese. Made by Shibayama Yasutaka, of Tokio. Bought, 150*l*.

**The Royal Academy.**—The vacancies of the year included Mr. Samuel Cousins, who had retired shortly previous to his death, whilst Mr. George

Richmond, R.A., passed into the list of retired R.A.'s, and Mr. J. W. Oakes, Associate, deceased. Their places were filled by the promotion of the two Associates next in order, Mr. Marcus Stone and Mr. Luke Fildes; and one vacancy amongst the Associates was filled by the election of Mr. Alfred Gilbert, a sculptor. The distinguished Belgian painter, M. Louis Gallait, who had been elected Honorary Foreign Academician shortly after the International Exhibition of 1862, was also among the losses sustained by the Royal Academy during the year.

The winter exhibition of Old Masters at Burlington House was chiefly distinguished by the important pictures lent by the Duke of Wellington and Mr. R. S. Holford, including as they did some splendid specimens of the Spanish schools. Of the works of Velasquez the most noteworthy were the "Duque d'Olivarez" and "Francisco de Quevedo as Philip IV."; of Murillo, "Don Luis de Haro" and the painter's own portrait. The Gainsboroughs included an exceptionally large number of landscapes, and Lord Normanton lent four very fine specimens of Reynolds. There was, moreover, a second collection of Turner's water-colour drawings, arranged almost chronologically from 1787 to 1844.

The 119th annual exhibition of the Royal Academy showed a slight increase over 1886 in the total number of works exhibited, although the oil paintings were reduced from 1,111 to 1,052. The high average merit of the pictures was more noteworthy than any particular works. Amongst the Royal Academicians the President's (Sir F. Leighton) most important works dealt with classical subjects, "The Jealousy of Simsetha, the Sorceress," and "The Last Watch of Hero." Sir John Millais was represented by portraits of Lords Hartington and Rosebery; two children's pictures, "The Nest" and "Lilacs," and a dramatic incident, "Mercy, or St. Bartholomew's Day," which failed to please the critics as "St. Bartholomew's Eve" had done in bygone days. Mr. Alma-Tadema had one very important work, "The Women of Amphisia." Mr. Frank Holl contributed eight works, of which five were portraits, including Sir George Trevelyan, Lord Yarborough, and Mr. W. S. Gilbert, R.A. Mr. Hook had a very beautiful inland landscape, "Tickling for Trout," besides three others in his more familiar style. Mr. Orchardson sent another episode of domestic life, "A First Cloud"; and Mr. Pettie, among other works, portraits of Mrs. Pringle and Mr. Walter Besant. The pictures which attracted the most attention were Mr. L. Fildes' portrait of Mrs. Fildes, Mr. Waterhouse's "Marianne," Mr. Sargent's portrait of Mrs. Wm. Playfair, and a wonderful study of paper lamp-light in the open air, "Carnation, Lily, Lily, Rose"; a portrait of Mr. Herbert Herkomer, A.R.A., by his relative Mr. H. G. Herkomer; Mr. Henry Moore's "Clearness after Rain"; Mr. S. Solomon's "Samson"; Mr. W. J. Picknell's "Toiler of the Sea"; Mr. A. W. Hunt's "On the Dangerous Edge"; Mr. D. Murray's "Cross on the Danes"; Miss Rae's "Eurydice"; Mr. H. Schmaltz's "Widowed"; Mr. J. J. Shannon's portraits of Lady Millbank and Mrs. Nichols; Mr. H. Wood's "Under the Eyrie"; and of necessity Mr. H. T. Wells' "Jubilee" pictures, "The Queen and her Judges," "The Scene at the Opening of the New Law Courts," and "At Kensington Palace in the Early Morn of June 20, 1887," when the Princess Victoria received the news of her succession to the throne.

**The Grosvenor Gallery**—The winter exhibition was devoted to a display of works by Vandyck, collected from the principal private galleries of this country. The summer exhibition was supported by the principal artists of the day, amongst whom Mr. Alma-Tadema, R.A., Mr. G. F. Watts, R.A.,

Mr. Burne Jones, A.R.A., and Mr. W. B. Richmond were the most conspicuous. The pictures for the most part maintained that high level of art and aim by which the Grosvenor Gallery Exhibition had from the first been conspicuous. It was, therefore, with general regret that the public learnt during the autumn of the withdrawal of Messrs. C. E. Hallé and Comyns Carr, who had been associated with Sir Coutts Lindsay in the management of the gallery since its foundation.

The periodical exhibition of the Society of Painters in Water Colours, of the Institute of Painters in Oils and also in Water Colours, of the Society of British Artists, &c. brought together a large number of works, many of which were of high merit, whilst the private exhibition of individual artist's work was more numerous than ever.

**Manchester Jubilee Exhibition.**—The great art festival of the year, however, was held at Manchester, where in honour of the Queen's Jubilee an exhibition was held of the principal works of English artists painted during Her Majesty's reign. It was without doubt the most complete and representative display of contemporary art ever held in this country, and did more to reveal the history and progress of painting during fifty years than all the treatises which have ever appeared. The system adopted of grouping the works of each artist was admirably suited to the educational purposes of the exhibition, whilst it in no way detracted from the artistic effect. By this means the public were permitted not only to recognise each artist's place amongst his contemporaries, but also to realise the various influences at work upon him during his career. Thus the collection of art treasures at Manchester on this occasion furnished a fitting supplement to the exhibition by which the city had earned so much distinction and so high an appreciation of art thirty years previously. The present exhibition, which necessarily contained the works of many deceased artists, was displayed in thirteen large galleries, of which three were exclusively devoted to water-colours.

**Art Sales.**—A large number of important pictures were sold by public auction during the course of the year, and some well-known collections were finally dispensed. Amongst these may be mentioned—The Buccleuch Collection: first portion (engravings), 18,106*l.*; second portion (etchings and engravings), 19,756*l.*; Mr. J. Graham's Collection (modern pictures), 62,298*l.*; Mrs. Malcolm Orme's and Sir Thomas Fairbairn's (modern pictures), 16,349*l.*; Mr. Kaye Knowles' (pictures and drawings), 18,418*l.*; Mr. William Leach's (water-colour drawings and pictures), 23,481*l.*; Mr. Charles Wells' (modern pictures), 12,058*l.*; Mr. G. F. Lee's (modern pictures), 7,190*l.*; Mr. R. A. Cosier's (pictures and drawings), 10,874*l.*; Mr. Richards' (pictures), 20,081*l.*; Mr. J. T. Gibson-Craig's, and others' (old pictures), 9,728*l.*; Mr. R. P. Roupell's, &c. (pictures), 7,759*l.*; Sir W. P. Andrews' (pictures), 9,671*l.* The works of art of the Earl of Lonsdale, which included a fine collection of pictures, many of the French school, realised 59,612*l.*; Dr. Braxton Hicks' collection of Wedgwood china, 8,380*l.*; Mrs. Malcolm Orme's porcelain, &c. 10,884*l.*; and the Earl of Harrington's old plate, 5,120*l.* All these sales, with many others, took place at the auction rooms of Messrs. Christie, Manson & Co., whose total sales for the season amounted to 365,870*l.*

The highest price paid for a single picture during the year was 10,895*l.* for the full-length portrait of Madame de Pompadour, by Boucher, purchased for the Rothschilds at the Lonsdale sale. Sir John Millais' landscape, "Over the Hills and Far Away," was sold at the Knowles sale for 5,250*l.*; J. M. W. Turner's "Van Goyen Choosing a Subject" (Graham sale) for 6,825*l.*, and the

same artist's "Mercury and Argus" (Graham sale) for 8,780*l.*; Rosa Bonheur's "Highland Raid" (Graham sale) for 4,095*l.*; F. Walker's "Spring" (Leech sale) for 2,100*l.*, and the companion work "Autumn" for 1,050*l.*; David Cox's "Lancaster, 1842" (Leech sale) for 855*l.*; portrait of Mdlle. Dumarez (Lonsdale sale), by Roux, for 21,00*l.*; Murillo's "Immaculate Conception" (Lonsdale sale) for 1,835*l.*; G. F. Watts' "Love and Life," small version (Richards sale) for 1,207*l.*, and the companion "Love and Death" for 1,155*l.*; Gainsborough's portrait of Mrs. H. Fann (Fulbeck Hall sale) for 4,815*l.*; the same artist's "The Sisters Lady Day and Baroness de Noailles" (Graham sale) for 9,975*l.*; and David Cox's "Going to the Hayfield," 1,895*l.*

At Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge the principal literary sales were those of the libraries of Baron Seillière, 14,944*l.*; of the Earl of Crawford (first portion), 19,078*l.*; J. T. Gibson-Craig (first portion), 6,808*l.* The first portion of the mezzotint engravings collected by Mr. J. C. Smith realised 4,798*l.*; the china of Mr. Hugh W. Diamond, 2,958*l.*; the coins of Mr. J. W. Fowkes, 1,678*l.*; the war medals of Captain E. H. Grey, 1,850*l.*

## II. DRAMA.

On the whole the year will pass muster as an average one in point of dramatic production. While no very striking play has enriched the stage, a fair proportion of the work brought out has escaped failure, and some have even achieved distinct success. Messrs. Pettitt and Sydney Grundy were very fortunate with their drama, "The Bells of Haslemere," which appeared at the Adelphi when that theatre, enlarged and improved, reopened on July 28. A melodrama of the old school, with a due blending of comedy and pathos, with a hero and heroine (Mr. Terriess and Miss Millward), who played with genuine feeling and were well supported, it had all the elements of popularity, and ran well into the new year. Mr. Tristram's four-act drama, "The Red Lamp" (Comedy Theatre, April 20), dealt with the subject of Nihilism. Though from its political stamp it was in parts somewhat heavy, it afforded material for a very clever sketch of a Russian police commissioner, of which full advantage was taken by Mr. Beerbohm-Tree. It was subsequently transferred to the Haymarket, of which theatre Mr. Beerbohm-Tree assumed the management. "Pleasure," a spectacular drama by Messrs. Meritt and Augustus Harris, owed its success at Drury Lane (Sept. 8) mainly to the opportunity for scenic displays afforded by the earthquake and flower carnival in the Riviera being pressed into the service, though Misses Alma Murray and F. Brough and Messrs. Gardiner and Nicholls did all that could be done with the poor characters allotted to them. "The Pointsman," a drama by Messrs. Carton and Cecil Raleigh (Olympic, Aug. 29), without being an original or well-constructed play, appealed to popular taste by many stirring scenes. Mr. Willard, as the villain, displayed exceptional power, and Miss Agnes Hewitt acted gracefully as the heroine. Mr. Gillette's five-act drama, "Held by the Enemy," which was placed on the evening bill at the Princess's on April 9, was also successful, owing partly to its many effective situations, partly to an efficient cast, comprising Miss Alma Murray and Mr. Warner. When transferred to the Vaudeville in July Miss Alma Murray was replaced by Miss Kate Rorke, who played with much earnestness. "Shadows of a Great City," by Messrs. Jefferson and Shewell (Princess's, July 14), owed a great deal to the acting of Miss Mary Rorke and Messrs. Barnes and Nicholls; and "Siberia," a somewhat commonplace



melodrama, played later on at the same theatre, was largely assisted by the efficiency of the cast.

Mr. Wilson Barrett, who left the Princess's for the Globe, produced in December in collaboration with Mr. Sims, a melodrama entitled "The Golden Ladder," which, supported by Miss Eastlake and himself, gave promise of considerable vitality. Mr. H. A. Jones' "Heart of Hearts" (Vaudeville, Nov. 8) was a pleasing and sympathetic piece. It was well acted by Miss Kate Rorke and Mr. T. L. Boyne, as the heroine and hero, while Miss Sophie Larkin and Mr. Tom Thorne were exceedingly amusing in the comic scenes. "Devil Caresfoot," produced at a morning performance at the Vaudeville (July 12), was an adaptation by Messrs. Chambers and Stanley Little of Mr. Haggard's novel "Dawn." It was afterwards played at the Strand, where it was very well received, and thence transferred to the Comedy. Mr. Philips' novel, "As in a Looking Glass," was dramatised in four acts by Mr. F. C. Grove, under the same title at the Opera Comique in May. It was a powerful, if somewhat morbid play, and the remarkable impersonation of the leading character by Mrs. Bernard-Beere made it one of the most striking successes of the year. As regards light comedy and farce, though a few good specimens were of native growth, a great deal was drawn from foreign sources. Mr. Pinero's "Dandy Dick," which came out at the Court on Jan. 27, was perhaps the most prominent item in the former category. It had the merit of providing the cast, which comprised Mrs. John Wood, Misses Norreys and L. Linden, and Messrs. Clayton, Cecil, and others, with suitable parts, and with their aid secured a large measure of success. On the closing of the Court Theatre in September it was transferred to Toole's, which was taken for a time by Mr. Clayton, and there in the hands mainly of the same artists retained its hold on the public. "The Barrister," a three-act farcical comedy by Messrs. G. M. Fenn and J. H. Darnley, produced at Leeds in the spring, and placed on the stage at the Comedy in September, was also good of its kind, the intrigue being well worked out. The clever acting of Messrs. Darnley, Everard, and F. Mervyn, and of Misses Leyton, Verity, and Hunt, contributed largely to the satisfactory result. Mr. C. S. Fawcett's "A Tragedy" (Royalty, April 28) was another successful effort in the same field, providing Mr. Edouin with a thoroughly congenial part. At the Criterion Messrs. Sydney Grundy and J. Mackay brought out (April 25) an amusing adaptation of "La Petite Marquise," in which Miss Kate Rorke and Mr. Gilbert Farquhar won commendation. Miss Lydia Cowell was very comic in Mr. Mortimer's comedy, "The Alderman" (April 29), drawn also from a French source; but "The Circassian," a version of Messrs. Blavet and Carré's "Le Voyage au Caucase" (Nov. 19) had soon to be withdrawn in spite of the efforts of a highly competent cast. At the Globe "The Lodgers," a three-act farce adapted from "Ma Nièce et mon Ours," by Messrs. Brandon Thomas and Maurice de Verney (Jan. 18), was not altogether new, a version having appeared at the Folly some ten years back. Though not at first very cordially received, the comic powers of Miss Fanny Brough and Mr. Penley secured for it a considerable measure of success. "The Doctor," Mr. Burnand's adaptation of "La Doctoresse," which was so well received in London last year, also took very well (July 9). The leading parts, played at the Royalty last year by Madame Magnier and M. Noblet, fell in the English version to Miss Fanny Ensor and Mr. W. S. Penley. On the whole, however, the most successful of the adaptations presented at this theatre was that by Mr. Sydney Grundy from Von Moser's "Harun Alraschid,"

entitled "The Arabian Nights." Produced here on Nov. 5, with a clever cast comprising Miss Lottie Venne and Messrs. Hawtrey and Penley, it was transferred after a month to the Comedy, where it ran well into the new year. "Modern Wives," a three-act version by Mr. E. Warren, of the farcical comedy by M. Albin Valabrégues "Le Bonheur Conjugal" (Royalty, Jan. 20), was favourably received by the audience as well as the critics.

Burlesque is, for the time being, in a somewhat declining stage. It still finds a home at the Gaiety under Mr. George Edwardes, where "Monte Cristo, Junior," produced at the close of last year, had a good run. Mr. Fred Leslie, writing under the pseudonym of "A. C. Torr," in collaboration with Mr. Horace Mills, produced (Oct. 8) a successful burlesque, "Miss Esmeralda," music being furnished by Herr Meyer Lutz and Mr. Robert Martin; but "Richard Henry's" "Frankenstein," brought out towards the close of the year, dragged a little in parts, although an efficient cast managed to make it run.

Operetta and musical comedy flourished, and seems to be, to some extent, replacing burlesque in popular favour. "Ruddigore," the latest product of the collaboration of Sir A. Sullivan and Mr. Gilbert, which succeeded the "Mikado" at the Savoy in January, did not attain to quite the same popularity as its predecessors. Its run was nevertheless a good one, judged by ordinary standards, lasting till November, when it gave way to a revival of "H.M.S. Pinafore," with admirable *mise-en-scène* and a cast vocally more than usually competent.

"Mynheer Jan," a comic opera by Messrs. Paulton and "Mostyn Tedde," was produced at Birmingham, and brought out at the Comedy in London on Feb. 14. The play contained nothing very original, but the music by Jacobowski was pretty, and the performance by Mesdames D'Arville and Amadi, and Messrs. Marius, Paulton, and F. Wyatt, was singularly good. At the Strand "Jack in the Box," a musical variety drama, by Messrs. Sims and Clement Scott (Feb. 7), owed its chief attraction to Miss Fannie Leslie, while a revised version of Mr. Alfred Cellier's "Sultan of Mocha," by W. Lestocq, was well received on Sept. 21. Messrs. Cellier and Stephenson's "Dorothy," played last year at the Prince of Wales', was the most striking success of the season in this field, as it kept the stage throughout the year without any apparent diminution of popular favour. Mr. H. B. Farnie's adaptation of "Les Voltigeurs de la 82<sup>me</sup>," with music by Planquette, entitled "The Old Guard," was also very favourably received at the Avenue (Oct. 26), running well into the new year.

The revivals of old work were numerous, and in many cases interesting. Those by the Vaughan Comedy Company at the Opera Comique in the early part of the year included "The Rivals," with Mr. Fernandez, hitherto associated chiefly with melodrama, as Sir Anthony, Mrs. John Billington as Mrs. Malaprop, Miss Kate Vaughan as Lydia Languish, and Messrs. Forbes-Robertson and Lionel Brough as Captain Absolute and Bob Acres respectively; "The School for Scandal," with Miss Kate Vaughan as Lady Teazle, and Mr. Brough as Moses; and "She Stoops to Conquer," which was more favourably criticised than either of the foregoing. At the end of March Tom Taylor and Charles Reade's "Masks and Faces" was played, with Mr. Brough as Colley Cibber, Mr. Fernandez as Triplet, and Miss Vaughan as Peg Woffington. Wilkie Collins' "Man and Wife," revived at the Haymarket for the *début* of the American actress, Mrs. Brown Potter, was not very judiciously selected for the purpose; while, on the other hand, Tom Taylor's "Lady Clancarty," which reappeared under Mr. Hare's management at the St.

James's, besides being admirably mounted, displayed the talent of Mrs. Kendal to perfection. One of the most striking features of the last-mentioned revival was the clever impersonation of King William by Mr. Mackintosh. The revivals at the Lyceum by Mr. Irving included "The Bells," in which, years ago, he created so great an impression; "Jingle," a farce, being an excerpt from Mr. Albery's adaptation of "Pickwick"; "Louis XI.," one of his most powerful parts; and (June 18) "Much Ado About Nothing," in which, as before, he played Benedict to Miss Terry's Beatrice, the original cast being varied by the assumption of the part of Don Pedro by Mr. Glenney. The season came to an end on July 16 with "The Merchant of Venice." During the absence of Mr. Irving in the United States this theatre, which remains the home of the Shakespearian drama, witnessed a revival of "A Winter's Tale" by Miss Mary Anderson in September. The fame of the American actress's double impersonation of Hermione and Perdita had preceded her from the provinces, where her efforts, and those of Messrs. Forbes-Robertson, Stirling, and Macklin, had been rewarded with great success. At the Lyceum the cast which supported Miss Anderson was largely changed, but the part of Leontes was retained by Mr. Forbes-Robertson. Its reception was unequivocal in London, as it had been in the provinces, and at the close of the year no diminution of popularity was apparent. At the Strand "The Clandestine Marriage," by George Coleman and David Garrick, with Mr. Farren as Lord Ogleby, and Bickerstaffe's version of "Tartuffe," "The Hypocrite," were revived. Mr. Edgar Bruce resumed the part of the Colonel in Mr. Burnand's favourite comedy of that name at the Comedy; while at the Vaudeville Mr. Buchanan's "Sophia," one of the leading plays of last year, and "Our Boys," with Mr. David James in his old character of Perkyn Middlewick; and "Two Roses," with Messrs. Farren and David James, at the Criterion, showed that familiarity has not in any way weakened their hold on public favour. "Fun on the Bristol," a farce produced with considerable success at the Olympic five years ago, was reproduced at the Gaiety in September, and in October Mr. Terry opened his new theatre in the Strand with a revival of "The Churchwarden," in which he was associated with Mr. Lionel Brough and Miss Clara Cowper.

At the close of Mr. Irving's season in the summer the Lyceum was occupied for a couple of weeks by a French company, of which Madame Sarah Bernhardt was the central figure. The bills included "Frou-Frou," "La Dame aux Camélias," "Théodora," "Adrienne Lecouvreur," and "Fédora," rôles with which her name is indissolubly connected, Madame Bernhardt repeating her remarkable renderings with undiminished power. The rest of the cast, comprising Messrs. Garnier, Angelo, Decori, Lacroix, Fraizier, and Piron, and Mesdames Malvan, Renard, Lacroix, Robin, and Saylor, though in ordinary company they would have been far from inefficient, failed at times to afford the great actress the full measure of support required. In October the Royalty again became for a time the home of high-class French drama in the hands of gifted exponents, many of the plays given being new to the London boards. In M. Edmond Gondinet's three-act comedy "Un Parisien," which appeared for the first time in England on Oct. 24, M. Coquelin played the part of Brichanteau with consummate art, and showed the versatility of his talent (Oct. 26) by an equally good rendering of the very different part of Vivien Lafort in M. Paul Delair's "L'Ainé," as revised by M. Sardou. His Matthias in MM. Ereckmann-Chatrian's drama, "Le Juif Polonais," though in strong contrast to the Matthias of Mr. Irving was a no less strikingly artistic reading.

Among the pieces already known to the London theatre-goers through the medium of previous French companies were "Le Demi-Monde," "Tartuffe," "L'Ami Fritz," and "Le Monde où l'on s'ennuie," of which an excellent rendering was given by Mesdames Jane May and Devoyod, and Messrs. Frazier and Lenormant. During the season the bills were varied and lightened by the appearance of M<sup>de</sup>. Chaumont, who was not less amusing than of yore in her own characteristic vein.

### III. MUSIC.

From the amount of music of a really high class now annually put before its public, London may almost be regarded as the musical capital of the world: 1887 compares favourably, on the whole, with preceding years as regards both quantity and quality, though the distribution of force, consequent on excessive competition, told somewhat injuriously on some undertakings. This was especially the case with dramatic music. No less than four operatic companies appealed during the course of the season to the suffrages of the opera-going public, now supposed, though on insufficient evidence, to be yearly declining in number. Had the three Italian managers joined forces, a very strong company would have resulted, while the style of stage presentment under Mr. Augustus Harris has never been equalled, even in the palmiest days of Italian opera. Failing such co-operation, more almost was achieved than was to be hoped for. Mr. Mapleson was first in the field at Covent Garden on March 12. In Signor Logheder an efficient conductor was secured, and, the prices being reasonable, fairly good houses were, as a rule, obtained. The company comprised many capable artists, of whom a large proportion were newcomers. The manager relied mainly on the drawing powers of works already familiar to the public, the casts being strong in the support of two American sopranis, M<sup>lle</sup>. Nordica and M<sup>lle</sup>. Nevada, and of M<sup>lle</sup>. Marie Engle, a graceful mezzo. Signor Ravelli, a tenor of marked ability, sustained the leading parts for a time almost unaided, showing complete command of a very extended repertory. Madame Minnie Hank revived her striking impersonation of "Carmen," supported by Signori Ravelli and Del Puente. Much of the bartone work fell to Signor L'Herie, a clever artist, who formerly sang as a tenor, or to Signor De Anna, a good actor, with a voice of exceptional power. One of the most interesting events of the series was the revival of Gounod's "Mirella," produced in 1864 at the Théâtre Lyrique in Paris, and first introduced to the London public a little later by Mr. Mapleson. Originally written as an opera in five acts, it has now been compressed into three by the composer himself. The performance was one of the best of the season, the soprano music being admirably suited to M<sup>lle</sup>. Nevada's voice. The other leading parts were efficiently filled by Madame Lablache and Signori Caylus and De Anna, though the cast as a whole could not be compared to the original, which comprised Tietjens, Trebelli, Giuglini, and Santley. The only absolute novelty was Bizet's opera "Les Pêcheurs de Perles," written at the age of twenty-five to a libretto by MM. Cormon and Carré, and produced at the Théâtre Lyrique in 1868, where it failed. Since then it has not been revived in France, though it has been favourably received in Italy. At Covent Garden M<sup>de</sup>. Fohström as the heroine, Signor Garulli as Nadir, and Signor L'Herie as Zurga were all, particularly the last named, to be commended.

Later in the season Mr. Mapleson gave a short series of performances at

Her Majesty's Theatre, in the course of which he revived Böito's "*Mefistofele*," first introduced to a London audience under his auspices. As on the previous occasion, the dual part of Marta and Pantalio was sustained by Madame Trebelli, while Mdlle. Oselio as Marguerite and Helen, Signor Oxilia as Faust, and Signor Abramoff as Mefistofele were newcomers. During the season Madame Patti appeared with indifferent supporters in "*La Traviata*," the prices being trebled on the occasion.

On the departure from Covent Garden of Mr. Mapleson's company his place was taken by Signor Lago, whose attempt to revive the popularity of Italian opera had been so successful in the previous year. The strength of the company in leading artists, including Mesdames Albani, Ella Russell, Cepeda, Valda, and Scalchi; Signor Gayarré and MM. D'Andrade and Devoyod, together with an eminently satisfactory chorus and a powerful orchestra, ensured the general success of the performances, though the stage accessories often left much to be desired. With such resources at his command, Signor Lago might have produced more in the way of novelty than the one opera, "*La Vita per lo Czar*," written fifty years ago. In spite of its age, however, the production of such a work as that of the Russian composer Glinka ranks as a novel event in the operatic history of London. Following the libretto, which is by Baron de Rosen, the music is distinctly national in character, and much of it, including some stirring choruses, which were finely rendered, evoked enthusiasm. Still, on the whole, the interest was intermittent, though the cast, comprising Albani, Scalchi, Gayarré, and Devoyod, was exceptionally powerful.

In the series of Italian operas which commenced at Drury Lane on June 18 Mr. Augustus Harris strove to shake off the reproach which has so long clung to the art—of slovenliness in the matter of *mise-en-scène*. No attempt was made to popularise the opera by cheap prices, nor was the production of novelties aimed at. On the whole, though some of the engagements were injudicious, the enterprise was attended with a large measure of success. A conductor of signal ability was secured in Signor Luigi Mancinelli, and an orchestra and chorus were provided worthy of his *bâton*. Two performances, viz. of "*Lohengrin*," with Madame Hauk, MM. Jean and Edouard de Reszké, Battistini and Navarrini; and of the "*Huguenots*" (the last scene being restored), with Madame Nordica, Mdlles. Marie Engle and Fabbri, and MM. Jean and E. de Reszké, Maurel, and Foli, must be noted as among the most splendid and effective seen in London for many years past. A performance of "*Il Barbiere*" was rendered remarkable by the *début* of a young Swedish vocalist of extraordinary gifts, Mdlle. Sigrid Arnoldsén. It is worthy of remark that the year which witnessed the decease of Madame Jenny Lind should be signalled also by the appearance of a compatriot on whom the mantle of that great artist may in all probability fall.

Of English opera, little can be recorded, since the repertory of the Carl Rosa Company consists mainly of English translations of foreign work. Mr. Corder's new opera "*Nordisa*" was hardly a success, though it seemed to improve somewhat on acquaintance. The part of the heroine was well sustained by Miss Gaylord, and subsequently by Miss Moody, a *débutante*, who won considerable favour in this *rôle* as well as that of Michaela in "*Carmen*." The most successful of modern English operas, "*Esmeralda*," attained its hundredth performance on May 18. (For an account of Operetta and *Opéra-bouffe* see under the heading "*Drama*.")

Verdi's new opera "*Otello*" was produced on February 5, at La Scala, at

Milan, with M<sup>me</sup>. Pantaleoni as Desdemona, Signor Tamagno as Otello, and M. Maurel as Iago, and naturally aroused lively interest; but neither it nor Signor Falchi's "Giuditta," produced with success at the Apollo Theatre, Rome, has yet been presented to a London audience.

Concert-goers have had no reason to complain of the programmes put before them, though some of the promoters must have suffered from the competition of the numerous attractions which the Jubilee year brought forth.

The chorus of the Albert Hall Choral Society, under Mr. Barnby, held its lead in respect of volume of tone and precision, and the performances were generally of a very high order. Rossini's "Messe Solennelle," which has not been heard in London since 1870, when Alboni sang the contralto music, was given in March this year, with Mesdames A. Williams and Patey, and Messrs. Lloyd and Santley. This fine work was produced in London in 1869, with Tietjens, Mongini, Scalchi, and Santley in the solo parts; and it is not easy to account for the seclusion into which it subsequently fell, and from which it has now been drawn by Mr. Barnby's splendid revival. On resuming on Nov. 8, "The Golden Legend," with Mesdames Nordica, Belle Cole (an American contralto with a voice of great power), Messrs. Lloyd and Henschel in the solo parts, drew a large audience; and later on a remarkable performance of "Israel in Egypt" was given. The choir, under Mr. Mackenzie, at Novello's Oratorio Concerts was also very efficient, and rendered a signal service by reviving Spohr's "Calvary." This oratorio, which has not been heard in London for many years past, will now probably find a place periodically in the programmes of choral societies capable of interpreting such works (it was in fact taken up later on by Mr. Prout's Choral Association at Hackney). The Bach Choir Concerts, under Dr. Villiers Stanford, were even more than usually interesting. To this society is due the revival of Schumann's one opera, "Genoveva," produced, though without success, at Leipzig in 1850, and known in London chiefly through the overture. The performance at St. James's Hall on March 8 was satisfactory, more especially as regards the orchestra and chorus. The programme on April 17 included a choral ode, written for the occasion by Mr. Hubert Parry, and Berlioz' "Te Deum," for three choirs, orchestra, and organ, which had only been heard in London once previously, at the Crystal Palace. The Sacred Harmonic Society continued performances of oratorio and sacred cantata under Mr. Cummings, showing some disposition to be more enterprising than formerly. Bottesini's "Garden of Olivet," produced at the Norwich Festival (see below), Cusins' Jubilee Cantata, and Mendelssohn's too much neglected "Lauda Sion" were among the works selected, and the execution was on the whole satisfactory.

Leslie's Choir, which has been on the point of dissolution before, will, it is understood, now finally cease to exist. The performances given during the year were characterised by the same delicacy as of old, but the quality of the voices has been for some time declining. On the whole, the resolution to break up while the recollection of its unique renderings of part music is still fresh was generally regarded as a wise one.

The London Symphony Concerts, under Herr Henschel, recommenced operations on Jan. 12, when the programme included a new serenade by an American composer, Mr. A. Foote, which secured a good reception. The choice of subjects showed generally a wise eclecticism, and, though some of the audiences were somewhat thin, the policy of the management on the whole repaid its reward in the approbation of musical critics. Among the

novelties presented may be noticed a violin concerto by Oliver King, a (MS.) violoncello concerto by Haydn, finely played by Herr Julius Klengel at the tenth concert amid great enthusiasm, and (Nov. 15) two pieces for strings by Grieg, and a scena by Glinka sung by Mr. Santley. It is a curious fact that Wagner's only completed symphony, written when only nineteen, and first performed at Prague in 1882, which was produced at the third winter concert and repeated at the sixth, failed on both occasions to draw a large audience.

The concerts given between May 2 and July 4 under Herr Richter were nine in number, and were attended by brilliant audiences. The quality of the strings showed a marked improvement under the revision of Mr. Vert, the new manager. Bruckner's seventh symphony, a selection from Goldmark's new opera "Merlin," a new symphony in F by Dr. Hubert Parry, and Dr. Villiers Stanford's "Irish" symphony were among the novelties of the season, which closed on July 4 with Bach's Magnificat in D, with the clever additional accompaniments by Franz, and Beethoven's "Choral Symphony."

The thirty-first series of Crystal Palace Concerts was resumed on Feb. 12 with Mackenzie's "Story of Sayid" and Villiers Stanford's "The Revenge," under the respective composers. Presumably the programmes were framed by the directors with a view to meet a variety of tastes; but some regret was expressed by the older *habitues* at the increasing tendency to introduce choral works rather than to rely exclusively on the well-known renderings of classical masters by their unrivalled orchestra. On March 5 Mendelssohn's music to "Athalia" was performed with Misses Sherwin, Fenna, and Eleanor Rees and the Crystal Palace Choir, which has developed much in tone and precision, the descriptive text being read by Mr. Santley. The programme on March 26 consisted of Beethoven's music to Goethe's "Egmont" and Félicien David's symphonic ode "Le Désert," with Miss Alma Murray as reader; and on April 16 there was a Beethoven programme, which comprised both the "Choral Fantasia" and the "Choral Symphony." Mozart's "Concertante" quartett for wind instruments constituted a welcome variety on April 2, when it was admirably played by the leading artists of the band. A serenade in A by the talented young Englishman George J. Bennett (March 12), and Widor's symphony in A (Op. 54) (March 19) were among the novelties of the season.

The thirty-second series commenced on Oct. 8, when the appearance of the young pianist Hofmann drew an enormous crowd. In the course of the eleven concerts which took place between then and Christmas a good deal of new or unknown work was presented, including a concert overture "Jugendtraume," by G. J. Bennett; a very graceful suite of ballet airs by Mr. Goring Thomas, written for the Cambridge Musical Society, a concert overture by Mr. Hamish McCunn entitled "Land of the Mountain and the Flood"; concertstück for 'cello and orchestra, written and played by Herr Franz Néruda, who made his first appearance at the Crystal Palace (Nov. 19); Handel's concerto for strings, No. 7 in B flat; and Rubinstein's symphonic fantasia "Eroica," one of his most recent compositions.

The programme of Nov. 12 was devoted to Berlioz, the works chosen being the *symphonie fantastique* "La Vie d'un Artiste" and the lyrical melodrama "Lelio, or the Return to Life." The vocal music was sustained by Messrs. Lloyd and F. King and the Crystal Palace Choir, with Mr. Fernandez as the reader of "Lelio," and the performance was highly creditable to all concerned. Less successful was the concert of Oct. 29, when the solos

and principal concerted music from "Don Giovanni" were given in commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of its production at Vienna. The vocalists, though painstaking, were evidently not at home in the music, and in spite of the splendid orchestra the general effect was disappointing. Among the choral works was Mr. Cowen's oratorio "Ruth" (see Festivals), given under the *bâton* of the composer on Dec. 17, the choruses being sung by the choir of Novello's Oratorio Concerts.

The energetic character which has distinguished the programmes of the Philharmonic Society for the past two or three years has been maintained during the season of 1887, which opened on March 10, Mr. George Mount conducting in the absence of Sir A. Sullivan. A beautiful rendering of Schumann's "Concerto" was given by his widow. Mozart's "Concertante" quartet in E for wind instruments was an interesting item of the second concert, at which Mr. Cowen conducted his own "Scandinavian" symphony. Novelties in the shape of Gounod's "Suite Concertante" for pedal piano, written for and played by M<sup>me</sup>. Palicot, and a new love duet written by Dr. Stanford for the "Canterbury Pilgrims," in place of the admittedly weak original, were included in the programme of the second concert; and a pleasing "Roumanian Suite," written expressly for the society by Mr. F. Corder, was introduced at the fourth. The retirement of Sir A. Sullivan from the conductorship of this society and the acceptance of the post by Mr. Cowen were announced in October. The concert on May 24 of the London Musical Society, which is now famous for its enterprise, was remarkable on account of the production of a recently discovered cantata by Beethoven, written in 1790 for five solo voices, chorus, and orchestra.

Turning to chamber music, of which the supply was abundant, the series of Saturday and Monday Popular Concerts, which commenced on Jan. 8, was a memorable one, not only on account of the number of brilliant and interesting concerts, but also from the fact that, on Monday, April 4, when the season closed, the 1,000th performance was reached. The occasion drew a very large audience, and Mr. Chappell was presented with a congratulatory address. The season was by no means destitute of novel features, among which may be noticed Beethoven's sonata for piano and horn, written in 1800, and introduced for the first time at these concerts by Messrs. C. Hallé and Paersch (Feb. 5), on which occasion also Hummel's septet was revived. Schumann's fantasia in A minor, Op. 181, which was written for Herr Joachim, was performed by that artist on the occasion of his reappearance (Feb. 21), and on Feb. 28 two novelties were given by Herr Max Pauer, viz. Chopin's Allegro de Concert, Op. 46, and Spohr's piano quintet in C minor, Op. 58, neither of them very striking specimens of the respective masters.

Madame Schumann on her *rentrée* (March 5) was associated with Herr Joachim and Signor Piatti in a remarkable rendering of Beethoven's well-known trio in B flat, which created the greatest enthusiasm. Dr. Stanford's piano quintet, played by the composer and Messrs. Joachim, Ries, Strauss, and Piatti (March 26), was an interesting specimen of English chamber music; while Beethoven's Kreutzer Sonata, by Madame Schumann and Herr Joachim (extra concert, April 1), Bach's concerto in D minor for two violins, by Madame Néruda and Herr Joachim, and Spohr's double quartet in E minor, Op. 87, No. 8, in which the same artists took part (April 2), must be chronicled as phenomenal performances. M<sup>lle</sup>. Janotha, whose name used formerly to figure so largely as a pianist at these concerts, but who had been for some time absent from England, returned in the latter part of the year



and was cordially received. Some excellent concerts of chamber music were also given at St. James's Hall in the season by Mr. Charles Hallé, at one of which Brahms' new sonata for violin and piano, Op. 100, was played by Madame Norman Néruda and himself. No event of the year aroused more interest in musical circles than the three Academy concerts, consisting of music for wind instruments. Although much work of the kind has been written by great masters in days gone by, chamber music for wind instruments has been so neglected for years past that nearly all the pieces performed had the recommendation of novelty. Mozart's serenade in C minor (third concert) for two oboes, two clarinets, two bassoons, and two horns is, indeed, known through the master's subsequent arrangement of it as a quintett for strings; but Beethoven's trio in C for two oboes and *cor anglais*, played at the same concert by Messrs. Malsch, Davies, and Horton, was probably absolutely fresh. Encouraged by the success of this enterprise, the London Wind Instrument Union announced a series of concerts at the Continental Gallery in New Bond Street, which, it may be hoped, will be the beginning of a general revival of this half-forgotten work.

The year will be marked with a white stone by the lovers of pianoforte music. In addition to the presence of so many well-established favourites and the appearance of the wonderful child-pianist Josef Hofmann, London was visited by Herr Schönberger, a Viennese artist of remarkable gifts, a pupil of Professor Anton Door. He was heard at the leading concerts in London, at the Crystal Palace, and at recitals of his own, and though his interpretations of some works were freely criticised, he at once took a place among the giants of the art.

Musical activity was not confined to the metropolis. Mr. Charles Hallé entered on his thirtieth season at Manchester late in October, and the Glasgow Choral Union, with Mr. Manns as conductor of the orchestral concerts, and Mr. Bradley of the vocal, commenced their fourteenth season on Dec. 13. The Newcastle Exhibition was rendered musically remarkable by a series of daily recitals of high-class vocal and chamber music, under the arrangement of Messrs. Hirschmann & Co., and festivals were held at Worcester and at Norwich. At Worcester Mr. Cowen's oratorio "Ruth," which answers to the description of a romantic cantata rather than an oratorio as generally understood, was produced in the cathedral, with Mesdames Albani, A. Williams, and Hope Glenn, and Messrs. Lloyd and W. Mills. The festival chorus was drawn mainly from Leeds, and was remarkable for fulness of tone. The orchestra was efficient, and most, though not all, of the works were fairly performed under the conductors Messrs. Done and C. L. Williams. Whereas at Worcester the chorus was the strongest factor in the performance, at Norwich it was decidedly the weakest. The voices, which were mainly recruited locally, left a good deal to be desired as regards both quality and training. The array of solo talent was, however, very imposing, comprising most of the leading oratorio singers, while an excellent orchestra was provided from London, with Mr. Carrodus as leader. With such resources, and with Signor Randegger in the conductor's chair, success was assured, even independently of the very interesting programme provided. The events which chiefly engaged public attention were the production of Signor Bottesini's oratorio "The Garden of Olivet," and a sacred cantata, "Isaiah," by Signor Luigi Mancinelli, a work of genius of the modern school, written especially for this festival, and conducted by the composer in person.

## SCIENCE OF THE YEAR 1887.

WHILE the progress of discovery has been well maintained during the past year in each of the main branches of science, the largest share of public interest has been arrested not so much by the importance of some special research as by the publication of a few brilliant theories based on facts already accumulated. Thus Science has been occupied rather with the arrangement of the stores in her possession than with the acquisition of new materials. The ultimate fate of these theories cannot, of course, be predicted, but, in view of the care with which they have been formulated, it will be wise to include some mention of them under those divisions of science to which they particularly apply. One other event which also deserves mention in an annual record of science is the publication of the "Life and Letters of Charles Darwin," which has served to render the great naturalist, his modes of investigation, and his biological generalisations, familiar to the British public.

Applied science can point during the past year to the opening of the Severn Tunnel, to the completion and opening of the Tay Bridge, and the commencement of the important ship canal which is to convert Manchester into a seaport. The spread of machines for the automatic supply of small articles has also been a noticeable feature of the year, while Ashley's process for the manufacture of bottles by machinery has been introduced with some chances of success. The adaptation of machinery to supersede human labour in the bottle-blowing industry has previously always resulted in failure. In America Lieut. Zalinski has brought his dynamite gun into practical use. In some trials made on an old schooner belonging to the United States Navy a charge of 55 lbs. of nitro-glycerine was thrown a distance of 1,864 yards under initial pressures varying from 590 to 612 lbs. per square inch. The effect of two shots, one of which exploded under the water near the vessel, and the other hit it directly, was to convert the ship into a complete wreck. Several new explosives having some form of nitro-glycerine as their basis have been brought into notice, such as the melinite adopted by the French Government; but none of them appear to show merits decidedly superior to those already in use. In coal mining, cartridges made of Nobel's gelatine dynamite in Settle's water cartridge appear after prolonged trials to work safely and to give no flame. The foundation of the Eiffel tower has been successfully laid and part of the superstructure completed. This tower is to rise to a height of 1,000 feet, and will be the highest building ever erected. It is made of steel lattice-work, braced together by strong girders, and gradually tapering from base to summit like the trunk of a tree.

## BIOLOGY.

An outbreak of scarlet fever some few years ago was attributed to the milk of some cows which were suffering from a skin disease of the udder, combined with general disease of the viscera. This disease was investigated by Dr. E. Klein on behalf of the Local Government Board, and he has succeeded in completely demonstrating the connection between the fever and the disease. He first found that inoculation with diseased matter from the ulcers on the udders of the affected cattle would produce the same disease in cows previously untouched. From the ulcers a peculiar micrococcus was obtained which could be cultivated in a suitable fluid, and which on inoculation reproduced the disease. He also obtained this same micrococcus from patients suffering from acute cases of scarlet fever. From four such patients the micrococci were injected into mice, all of whom died. Eight calves inoculated with a cultivation of these scarlet fever germs sickened with the same cutaneous and visceral disease as the cows originally attacked. These experiments show the intimate relation between this disease in cattle and scarlet fever in man. It was found that even in acute cases of fever the number of the micrococci present in the blood was small. A similar research has been undertaken into the origin of malarial fever. Here a bacillus has been discovered, which is probably the cause of the disease; but its life-history is not yet sufficiently well known to enable any adequate means of prevention to be devised. The micro-organisms in the air have been studied by Dr. P. Frankland, who has isolated and described a large number of different kinds. He finds that the quantity of these organisms present in the air varies very largely with the season, the locality, and the height above the ground. Thus, while 79 fell on a surface of one square foot in a minute in the country, 8,120 fell on the same space in the same time in a crowded railway carriage. The micro-organisms are most abundant in August, and least abundant in January. Though far more plentiful in town, yet the air near the top of St. Paul's showed the same number as were obtained in the country. But the most important of the researches on bacterial life are those obtained by Dr. Dallinger, as the result of experiments continued without intermission during a period of eight years. Dr. Dallinger's object was to see what power of adaptability to increase of temperature was possessed by certain organisms, the life-history of which was thoroughly well known. These organisms perished immediately when raised to a temperature of 140° Fahr., but by starting from an initial temperature of 60° Fahr., and by raising the temperature a degree or even less at a time, with frequent rests to enable the bacteria to become habituated to the change, he was enabled to raise the temperature to 158° Fahr., and to preserve his cultivations of micro-organisms in vigorous health, though they perished when again immersed in the fluid at 60°, in which their ancestors lived and flourished. As the complete life-cycle of these bacteria is comprised in the space of a few minutes, in the course of eight years a succession of generations was obtained comparable with those which have occurred in the case of animals of higher organisation in the ages of geological time, and the capability of adaptation of function to environment has thus been proved by experiment in a brilliant and unmistakable manner. This lengthy experiment was unfortunately brought to an end by accident.

More results of the *Challenger* Expedition have been published, and there

remain only a few volumes to complete this series of investigations. Among the publications of the past year is Professor Hæckel's report on the Radiolaria. In this no less than 4,818 species are described, of which 3,508 are catalogued as *new*. These species are divided into 789 genera, 85 families, and 20 orders. The compound ascidians are described by Professor W. A. Herdman. In this group the expedition has brought 88 new species and 10 new genera. One of these species, *Phenyngodictyon mirabile*, was dredged from a depth of 1,600 fathoms.

Among lower forms of life M. E. Maupa has noticed that in the case of certain Protozoa, such as *Stylonychia pustulata*, which usually multiply by subdivision, multiplication in this manner will only hold good for a certain number of generations. In one case the organisms died after 215 subdivisions had taken place, in another case after 815, and in a third case after 180. It appeared necessary that union between two members of different origin should occasionally take place, such conjugation probably reinvigorating the nucleus, and rendering multiplication by division again possible.

Among the interesting physiological discoveries which deserve mention are those of McMunn, Engelmann, and Preyer. Dr. McMunn has found that the Malpighian tube of insects and the nephridium of molluscs secrete uric acid, showing that these organs perform some of the functions of the kidney in vertebrate animals. Professor T. W. Engelmann finds that the small calcareous bodies described as otoliths or otocysts, and supposed to be connected with the sense of hearing, have no auditory function, but probably serve to keep the primary axis of the body in its normal upright condition. These otoliths are very general in freely moving animals, but absent in fixed or slowly creeping forms, while animals which possess them in an early active stage lose them on passing into a stationary condition. Professor W. Preyer has for some time studied the movements of starfishes, and concludes from his experiments that they perform a series of co-ordinated movements which cannot be of a purely reflex nature, but which presuppose a certain amount of intelligence. Different parts of the nervous system are not functionally equal, and the concerted action which the five-rayed or many-rayed animal exhibits is due to the predominance of some central stimulus. Dr. J. C. Lomas finds that *Cerapterus tetramaculatus*, a rare beetle, secretes free iodine, apparently for defensive purposes. This iodine, he states, was recognised by its action on starch and in ethereal and alcoholic solutions. If correct this is one of the most singular instances of animal secretion. Another discovery to be accepted with some degree of caution is that reported by M. Fokker. He states that a slow fermentation can be set up by the protoplasm taken from a perfectly healthy animal, with every precaution against the inclusion of bacteria, protoplasm from a recently killed animal converting sugar into an acid and starch into glucose.

An extraordinary effect on the sense of taste has been noticed when a leaf of *Gymnema sylvestre*, an asclepiad plant from the Deccan, is eaten. Thus the taste of sugar is entirely abolished, so that in a piece of sweet gingerbread the ginger is tasted but not the sugar, and in a sweet orange only the acidity of the citric acid is noticeable. Quinine placed on the tongue tastes like chalk, and in fact all sweets and bitters become alike insipid, while salines, astringents, or acids remain unaffected. The physiological action of tea and coffee on the human frame has been studied by Dr. Lauder Brunton, and our knowledge of the real nature of their action has been thereby materially increased.

## CHEMISTRY.

The synthesis of glucose by Emil Fischer and Julius Tafel, of Würzburg, forms one of the most brilliant results achieved in organic chemistry during the past year. The artificial glucose resembles the natural product in everything except its action on a ray of polarised light, and this exception is probably due to the presence of two optically active kinds of glucose in the laboratory, one compound rotating the beam of polarised light to the right and the other to the left, so that the combined effect on the beam is *nil*. The name *acrose* has been given to this artificially formed sugar to denote its formation from acrolein. In inorganic chemistry the isolation of fluorine has been accomplished by Henri Moissan as the result of three years' work. This element has, on account of its strong chemical affinity for hydrogen, silicon, and metals, baffled all previous attempts to obtain it in a free state. M. Moissan has finally succeeded by decomposing anhydrous hydrofluoric acid by an electric current. The anhydrous acid contained a few fragments of the acid fluoride of potassium in order to render it a conductor. As the hydrofluoric acid boils at 19° C. the temperature was kept down below -28°, so as to reduce the action of the liberated fluorine as much as possible. At this temperature fluorine is a colourless gas, which combines instantly with hydrogen or silicon, which sets fire to sulphur, phosphorus, arsenic, or iodine, and which instantly decomposes water, combining with the hydrogen, and liberating the oxygen, some of which is evolved as ozone. A fluoride of nitrogen has been obtained by Mr. H. N. Warren by the electrolysis of a concentrated solution of ammonium fluoride. The fluoride collects at the negative electrode in the shape of oily drops, which are even more explosive than the well-known chloride of nitrogen. Mr. Warren has also obtained a very dense form of carbon, which may be of use for electrical purposes, by passing the discharge from an induction coil through a vessel containing coal gas. The carbon is deposited on the negative electrode and gradually grows out towards the positive pole. Among the chemical processes more directly bearing on manufacturing industry is the method devised by MM. Frémy and Verneuil for making artificial rubies. M. Frémy had previously succeeded in making small rubies, but in the present process crystals of larger size can be obtained. Alumina is intensely heated in an earthenware crucible, in the bottom of which a layer of fine pounded fluor spar is placed, the fluor being kept separate from the alumina by a platinum plate in which a few small perforations have been placed. Another important modification has been made in the amalgam process for extracting gold. The mercury is placed in a flat pan which surrounds a porous pot containing a solution of sulphate of soda with a lead rod, which serves as the positive metal of a battery cell, the mercury acting on the negative. The hydrogen generated at the mercury removes the tendency of the metal to oxidise or "sicken," and enables 40 per cent. more gold to be extracted than can be obtained in the ordinary amalgam process. The manufacture of carbonate of soda is now being carried on by a combination of the old Leblanc process, and the new "ammonia" one on a plan devised by Messrs. Parnell and Simpson. The ammonia process, though a much cheaper one to work, does not yield bleaching powder, while the sulphur in the alkali waste of the Leblanc process is a constant source of loss and annoyance. In the new method the alkali waste from the Leblanc process takes the place of the caustic lime used to decompose the sal-ammoniac

of the "ammonia" soda process. Not only is the ammonia driven off, but the sulphur in the waste is obtained as ammonium sulphide. The ammonium sulphide is treated with pure carbonic acid, and the sulphuretted hydrogen gas then evolved is either burnt with a restricted air-supply so as to deposit the sulphur it contains, or with a full supply of air in order to be manufactured into sulphuric acid. Messrs. Parnell and Simpson's method is stated to save one ton of lime on each ton of carbonate of soda produced, as well as reducing the amount of alkali waste. The increased amount of gold mining has led to the invention of a modification of the chlorine process for separating gold. As previously applied, the loss of chlorine was generally too great to allow the method to be applied in the case of ores poor in gold, or where much lime or magnesia was present. In the "Newbery-Vautin" process the ore is placed in a barrel and the chlorine introduced under a pressure of about 60 lbs. to the square inch. This liquefies the chlorine gas, the barrel being revolved while the pressure is kept up. The contents are then thrown on to a filter and rapidly filtered by the aid of a vacuum pump, the filtered liquid being run through charcoal to reduce the gold. It is claimed that the loss of gold and waste of chlorine are very materially reduced by these operations. In steel manufacture Mr. W. B. Middleton has found that by the use of silicate of soda two steel surfaces may be readily welded together.

The progress of chemical research is instrumental in annually increasing the number of medicinal agents. Thus the use of the acetanilide discovered by Cohn and Hepp has been recommended by Dr. Weill, of Paris, for antiseptic purposes and as a febrifuge. In America accident has led to the discovery of an intoxicating effect of benzene vapour when breathed in a confined air-space.

### PHYSICS.

In physics the applications of electricity to utilitarian purposes claim the first place. The Edison Electric Locomotive has been tried on the North Metropolitan Tramway, and is to be also put into use on the Metropolitan Railway. An ingenious electric current meter has been devised by Professor George Forbes. In any house-to-house supply of electricity there has been great difficulty in devising an instrument which shall show the amount of current used. Professor Forbes's meter consists of a flat spiral of iron wire with two terminals. Above this conductor a set of vanes is pivoted. This is a flat mica disc in which is fixed a pinion working in a small ruby cup. Round the circumference of the disc eight small pith cylinders are placed, equidistant from each other, and to each cylinder is attached a vane inclined at an angle of  $45^\circ$  to the mica disc, the vanes being made of the thinnest mica. The pinion has a small tooth-wheel collar, which drives a train of clockwork recording the number of revolutions made by the vanes. The passage of a current through the iron spiral warms the metal, the amount of warmth increasing with the strength of the current. The metal imparts its heat to the air, which rises in an upward stream, setting the vanes in motion. The only source of error is stated to be due to the friction of the jewelled cup; the temperature of the outer air or the duration of the current not appreciably affecting the result. The instrument indicates currents from  $\frac{1}{2}$  ampère upwards. A dynamo, deriving its motive power from the action of heat on magnets, has been invented by T. A. Edison. Permanent steel magnets are employed with revolving armatures, composed of bundles of thin iron tubes.

One side of the revolving armature is kept hot by some source of heat and the other cold by a screen or cold-air blast. It is stated that two small bunsen burners are capable of producing 700 foot-pounds of electric energy per minute. The waste heat of a fireplace may be utilised to supply electricity for lighting the house, the drawback being that the pyromagnetic dynamo would have to be three tons in weight in order to maintain the needful current for 80 lamps of 16-candle power. Two new galvanic cells of interest have been invented during the past year. The first, due to Professor Forbes, consists of zinc and carbon plates, between which is placed a layer of Mr. D. Fitzgerald's lithanode, a specially prepared peroxide of lead. This dispenses with any acid solutions. In the other, invented by Dr. Alder Wright and Mr. C. Thomson, two liquids are used. A solution of sulphite of soda is placed in one arm of a bent U tube, and a solution of bichromate of potash made acid with sulphuric acid in the other. To keep the two liquids from mixing a little concentrated sulphuric acid is placed in the bend of the tube. Platinum terminals are plunged into the two liquids, and the oxidation of the sodium sulphite by the bichromate of potash results in the establishment of a strong current.

The phenomena of electrolysis have been the subject of special study. Professor Roberts-Austen concludes that gases do not conduct electrolytically from experiments he has made on lead alloys. Dr. J. H. Gladstone has shown that an electric current hastens the formation of slowly forming compounds, such as that produced by mixing solutions of tartaric acid and nitrate of potash. Professor Oliver Lodge finds that the rate at which hydrogen travels through a solution with an electric current is about  $\cdot 008$  centimetre per second. As potassium, sodium, and calcium appear to travel at the same rate, perhaps what is observed in their case is merely the hydrogen rate. On the other hand, chlorine travels against the current at only one-tenth of this speed. In telephony some good results in long-distance speaking have been accomplished in Scotland, while Mr. W. H. Preece has been investigating theoretically the limiting distance at which telephonic speech is possible. This he finds depends upon three quantities, viz. the resistance of the wire, its electrostatic capacity, and a constant for each kind of wire, which varies from 15,000 in a copper wire to 10,000 in one of the same diameter in iron. The mechanical equivalent of heat has been redetermined by Messrs. Cowper and Anderson. As originally investigated by Joule, the heat necessary to raise one pound of water through one degree Fahrenheit was equivalent to the fall of 772 lbs. through a distance of one foot. The experiments of Messrs. Cowper and Anderson were made on a scale 150 times as large as those of Joule, and they arrive at a result of 769, or three lower than Joule's equivalent. The spread of electric lighting has reacted beneficially on gas lighting, and during the year two new inventions have been brought before the public, by which greater illuminating power is obtained by the consumption of a given quantity of gas than was previously possible. Both inventions start with the pale, intensely hot flame of the bunsen or air-gas burner. In the Welsbach light a fine network is impregnated with the metallic oxides of certain rare metals, such as zirconium and lanthanum, which become brilliantly incandescent when heated. In the Clamond lamp magnesia and platinum net are utilised.

In light the wave-length of sodium has been proposed for adoption as a standard unit of length, unalterable and readily obtainable and independent of any of the accidents to which any artificially made standard is liable. At

the well-known microscope works at Jena, Professor Abbe has produced a new apochromatic glass, which is stated to be a great improvement on previous material, inasmuch as it allows of the manufacture of lenses of greater numerical aperture than was previously attainable. Among apparatus more indirectly bearing on physics is the grammophone of Emil Berliner. This instrument is a development of the phonograph of Edison and of the phonautographs of Leon Scott and Cros. In M. Berliner's grammophone a disc of glass covered with lampblack forms the recording surface. The voice vibrations are registered on this as delicate wavy furrows by the movement of a fine metallic point attached to a diaphragm. To reproduce the speech the tracing from the glass disc is taken by a process of photogravure. The copy thus obtained when rotated at the same rate as the glass disc in a similar apparatus will render back the original sound with great fidelity. A graphophone has also been invented by Professor Graham Bell, who substitutes wax for the tinfoil used in Edison's phonograph, while Edison himself has also been engaged in perfecting his original instrument. Professor Oliver Lodge has published a number of papers on electricity, dealing with the modern electrical theories by the help of the known facts of electrical phenomena, with the object of throwing light on the question what electricity really is. In meteorology Mr. Blanford has brought forward statistics of the rainfall of India, showing an apparent eleven-year period similar to that exhibited by sun-spots. The Ben Nevis observations have been continued, and in Mr. Omond's hands the rain-band spectroscope has furnished results of great interest.

#### GEOLOGY.

Palæontologists have been unusually busy during the past year. Professor O. C. Marsh again draws on the apparently inexhaustible series of new forms obtained from the Jurassic strata of Wyoming. Among new mammals two, to which the name of *Menacodon rarus* and *Paurodon valens* have been given, belong to previously undescribed families. They appear to have been adapted to live on an animal rather than a vegetable diet. In some points they resemble the marsupials, while in others they appear more allied to the Insectivora, but their generalised character renders it necessary to class them a new order, to which Professor Marsh gives the name *Pantotheria*. Another order—*Allotheria*—includes a number of small forms from the size of a weasel to that of a small rat, all of which are now described for the first time. With these mammals are associated the remains of dinosaurs, small lizards, fishes, a single bird, and a small tailless amphibian, being the first discovered in any Mesozoic formation. From the Upper Cretaceous of Mount Lebanon Mr. J. W. Davis has obtained 10 new genera and 66 species of fossil fish. The new genera belong mostly to the order of the sharks and rays, two being referred, though on scarcely sufficient grounds, to the Siluroids. If correct, Mr. Davis can be credited with having found the first evidence of the existence of an eel in Mesozoic times. Mr. E. Wilson, Curator of the Bristol Museum, has published a list of fossil gasteropods. This list contains 425 species, arranged under 51 different genera. Nearly half of these belong to the four genera *Cerithium*, *Trochus*, *Turbo*, and *Pleurotomaria*. It is of interest, as showing how steadily the amount of palæontological evidence is growing, that in 1854 only six species of gasteropods were known. Out of Mr. Wilson's 425 species 18 are now described for the first time. Professor



Seeley has discovered in the Fox Collection of the British Museum a sacrum composed of six vertebrae, which, in his opinion, indicates a new type of bird approximating more nearly to the dinosaurian lizard than to any bird type already known. While additions to the long roll of extinct life have thus been made, Dr. W. J. Sollas has endeavoured to show that the Cambrian fossils *Oldhamia antiqua* and *Oldhamia radiata* are merely peculiar mineral markings, and not remains of any living organism. As a compensation Dr. G. J. Hinde would ascribe an organic origin to chert. This always contains sponge spicules, even though some specimens show them only faintly. Dr. Hinde contends that the sponge spicules are more evident when limestone is most completely absent, and that this fact shows that chert cannot be, as is commonly supposed, a pseudomorph of limestone.

Two borings for water have yielded interesting geological results. At Bletchley, where the London and North Western Railway have sunk a shaft, a rock of finely crystalline quartz felsite was reached below the Mesozoic strata. This, according to Professor Hull, is part of the old pre-Triassic ridge, which all borings tend to show underlies the Mesozoic formations of this part of England. In the New World a boring for water has been driven to a depth of 1,087 feet at Rosenfeld, ten miles west of the Red River valley, in Manitoba. This boring is of interest, as showing the alluvial character of these Western prairies. After passing through four feet of rich black soil, 111 feet of fine silt and clay were met with, succeeded by sand gravel and boulder clay for another 22 feet. A very thin coating of Palaeozoic limestones were then passed through before reaching the Laurentian strata, showing the gradual thinning out of these strata northwards. Recent observations made in Greenland by Professors Hele, Steenstrup, and Rink show that ice in large masses moves much more quickly than in small. As much as 86 feet of movement has been noticed in one day in some of the large Greenland glaciers. The extra rate of movement would exercise greater denuding power, and thus much less time would be necessary to have produced the results of the Glacial epoch than has previously been considered possible. Professor Prestwich is disposed, therefore, to put the duration of the last Glacial period between fifteen and twenty thousand years, including in this estimate the time the ice was decreasing. This estimate is considerably less than the time required by Dr. Croll.

Mining in this country has been marked by the discovery of gold in possibly payable quantities in the Mawddach valley, near Dolgelly, and by the working of carbonate of manganese, in Merionethshire, this being the first instance of the raising of this mineral in the British Isles.

Professor Mendeléef has brought forward an ingenious theory to explain the production of petroleum. On this theory the petroleum and natural gas deposits are due to the action of water at high temperatures on metallic carbides, supposed to exist in large quantities at a considerable distance below the surface. The action of water on these carbides would produce oxides of the metals and hydrocarbons such as found in petroleum, and Mendeléef has succeeded in making an artificial petroleum by this reaction. Our store of liquid fuel would then depend upon the stock of these metallic carbides. While petroleum is thus accounted for, the crystalline form of carbon in the shape of diamond has also found an expositor in Professor Carvill Lewis. He finds that the diamond-bearing rocks lie in old volcanic necks, and consist of a very basic lava associated with volcanic breccia and tuff. The matrix rock, in which diamonds are found, is an altered peridotite, and

is practically the same wherever diamonds have been discovered *in situ*. The sides of these volcanic necks consist of carbonaceous shales, and the reaction of this lava under conditions of great heat and pressure on these shales has resulted in the formation of diamonds.

The production of mountain chains is ascribed by M. Faye to the cooling of the earth's crust at a quicker rate under the oceans than under the land. This would cause the crust to thicken more quickly under the former than under the latter, and the greater thickness would produce in the thinner portions a swelling up and distortion, resulting in the production of mountain chains, which would lie chiefly, like the Andes and Rocky Mountains, on the shores of the oceans. Professor Judd, in an address to the Geological Society, has propounded a theory of the production of crystals, in which he introduces a process of crystalline evolution, with results almost analogous in the inorganic world to the results of biological evolution in the world of life. A number of special researches have been published on the geology of different localities, among which Mr. Orville Derby's observations on Brazil, and Mr. Guppy's on the Solomon Islands, deserve special mention. A controversy as to the relative merits of Darwin's and Murray's theories on the formation of coral reefs has been started by the Duke of Argyll, and Mr. Howorth's book on "The Mammoth and the Flood" has raised anew the struggle between the Uniformitarian and the Catastrophist schools.

#### GEOGRAPHY.

**Asia.**—Exploration in Asia has yielded a most brilliant catalogue of difficult journeys, among which that successfully made by Mr. A. D. Carey, of the Bombay Civil Service, was especially interesting. Mr. Carey left India in May 1885. From Ladak he went eastward into Northern Tibet as far as Lake Mángtse, then across the Turkistan plains to Kiria and Khotan. Here he just missed meeting the exploring party under General Prjevalsky, whose track he followed as far as Kuchar. With this exception Mr. Carey's expedition was the first under European guidance to cross this region. From Kuchar he proceeded along the Tarim river to Lake Lob with some détours to the towns of Kurla and Káráshahr. From Chaklik, on Lake Lob, no human being was met for eighty-three days, when the track to Lhasa was struck. The Kuen Lun range was then recrossed, and the Tsaidam region visited. Thence Mr. Carey made his way to Urumtsi, the capital of Chinese Turkistan, and finally returned to Ladak through Yarkand. This journey deservedly ranks as one of the most important which has been made by any Englishman in the inhospitable regions north of the Himalayas. Mr. Carey, it is right to state, took the necessary time for his travels from the leave of absence due to him in the Government service. Three other explorers, Messrs. James, Younghusband, and Fulford, have made a journey of 8,000 miles in Northern and Eastern Manchuria. They found the natives civil and obliging, but report that brigandage was extremely common, and the system of government extremely lax and ineffective.

M. Potanin has also returned from his three years' exploration in Mongolia, the latter part of which was principally devoted to the desert of Gobi. A river named Ezsin flows across this desert to the great salt lake Gashun-nor, where for fifty miles neither grass nor fresh water was found.

MM. Capus and Bonvalot have crossed the Pamir and Hindu Kush into British India after a series of adventures, in which they were often in im-

minent peril, owing to the hostility of the native tribes in the country through which their route lay. Finally the delimitation of the Afghan boundary has been concluded, and the frontier line marked off between Russia and Afghanistan.

**Africa.**—The first new expedition of the year was that led by Mr. Stanley to the relief of Emin Pasha, which left on Jan. 21 for the coast of Africa. He reached the mouth of the Congo in March, and by the end of June had penetrated to the Aruwimi river whence he was to strike overland to join Emin Pasha on the Albert Nyanza. The German explorers have been busy over a wide area. Dr. Hans Meyer has scaled Mount Kilimanjaro for the first time. Dr. Lenz reports from observations made in the ascent of the Congo that Arab influence is rapidly growing in this region. Trading settlements founded by the Arabs are springing up at different points, and the cultivation of rice is rapidly extending. Dr. Lenz has also crossed Africa from Kasonge to Quillimane in seventeen months, this being the ninth time the continent has been crossed by a white man. M. Gleerup, a Swedish officer, has also crossed from Stanley Falls to Zanzibar. Mr. J. T. Last, the commander of the expedition to the Namuli Hills, sent out by the Royal Geographical Society, spent some three months in the country round these hills. He was unable to ascend the principal peak from any side. He ascended the Lukugu river to its source. This river runs through a fertile, thinly populated country to the west of Namuli, from the north foot of Mount Pilani. Navigation is almost impossible, even for canoes, owing to a long series of rapids and waterfalls, while its mouth is closed by a formidable bar. Mr. George Grenfell has explored the Quango in the steamer *Peace* to the Ki Kunji Falls, from its junction with the Congo. These falls are only some three feet high, but were sufficient to prevent the further ascent of the *Peace*. Major von Mechow descended the Quango to this point, so the two men completed the exploration of this great tributary. The Kassai joins the Quango not far from their union with the Congo. At the union the stream is 700 yards wide, and no bottom could be found with a 120-foot line. On the eastern coast an agreement has been arrived at between Great Britain and Germany with regard to their mutual sphere of influence in East Africa, a north-western direction through Kilimanjaro being the dividing line between the two Powers. In the case of Germany this sphere of influence extends south to Rovuma, and on the English side to the river Tana. The coast line is left in the possession of the Sultan of Zanzibar. In Central Africa Lake Tanganyika has fallen 15 feet, according to the observations of Mr. Hore during his residence on the shores. The current of the Lukuga river, which Stanley in 1878 found had forced its way to the Congo, was now very strong. An adventurous journey in the Western Sahara was made by M. Douls in the disguise of a Mussulman. M. Douls landed near Rio de Oro, and after six months' wandering reached Morocco, where he was thrown into prison, but released by the arrival of the British embassy.

**Australasia.**—In New Guinea both Germany and England have been engaged in the work of exploration. For the former power Admiral von Schlunitz has sailed for 224 miles up the Empress Augusta river in the steamer *Ottilie*, and the launch attached to the steamer penetrated another 112 miles, and was then forced to return owing to want of coal, and not on account of the shallowing of the river. Settlements on the banks were noticed only at wide intervals. It appears that each small tribe in New Guinea is in constant enmity with its neighbours, so that any widespread

intercourse between them is impossible. The river flows for most of its way through extensive plains suitable for the growth of rice or sugar-cane. The coast line has also been carefully surveyed and mapped for a considerable distance, and several fine harbours discovered. The English explorers have meanwhile not been idle. Mr. T. F. Bevan has discovered and ascended for some distance two new rivers, to which he has given the names of the Douglas and Jubilee, while in South-east Guinea the Rev. J. Chalmers has given an interesting account of his travels and dealings with the natives. Messrs. Hartmann and Hunter have reached the summit of the main part of the Owen Stanley range, but were unable to cross to the opposite coast owing to the excessive rains. A new expedition has been fitted out at Melbourne under Mr. Cuthbertson to take up the work left unaccomplished by Mr. Forbes, whose explorations failed owing to the want of sufficient means.

In Australia the exploration of the river Finke, one of the largest of the central Australian rivers, has been completed, the distance covered being over 5,000 miles. This journey was made chiefly in 1885, but full details have only lately been published. Useful work has also been done in exploring the northern portion of Western Australia, where the working of new goldfields has led to an influx of colonists. In the great inland plains the sheep-farmer follows in the track of the explorer, and the alleged uninhabitable nature of this region is being gradually disproved.

**America.**—North Alaska has been crossed by Lieutenant Howard from the river Putnam to Point Barrow. In this journey of 1,000 miles he discovered the river Ikpikpuk, a river 200 miles long, which he descended to its mouth. Lieutenant H. W. Seton Karr has also spent six months on the Alaska coast, and has attempted unsuccessfully to ascend Mount St. Elias, while two expeditions have been organised by the Canadian and the United States Governments to define the boundaries between Alaska and Canada. In South America the river Orinoco has been traced to its source by M. Chaffanjon, and the connection between this river and the Amazon investigated. The Amazon itself has been visited in its upper waters by M. R. Payer, while the Paraguay and the La Plata have also been explored. Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego have been visited by Captain Serrano, Colonel Fontana Ramon Lista, and others. In Patagonia the watershed of the Rio Palena, which flows into the Pacific, lies to the east of the Andes, and not in the mountain chain itself. Mr. G. P. James has crossed from Chanchamayo, in Peru, to the Atlantic.

#### ASTRONOMY.

Observations made at Lyons show that the maximum perturbation of the earth's magnetism coincides with the passage of a group of spots or a group of faculæ over the sun's disc at the shortest distance from its centre. Hence M. Marchand thinks that there is a direct relation between certain solar displacements, due to these spots and faculæ, or of which they are the signs, and the disturbances observed in the earth's magnetism. Late in 1886 and early in the past year the sun was unusually free from spots. According to M. Ricco, for two periods of eleven days and for one period of eight days no spots at all were visible. The solar eclipse of Aug. 19 was, owing to the widespread occurrence of unfavourable weather, very disappointing in its results. At one of the Russian stations a few good photographs were obtained, but elsewhere almost general failure was experienced.

In April an astronomical congress was held in Paris to arrange the necessary details for mapping the whole heavens by photography. It was agreed that one general method of procedure should be adopted at all the observing stations, instruments and processes being as far as possible identical throughout. Refracting telescopes are to be used instead of reflectors, though there is some difference as to which type of instrument will show most stars in a given area. Thus Mr. Isaac Roberts claims to have shown 91 stars in a photograph taken by a 20-inch reflector in an area equal to that in which only 55 stars were visible on a photograph taken by MM. Henry through a 18-inch refractor. Photography has been employed by Professor Pritchard for the determination of stellar parallax. A series of 880 photographs have been taken of 61 Cygni; from a selected 200 of these the value  $0''.438$  has been obtained for the parallax of this star. Several new variable stars have been discovered during the past year, chiefly by the American astronomers Sawyer and Chandler. The orbits of three double stars have been computed by Mr. Gore.

The crowd of asteroids has been increased by seven new members, raising the known total to 271. The small size of these bodies may be appreciated from a calculation made by Professor Peters, who finds that the total volume of the first 70 asteroids is to that of the earth as 1 to 7,862.

Six comets were discovered during the year, the one of most interest being that first observed by Mr. Brooks on Aug. 24. This turned out to be a return of a comet discovered by Olbers on March 6, 1815, and for which a period of 70.049 years was computed by Bessel, who also calculated that planetary disturbance would bring it back to perihelion in Feb. 1887. A faint short tail was observed in 1815, and a similar appendage was noticed on its reappearance. Mr. Norman Lockyer's theory of the constitution and mode of formation of the sun has attracted attention from the ingenuity of the views propounded and the experiments on which those views are based. Mr. Lockyer concludes, from his previous spectroscopic researches and from his recent examination of the spectra of meteorites, that all self-luminous bodies in the celestial spaces consist of meteorites or masses of vapour formed by the collision of meteorites. There is thus no physical distinction between stars, comets, and nebulae, the temperature of any celestial body depending upon the denseness of the meteoric swarm and on their rate of motion. Thus he finds that the solar spectrum can be very fairly reproduced by taking a composite photograph of the arc spectrum of several stony meteorites between meteoric iron poles. The carbon, which originally formed a constituent of the meteoric swarm from which the sun was composed, has, Mr. Lockyer thinks, been dissociated by the heat produced at the time. As an illustration of the multitude of meteors which must exist in space, it is calculated that no less than 20 millions come into daily collision with the earth. By observation of different spectra Mr. Lockyer forms an estimate of the heat produced by meteoric collisions under different conditions, varying from that of a bunsen flame in the case of certain comets and nebulae to that of the intense heat of the sun and brighter fixed stars,

# OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1887.<sup>1</sup>

## JANUARY.

**Serjeant Ballantine.**—William Ballantine, who died at Margate on Jan. 9, was the son of William Ballantine, a police magistrate who for many years occupied the bench at the Thames Court. He was born in London on Jan. 3, 1812. He was not educated at a public school or university, and the first point of interest in his life was his call to the Bar at the Inner Temple on June 6, 1834. He seems to have won a good practice soon after his call, and in 1856, when he was only 44 years old, he assumed the serjeant's coif, and later received from Lord Westbury a patent of precedence. Meanwhile he had been engaged in a large number of cases of the highest importance, in which he distinguished himself both as an advocate and as an expert in the art of cross-examination.

In 1869 he was appointed by the House of Commons to conduct, in conjunction with Mr. Barry, then the Irish Attorney-General, the legal proceedings against the Mayor of Cork, Mr. O'Sullivan, for his eulogy on the Fenian O'Farrell, who had attempted to assassinate the Duke of Edinburgh in Australia. It was by a special vote of the House of Commons that Serjeant Ballantine was appointed to prosecute, but this unusual honour conferred upon a lawyer came to nothing, as Mr. O'Sullivan resigned his office, and the affair so ended.

The three trials with which Serjeant Ballantine's name is most associated are the Müller trial, the first Tichborne trial, and the case of the Gaekwar of Baroda. The murder of Mr. Briggs in a carriage of the North London Railway on July 9, 1864, was one of the most interesting cases, one which excited the

public most, of all the many murders that rank as historical. How the murderer was committed, how the murderer left his hat in the carriage, how the maker of the hat recognised it in a moment, how the owner was tracked from Liverpool on board a vessel bound for New York and a swifter steamer caught him, and how the detectives arrested him on landing, are among the most exciting episodes of criminal history. For a brief space it appeared as if the required extradition warrant from New York would not be issued, and that justice would be baffled. The prisoner, however, was brought back, and the prosecution was entrusted to Sir R. Collier, then Solicitor-General, and Mr. Serjeant Ballantine, who had to meet a foe not less able than himself in Serjeant Parry, who led for the defence. The circumstantial evidence brought forward by the Crown surely though slowly involved the prisoner in a net from which there was no escape. Müller was found guilty and was hanged.

In the other two *causes célèbres* Serjeant Ballantine was on the losing side. On the conclusion of the first Tichborne trial, brought by the claimant to establish his title to the baronetcy, in 1871, Serjeant Ballantine retired with much skill and grace from a position which he, reading aright the representation of the jury, found to be untenable. Nor did he lose any portion of his fame when, in 1875, he unsuccessfully defended the Gaekwar of Baroda on the charge of having attempted to poison the British Resident, Colonel Phayre. The defence was unsuccessful, although the result was an acquittal, the British and native Commissioners being divided

<sup>1</sup> These notices are in some cases condensed from the *Times*. Google

as to his guilt. The Gaekwar was nevertheless deposed on the grounds of incapacity and misconduct.

Of late years Serjeant Ballantine ceased to practise at the Bar. In 1880 a large and brilliant gathering of his brethren assembled to bid him farewell at the customary dinner when he retired. Two years later he published his "Experiences of a Barrister's Life," which, without pretending to be a formal autobiography, was a collection of pleasant gossip, in which anecdotes were interspersed with such passages of his private life as he chose to make known to the public. He married in 1845 Eliza, daughter of Mr. George Gyles, and had issue two daughters and a son, Mr. Walter Ballantine, who, having unsuccessfully contested Coventry as a Gladstonian Liberal in 1886, was returned for that constituency in the course of the present year, on the elevation of Mr. Eaton to the peerage.

**Mrs. Henry Wood.**—Miss Ellen Price's early life, up to the time of her marriage with Mr. Henry Wood, was passed in the city of Worcester, where she obtained familiarity with the phases of cathedral life which have formed the subject of so many of her stories. Shortly after her marriage Mrs. Wood went to reside abroad, and when living in France her first effort in fiction, in the form of a short story, appeared in *Bentley's Miscellany*, and she was also a frequent contributor to the pages of *Colburn's Magazine*. It was not until 1861 that her first long story, "East Lynne," was published—a work which, among modern novels, has enjoyed an almost unprecedented popularity. "East Lynne" was followed by "The Channings" and "Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles" in rapid succession; but after 1867, when Mrs. Wood became associated with the conduct of the *Argosy* magazine, many of her later stories were first presented to the public through the medium of that periodical. One of her stories, "A Life's Secret," was in the first instance issued anonymously by the Religious Tract Society in the pages of the *Leisure Hour*; and the appearance of this tale, which dealt with the evil tendencies springing out of strikes and trades unions, so excited the ire of some of the agitators that a crowd assembled outside the publishing office of the Society and threatened to break the windows unless the name of the author were given up. Yet from the humblest quarters, as well as on the part of the more educated classes,

Mrs. Wood was constantly receiving evidences of the widespread popularity of her works. One of her stories, "Danesbury House," gained the prize of the Scottish Temperance Society on account of the topics dealt with in it. Mrs. Wood's literary activity was also at work for a time in an unsuspected channel, and it was not until 1879 that the identity of "Johnny Ludlow" with the author of "East Lynne" was publicly declared. After the death of her husband Mrs. Henry Wood returned to England, and for many years she resided in St. John's Wood. Her latest literary occupations were a three-volume story (unpublished) and a paper by "Johnny Ludlow." Mrs. Wood had been in delicate health for some months, but her physical weakness was for a time overcome by her natural energy of disposition and mental activity, and hopes were entertained that she might rally from the attack of bronchitis by which he had been seized on February 10 in her 67th year. A portrait of Mrs. Wood (almost the only one extant) engraved upon steel by Mr. L. Stocks, R.A., appeared in the January number of the *Argosy*. The complete list of her works comprises about thirty names, of which the best known, in addition to those already named, are "Dene Hollow," "Elster's Folly," "A Life's Secret," "Lord Oakburn's Daughters," "Mrs. Halliburton's Troubles," and "Verner's Pride."

**The Earl of Idlesleigh.**—The Earl of Idlesleigh, better known to his countrymen as Sir Stafford Henry Northcote, Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons in the second Administration of Mr. Disraeli, was born in London in 1818. He came of an ancient Devonshire family, his father being the eldest son of the seventh baronet. Stafford Henry Northcote was educated at Eton, where he was among the pupils of a very well-known master—the Rev. Edward Coleridge. From Eton he went to Oxford and entered at Balliol. In Michaelmas Term, 1839, when he was barely 21 years of age, he was placed by the examiners in the first class in Classics and the third class in Mathematics. Among his companions in the first class were Dr. Fraser, afterwards Bishop of Manchester, and Mr. Jowett, the Master of Balliol. Mr. Northcote, as he then was, came to London at once for the purpose of studying law, but it was some years before he was called to the Bar. In 1841 a change of Ministry occurred, and

Sir Robert Peel became Prime Minister, supported by the first Conservative majority which the constituencies had returned to the House of Commons since the Reform Act was passed, in 1832. Mr. Gladstone accepted subordinate office as Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and two years afterwards he was promoted to the Presidency of the same department. He cast about for a competent private secretary, and consulted his friend Mr. Coleridge, of Eton, before making his choice. Mr. Coleridge mentioned three names, and from these Mr. Gladstone selected Mr. Stafford Northcote. Mr. Gladstone, as is well known, retired in 1845 from the Government of Sir Robert Peel, but after his retirement he procured the appointment of his private secretary to the permanent post of Legal Secretary to the Board of Trade on his becoming qualified by his call to the Bar in 1847. Mr. Northcote's connection with the Board of Trade lasted for some years. When the Navigation Laws were under discussion he published an able pamphlet on the subject, which attracted much attention at the time, and had the credit of convincing no less a personage than the Duke of Wellington of the necessity and expediency of removing this the last vestige of the old Protective system. In 1851 Mr. Northcote succeeded his grandfather in the baronetcy, which had belonged to his family for several generations, and in the same year he officiated as one of the secretaries of the Great Exhibition. In this capacity he rendered signal assistance to the late Prince Consort, and his labours were so assiduous and exhausting that at the close of the Exhibition his health was seriously impaired. In 1843 he had married the daughter of Mr. Thomas Farrer of Lincoln's Inn, whose brother, Sir T. H. Farrer, subsequently became Permanent Secretary of the Board of Trade. Sir Stafford Northcote, as he then was, withdrew for a time from his active official duties, and went with his family to reside in France, in the hope of recovering his health. After a year's residence in Paris Sir Stafford Northcote returned to England with his strength completely restored, and destined for more than thirty years to take an active and prominent part in the political life of his time. In the years 1853 and 1854 Sir Stafford Northcote was associated with Sir Charles Trevelyan in an important and, as the event showed, an epoch-making inquiry into the condition of the civil establishments of the Crown, and the Report presented

by these Commissioners in 1854 eventually led to the establishment of the Civil Service Commission, and to the throwing open of the Civil Service generally to public competition.

So far Sir Stafford Northcote's life, though full of political activity and influence, was dissociated from Parliamentary and party controversy, and devoted only to public objects irrespective of party. In financial and commercial matters he was always on the side of Free Trade, and his intervention in the controversy concerning the Navigation Laws was regarded with some surprise even by the Whigs. But in general politics Sir Stafford Northcote was a Conservative, though a Conservative without party acrimony and with strong Liberal instincts on many important points. He was not in Parliament when the Peelites joined the Government of Lord Aberdeen; possibly if he had been he would have been tempted to follow the fortunes of his first official chief. He first entered the House of Commons in 1855 as the Conservative member for Dudley—a political connection which he was not the man to forget when, as Chancellor of the Exchequer in Mr. Disraeli's Government, he visited the Midlands and defended the policy of his colleagues in an elaborate series of speeches. He represented Dudley for two years, and from 1858 to 1866 he sat in the House of Commons as member for Stamford, his colleague during the whole of that time being the statesman who sat for Stamford, first as Lord Robert Cecil, and afterwards as Lord Cranborne from 1853 till 1868. In 1866 Sir Stafford Northcote first became a member for what may be called his native constituency of North Devon, of which he had unsuccessfully contested the seat in 1857; and the connection thus established between the Devon constituency, and the member who never forgot that he belonged in a special sense to the West of England, remained unbroken until Sir Stafford Northcote was raised to the peerage as Earl of Iddesleigh, in 1885.

When Sir Stafford Northcote entered Parliament in 1855 the Government of Lord Palmerston was in office. It was displaced in 1858 by the second Government of Lord Derby. In the first Conservative administration Sir Stafford Northcote did not obtain parliamentary office. At that time Sir Charles Trevelyan was Permanent Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. G. A. Hamilton was Financial Secretary, Mr. Disraeli being Chancellor of the Exchequer. On the



return, however, of the Conservatives to office in 1858 a change was made, whereby Sir Stafford Northcote became, in a sense, Mr. Disraeli's lieutenant. Sir Charles Trevelyan was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Madras; Mr. Hamilton, the former Financial Secretary, became Permanent Secretary to the Treasury; and Sir Stafford Northcote was appointed to the important parliamentary post of Financial Secretary to the Treasury. He went out of office with his party in the summer of 1859, and when Lord Derby's third Administration was formed in 1866 he became President of the Board of Trade, an office which he exchanged in the following year for that of Secretary of State for India, vacated by the resignation of Lord Salisbury. Sir Stafford Northcote retained this office until the resignation of Mr. Disraeli—who replaced Lord Derby as Prime Minister on the retirement of the latter—in 1868. He was by this time recognised as one of the leaders of the Conservative party; and though Mr. Disraeli's supremacy was undisputed and unrivalled, Sir Stafford Northcote was beginning to be regarded as one of his most efficient lieutenants.

The Conservative party was led by Mr. Disraeli during the first Administration of Mr. Gladstone from 1868 to 1874. In 1871 Sir Stafford Northcote was, by an adroit and far-sighted stroke of policy, nominated by Mr. Gladstone as one of the Special Commissioners for the negotiation of the Treaty of Washington, which had for its main object the final settlement of the Alabama claims. This treaty gave occasion to a very active controversy in Parliament arising out of the advancement by the Government of the United States of what were termed indirect or consequential claims; and even when these claims were finally set aside, the award of the Geneva Commission appointed in pursuance of the treaty was very warmly and not very favourably canvassed in this country. It would seem that the Treaty of Washington—concluded by the Commission of which the Marquess of Ripon was chairman and Sir Stafford Northcote a member—was somewhat loosely drawn; but it was always suspected that the Government at home was quite as much responsible for its laxity and ambiguity of language as the Commissioners at Washington. It may be conjectured that the official association of Sir Stafford Northcote with the treaty had a very considerable and in the result

a very salutary effect in restraining the attacks of the Opposition on the Government which concluded it. Mr. Gladstone's Government suffered at the time, but the end was held in this case to justify the means, and the Washington Treaty finally closed a very troublesome and, indeed, a very dangerous dispute with the United States.

When Mr. Gladstone resigned in 1874, and Mr. Disraeli returned once more to power, for the first time in his life at the head of a powerful and devoted majority, Sir Stafford Northcote was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, an office for which he was peculiarly well qualified. He had entered public life as an official at the Board of Trade, Mr. Gladstone being his sponsor and Sir Robert Peel his official chief. His financial orthodoxy was thus doubly certified, and his acumen and attainments were attested by an important work which he published in 1862, entitled "Twenty Years of Financial Policy: a Summary of the Chief Financial Measures passed between 1842 and 1861, with a Table of Budgets," in which he declared himself a disciple of Sir Robert Peel. His financial policy at the Exchequer was marked by the final extinction of the sugar duties, counter-balanced by a slight increase in the tax on tobacco; by the temporary reduction of the income tax to 2d. in the pound, the lowest point at which it has stood since the tax was first imposed; and by the establishment and maintenance of a really effective sinking fund.

On the elevation of Mr. Disraeli to the Upper House, until the fall of the Conservative Government in 1880, Sir Stafford Northcote was leader of the House of Commons. There were some who thought that Lord Cranbrook, at that time Mr. Gathorne-Hardy, would have made a more vigorous and combative leader; but the wisdom of Lord Beaconsfield's choice was never seriously disputed during the lifetime of the Parliament of 1874. Sir Stafford Northcote was not perhaps a very aggressive leader. He was mild in temperament, judicial in disposition, gentle in demeanour, courteous to opponents, slow to take offence, and slower still to give it. His leadership fell in very difficult and very critical times. It was his duty to defend the Eastern policy of the Government against a resolute and exasperated Opposition. He had to deal also with the first beginnings, or almost the first beginnings, of obstruction—a task for which, perhaps, his mild, gentle, and courteous disposition hardly fitted him.

His leadership, extending over the four eventful years from 1877 to 1880, included the Russo-Turkish war, the Berlin Treaty, the Zulu war, the Afghan war, and a long series of critical events both at home and abroad. Only on one occasion did Sir Stafford Northcote's invincible straightforwardness seem to have forsaken him. He was asked on the eve of the Easter recess in 1878, at a moment when rumours of war were rife, to give some explanation of the action and policy of the Government before Parliament separated. His answer was certainly evasive, and gave no information of importance. The next day the country was startled by the announcement that orders had been given and arrangements made for the conveyance of a contingent of Indian troops to Malta. The incident was very unfavourably commented on at the time, especially by the opponents of the Government; but possibly, if all were known, it would be found that Sir Stafford Northcote's language was defensible on the ground that reticence was demanded by the exigencies of the public service. Those who best know the difficulty of conducting public affairs of moment in the presence of an inquisitive Legislature and a hostile Opposition will not be hasty to condemn the conduct of Lord Beaconsfield's Chancellor of the Exchequer.

In 1880 Lord Beaconsfield dissolved Parliament and Mr. Gladstone returned to power. Sir Stafford Northcote's position was henceforth a very difficult one. The Liberal majority was triumphant and overwhelming. Its leader was the statesman under whose auspices Sir Stafford Northcote himself had first entered public life. In oratory he was no match for Mr. Gladstone, and his physical vigour was already seriously impaired by his incessant Parliamentary labours from 1877 to 1880. His difficulties, moreover, did not arise merely from the strength of his opponents. Among his own followers there were those who distrusted and derided his leadership. Only those perhaps who have led a discredited and dispirited Opposition can fully estimate his difficulties and are entitled to criticise his strategy. It may, however, be admitted that Sir Stafford Northcote seemed never to forget that he had been Mr. Gladstone's private secretary, and the recollection weakened, if it did not paralyse, his powers of attack. There were occasions, notably in the Bradlaugh dispute, when Sir Stafford Northcote did not make the best of his opportuni-

ties: there were others, as frequently in the Egyptian debates, when he was distinctly unequal to the occasion; but it is not to be forgotten that Sir Stafford Northcote led and marshalled the majority which overthrew Mr. Gladstone's Government in 1885. Ever since the death of Lord Beaconsfield, he had been universally recognised as joint leader together with Lord Salisbury, of the Conservative party, and it was an open question whether, on the fall of Mr. Gladstone, Sir Stafford Northcote or Lord Salisbury should be invited by the Queen to form a Conservative Government. It is unnecessary here to dwell upon the negotiations which resulted in the deposition of Sir Stafford Northcote from the leadership of the House of Commons and his elevation as Earl of Iddesleigh to the House of Lords. Lord Iddesleigh became First Lord of the Treasury in Lord Salisbury's first Government; and when, on the defeat of Mr. Gladstone at the last general election, Lord Salisbury again became Prime Minister, he was nominated to the more responsible post of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to the surprise of many. For a time, however, he discharged the duties of his laborious office with credit, industry, and discretion. The sudden resignation of Lord Randolph Churchill, imperilling for a moment the existence of the Government, was followed by certain changes in its composition, and the Foreign Secretary was somewhat clumsily removed from his post. Lord Iddesleigh, it was said, received through public channels the first intimation of the approaching change. However this may have been, the circumstances of his death were most sad and dramatic. He had left Exeter for London on Jan. 12 in his usual health, and at once drove to the Foreign Office, where he lunched, and where Mr. Stanley was waiting to see him about the Emin Bey Relief Expedition. Lord Iddesleigh, having promised to speak at the Mansion House in support of the Imperial Institute, desired Sir James Ferguson, the Under Secretary, to postpone the interview. Having made an appointment with Lord Salisbury, he walked across from the Foreign Office to Downing Street. The moment he came inside the anteroom, while the messenger was announcing him to Lord Salisbury, he sank down into a chair, and his groans attracted the attention of Mr. Henry Manners, who was in an adjoining room. On Mr. Manners attempting to lift him, he found him in

a fainting state. Lord Iddeleigh was placed upon a sofa, and Dr. Langston and Dr. Hebbert were sent for, as also Dr. Mortimer Granville, his ordinary medical attendant. Suitable remedies were applied, but he never spoke again, and died within twenty minutes of his first being taken ill. On coming to Downing Street he had appeared to the officials of the department to be in good health and excellent spirits, but he seemed to have some difficulty in ascending the stairs. The news of his death was received with unmixed sorrow and regret throughout the kingdom; his high qualities and long services were alluded to by the leaders of both Houses. It was intimated to his family that a funeral and grave in Westminster Abbey would be willingly accorded to him, but in deference to his own wishes he was quietly buried in the churchyard of Upton Pynes, near Exeter, beside his ancestors and relatives.

**Sir Joseph Whitworth.**—Joseph Whitworth was born at Stockport on Dec. 21, 1803, and received the first part of his scanty education at a school kept there by his father. At twelve he was removed to Mr. Vint's academy at Idle, near Leeds, where he remained for another year and a half; and at fourteen was placed with his uncle, a cotton-spinner in Derbyshire—his school days over and the business of life begun. During the six years spent here he taught himself to work all the machines used in the factory, of which, though so young, he became practically the manager. His uncle so highly appreciated his usefulness that he wished him to stay, but young Whitworth felt that there was nothing to learn there, and, knowing that he could not escape in any other fashion, he ran away to Manchester. Here for four more years, at the works of Messrs. Oughton and elsewhere, he acquired a practical knowledge of the manufacture of cotton machinery, and he also developed those habits of persevering industry and frugal self-denial which in after years made his character so peculiar and interesting a study. At that time the application of steam power to the processes of the Lancashire mills was in its infancy, and a special need existed for good tools to assist in the change. In order to prepare himself fully he resolved to go to London and gain what experience he could in the best workshops of the metropolis. He applied at once to Messrs. Maudslay's, and, his superior skill being at once manifest, he was taken into Mr. Mauds-

lay's own private workroom and placed next to his best workman, one Hampson. After the day's labour was over he had always employment at home, and it was in this way that he completed the true plane, exhibiting it one night with pride to Hampson, whose sole comment was, "You've done it." From Maudslay's, Whitworth went to Holtzapffel's and then to Clements's, where Mr. Babbage's celebrated calculating machine was on hand at the time. Upon this machine Whitworth worked, being paid for what he did by the hour. He always maintained that the calculating machine would have worked perfectly had it been proceeded with, and recent remarkable progress in the direction of mechanical calculators tends to confirm his opinion. In 1833, when he was 30, having acquired all the experience attainable in the best machine shops of London, having completed the "true plane" himself, and having been taught by Clements how to make a true screw, Mr. Whitworth commenced business on his own account in Manchester as a manufacturer of engineers' tools—"Manchester tools," as they then began to be called. The forward industrial movement of the century was upon us in full swing, and it had to be met somehow, if railways, and steamships, and steam navies, and the other vast developments of modern invention were to have any reasonable chance of establishing themselves. From 1833 to 1851 Mr. Whitworth worked steadily in this direction, turning neither to the right hand nor to the left, but content to appear in the Great Exhibition at Hyde Park as a maker of engineers' tools, and showing as his best credentials in that respect the true plane and the measuring machine indicating to the millionth of an inch. The world was astonished by such a revelation of accuracy and refined workmanship, and soon after events occurred which strikingly enforced the lessons thus taught.

The Crimean war began, and Sir Charles Napier demanded of the Admiralty 120 gunboats, each with engines of 60-horse power, for the campaign of 1855 in the Baltic. There were just ninety days in which to meet this requisition, and, short as the time was, the building of the gunboats presented no difficulty. It was otherwise, however, with the engines, and the Admiralty were in despair. Mr. John Penn, however, solved the difficulty, and solved it quite easily. He had a pair of engines on hand of the exact size. He took them to pieces and he distributed the

parts among the best machine shops in the country, telling each to make ninety sets exactly in all respects to sample. The orders were executed with unflinching regularity, and he actually completed ninety sets of engines of 60-horse power in ninety days—a feat which was possible only because the Whitworth standards of measurement and of accuracy and finish were by that time thoroughly recognised and established throughout the country.

In 1858 Mr. Whitworth went to America, as one of the Royal Commissioners to the New York Exhibition, and in that capacity he drew up a special report on American manufacturing industry, which attracted much attention at the time, and which the lapse of more than thirty years, with their great relative changes, leaves still invested with considerable interest. On his return home Mr. Whitworth, under the influence of the first Lord Hardinge, began to study the principles of construction underlying the manufacture of rifles and rifled artillery. So eager was the War Office of that day to avail itself of this experience, that a shooting gallery 500 yards long was actually erected at its expense in Mr. Whitworth's private grounds at Rusholme, near Manchester, in order that he might make the requisite experiments under favourable conditions, and without interruption. The investigations conducted by Mr. Whitworth in his new shooting gallery were of the utmost importance and interest. The conclusions arrived at worked a complete revolution in the manufacture of arms of precision; and all modern rifles, whatever name they may bear, are substantially founded on Mr. Whitworth's demonstration, that an elongated projectile (from three to five diameters), with a rapid rotation and a quick uniform rifling pitch of polygonal form, lay at the root of the whole matter.

Mr. Whitworth had not been long committed to the inquiry as to the principles upon which the manufacture of rifled small-arms and ordnance should be conducted before he found himself more or less arrested by the subject of material. He knew that the best material (mild steel), even if it could be had in the most perfect condition, was hardly good enough for the work to be performed. Mr. Whitworth set himself resolutely to grapple with this difficulty. It had existed for years, and its evils were widely recognised. More especially had it become urgent to find a solution since the introduction first of the grand Bessemer, and subsequently of the not

less valuable Siemens-Martin, processes. He used for his purpose great hydraulic presses with which to squeeze the molten metal in the act of cooling, thus driving the particles into closer contact and liberating the gases. It was, however, only when the Admiralty on one side and Elswick on the other practically recognised that Whitworth metal had the exceptional qualities of strength, ductility, and soundness claimed for it that the ordnance works at Woolwich at last began to use it. Of the test to which Whitworth rifles were subjected at Hythe and Wimbledon, and which Whitworth guns had to sustain at Shoeburyness and in other places before the Armstrong and Whitworth Committee and other judges, we cannot treat worthily within the limits of an obituary notice. Suffice it to say that the Queen opened the first Wimbledon meeting on July 2, 1860, by firing from a mechanical rest a Whitworth rifle, at a range of 400 yards, and hitting the target within an inch and a quarter of the centre of the bull's eye. In 1858 from the *Stork* gunboat Mr. Whitworth at 450 yards first completely penetrated a 4-in. armour-plate fixed to the side of her Majesty's ship *Alfred*. In 1862 he sent a flat-fronted steel shell through a target of 4½-in. plating, backed with eighteen inches of teak, representing the side of the *Warrior*; he was also the first to demonstrate the possibility of exploding armour shells without using any kind of fuse, and his experiments with flat-headed shot to avoid ricochet and penetrate armour obliquely and ships under the water line still remain, after the lapse of nearly a quarter of a century, to have their undoubted practical value fully recognised by Woolwich.

In 1857 Mr. Whitworth was made a Fellow of the Royal Society, L.L.D. of Trinity College, Dublin, and D.C.L. of Oxford University. At the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867 he took for his fine collection of engineers' tools and rifled ordnance and projectiles one of the five "Grands Prix" allotted to England, and during the visit of the late Emperor of the French to the camp at Chalons in September, 1868, he was so pleased with one of the Whitworth field guns tried there that he conferred upon the inventor the distinction of the Legion of Honour. The Albert Gold Medal was also awarded to Mr. Whitworth by the council of the Society of Arts "for the invention and manufacture of instruments of measurement and uniform standards, by which the production of machinery has been

brought to a degree of perfection hitherto unapproached." In 1869 Mr. Whitworth was created a baronet, in conjunction with his distinguished contemporary Sir William Fairbairn. Early in that year he had founded and endowed the Whitworth Scholarships, assigning for the purpose 3,000*l.* a year in perpetuity, or the interest on a capital sum of 100,000*l.* The fund was vested in the Lord President of the Privy Council or other Minister of public instruction for the time being, and its administration, now reaching over a period of nearly twenty years, has been highly satisfactory and successful. Sir Joseph Whitworth's object, as he expressed it to Mr. Disraeli in the letter announcing his intention, was to promote the mechanical and engineering industry of the country by a system of scholarships—the prizes of competition accessible on fairly equal terms to the student who combined some practice with

his theory, and to the intelligent artisan who united some theoretical knowledge with perfection of workmanship.

Sir Joseph Whitworth was fond of landscape gardening, and finding a great stone quarry on his property in Darley Dale, Derbyshire, he converted it into a very remarkable and highly picturesque rock garden, making the quarry furnish the cost of the transformation. Sir Joseph Whitworth was also very fond of trotting horses, and his mare Kate had a wide reputation in and round Manchester.

He married first, in 1825, Fanny, the youngest daughter of Mr. Richard Ankers, and secondly, in 1871, Mary Louisa, widow of Mr. Alfred Orrell, of the Grove, Cheadle. He had for some years been in failing health, and had gone to the South of France to pass the winter. His death took place on Jan. 22, at Monte Carlo.

The following deaths also occurred during the month:—On the 1st, at Mount Charles, **Bernard Kelly**, M.P. for South Donegal, for some time secretary of the local branch of the National Land League. On the same date, at Fancourt, Chertsey, aged 84, **Sir Walter Watson Hughes**, the "Father" of the University of Adelaide. After rising to the rank of a master in the mercantile marine, he settled in South Australia, and became largely engaged in mining and pastoral pursuits, promoting several new industries. On the 2nd, at Brockhurst, Gosport, aged 66, **Lieutenant-Colonel William Jolliffe**, late Paymaster of the Royal Marine Light Infantry, son of Colonel W. Jolliffe, R.M. He had served in the Syrian war of 1840, and in the Baltic during the Russian war, 1854-55. On the 3rd, at New York, **Dr. Horatio Potter**, aged 84, the Protestant Episcopal Bishop of that city. On the same date, at Stuttgart, **Princess Mary of Wurtemberg**, the eldest sister of the king. On the same date, at Lulworth Castle, aged 78, **Thomas Weld-Blundell, J.P., D.L.**, of Ince Hall, Lancashire. On the 5th, at Holnest Park, Sherborne, aged 86, **John Samuel Wanley Sawbridge Erle-Drax, J.P., D.L.**, who for many years represented Wareham in Parliament as a Conservative. On the same date, at Bournemouth, aged 55, **Sir Francis Bolton**, of Grosvenor Gardens, son of Dr. T. W. Bolton. He entered the army at the age of 26, and served with distinction on the Gold Coast. He was the inventor of the system of telegraphic and visual signalling introduced into the army and navy in 1863, and as a civil engineer he founded the Society of Telegraph Engineers and Electricians. During the continuance of the South Kensington Exhibitions, 1884-86, he had the management of the electric lighting and illumination of the gardens and fountains. On the same date, at Kensington, aged 64, **John Arthur Phillips**, author of some valuable treatises on metallurgy, &c. On the same date, at Roland Gardens, S.W., **J. E. Bullen Smith, C.S.I.**, son of Rev. J. Smith, of Alva and Greenock, and a prominent merchant of Calcutta. Elected on three occasions President of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, he was ultimately appointed a member of the Council of India. On the same date, in Bath, aged 61, **Major-General George Alexander Benny, V.C.**, Royal (late Bengal) Artillery, of which he commanded the 5th Native Troop throughout the Indian Mutiny campaign, specially distinguishing himself at the assault on Delhi. On the 6th, in the Albany, aged 51, **Stephen Tucker**, Somerset herald, son of Edward E. Tucker, of King's Nympton, Devon. On the 8th, at Kenmare, aged 22, the **Hon. Cecil Augustine Browne**, second son of the fourth Earl of Kenmare. On the same date, at Weymouth, aged 55, **Sir William Coles Medlycott**, of Ken House, Somersetshire, third baronet. On the 9th, at Rollesby Hall, Great Yarmouth, aged 63, **Major-General Henry Andrew Sarel, C.B.**, son of Rev. Henry Sarel, vicar of Balcombe, Sussex. Having joined the army, he served throughout the Indian Mutiny campaign, and under Sir Hope Grant in China. He was subsequently Governor of Guernsey. On the 10th, at

Garnavilla, Cahir, co. Tipperary, **Major-General Percy Archer Butler, C.B.** He entered the army in 1839, and served under Sir Charles Napier in Scinde, and throughout the Russian war of 1854-5. On the 12th, in Paris, aged 65, **William Hughes**, a native of Dublin, settled in France; the translator of the works of Thackeray, Dickens, Bulwer, and Defoe into French. On the 13th, at Tiptree Hall, Kelvedon, aged 65, **Lieutenant-General Francis Greetham Kempster**, late of the Madras Staff Corps. He served with the expeditionary force during the Chinese war of 1842. On the 14th, at Shrubland, near Ipswich, aged 74, **Admiral Sir George Nathaniel Broke-Middleton, C.B., J.P., D.L.**, the second son of Sir Philip Broke. He succeeded his brother, Sir Philip Broke-Middleton, as third baronet in 1855, and in 1860, pursuant to the will of his maternal grandfather, Sir William Fowle Middleton, Bart., assumed the name of Middleton in addition to that of Broke, the latter baronetcy becoming extinct, and his consequent inheritance of the Suffolk property of that family. He entered the navy in his 13th year, and was present at the battle of Navarino, and subsequently served in the Baltic and Black Seas in the Russian war, 1854-56. On the 15th, at Birmingham, aged 84, **William Middlemore, J.P.**, a well-known philanthropist, and one of the old political leaders of the town. On the 17th, aged 80, **John Harvey Astell, J.P., D.L.**, of Woodbury Hall, Bedfordshire, son of William Astell, M.P., of Everton House, Huntingdonshire, who assumed that name in place of his patronymic Thornton. He represented, in Parliament, Cambridge and Ashburton. On the 18th, at Perth, aged 72, the **Right Rev. George Eigg, D.D.**, first Roman Catholic Bishop of Dunkeld. On the same date, at Florence, aged 84, **Admiral Sir Henry Smith, K.C.B.** He had served in the Indian and Chinese Seas, and commanded the expedition engaged in the capture of Aden, and was for some years Superintendent of Haslar Hospital, and of Clarence Victualling Yard. On the 19th, at Princes Gardens, aged 75, **Sir William Bagot**, third Baron Bagot. Born in 1811, he was educated at Charterhouse and Eton, and Magdalen College, Cambridge. Sat as a Conservative for Denbighshire from 1835 to 1852; succeeded his cousin, 1856, and was Lord of the Bedchamber to the Prince Consort. Afterwards he was Lord in Waiting, 1866-68, and again, 1874-80. He married, in 1851, Hon. Lucia Caroline, eldest daughter of the first Baron Dover. On the same date, at Kensington, aged 70, **Robert Freeman**, a member of the London School Board, and of the Metropolitan Board of Works. On the 20th, at Granton, N.B., aged 66, **Lord Gifford**, a retired Judge of the Court of Sessions, Edinburgh. On the 21st, at St. Leonard's, aged 65, the **Earl of Chesterfield**, of Holme Lacy, Herefordshire. He was the son of the late Sir Edwyn Scudamore Stanhope, second baronet, and for many years acted as Secretary of the Liberal Association. He succeeded his kinsman as ninth Earl of Chesterfield in 1883. On the same date, aged 35, **Alfred Newman**, a member of the Jewish community, distinguished for the interest he took in Anglo-Jewish history and archaeology, and the revival of art ironwork in England. On the 22nd, at Bath, aged 90, **General Francis Frankland Whinyates, E.A.** On the 23rd, at Ventnor, aged 68, **Mr. Serjeant Sleight**, a distinguished barrister in criminal cases, and leading counsel to the Bank of England. On the 24th, at Margate, **Emily**, the wife of Captain Richard Jesse, R.N. She was a sister of Lord Tennyson, and the lady who was engaged to his friend Arthur Henry Hallam, to whose untimely death is due the Laureate's poem, "In Memoriam." On the 27th, at Rome, aged 70, **J. H. Wilhelm Henzen**, a well-known German epigraphist, settled in Rome. He was First Corresponding Secretary in Archaeology to the French Institute. On the 29th, at Rowdell, near Pulborough, Sussex, aged 78, **General George Sandham, E.A.** On the 30th, in Albany Street, aged 71, **Frederick Lablache**, the son of the famous singer of that name, and himself a singer in Italian opera. On the 31st, at St. Heliers, Jersey, aged 68, **General Henry Frederick Dunsford, C.B.** He served in the Indian Mutiny campaign, and subsequently commanded the Jynteah field force in Assam in 1862-63.

## FEBRUARY.

**Sir Charles Macgregor, K.C.B., C.S.I., C.I.E.**, son of Major Robert Macgregor, of the Bengal Artillery. Charles Metcalfe Macgregor was born in the year 1840, and commenced at Marlborough

College, passing thence through Addiscombe into the Indian military service in 1856. He was present at many of the battles of the Indian Mutiny, being specially distinguished at the taking of

the Machi Bewan at Lucknow, and his official record for the campaign runs that he was wounded three times, and mentioned four times in despatches. From India he went with Sir Hope Grant in 1860 on the China Expedition, and in the advance on Peking he received two severe wounds. After the conclusion of this war he was employed with the expeditionary force sent into Bhotan in 1864-66, where also he received two severe wounds. The very next year after the close of this mountain war he was appointed to join the Abyssinian expedition, and he was fortunate enough to return for the first time without receiving any wounds, and with the well-earned distinction of being the youngest lieutenant-colonel in the Anglo-Indian service. During the long peace which followed the close of the Abyssinian campaign Colonel Macgregor was employed in the compilation of information relating to the countries west of India, and during the following years he produced gazetteers of the North-West Frontier, giving a full account of the tribes of Afghanistan, Persia, Asiatic Turkey, and Caucasias. These volumes placed in an accessible form for ready reference all the information on the subject possessed by the Government of India, and with rare exceptions contain the most authentic particulars of the different subjects to which they relate.

This work, broken only by his administration of the relief funds in Tirhoot during the famine of 1874, lasted seven years, at the conclusion of which Macgregor determined on a tour in North-west Persia. This resolve was hastened by the death of his first wife, a daughter of Sir Henry Marion Durand, and the journey to Meshed, Sarakhs, and along the frontier of Khorasan resulted in his collecting the material for two very interesting volumes, published three years later under the title of "Travels in Khorasan." He attempted to enter Herat, but he was received very discourteously on the borders by the Afghan officials, and eventually abandoned his intention. In the following year he made a tour through the deserts of Beloochistan with Captain Lockwood, and in 1882 he published a very interesting account of a journey which presented few features of interest, except, perhaps, that Azad Khan, the redoubtable chief of Kharan, on whose conduct depends the tranquillity of this region, was then first introduced to the English reader.

It was immediately after his return

from these travels that the opportunity arose for once more employing his talents in the field, and in a higher capacity than on any former occasion. The outbreak of the Afghan war in 1878 caused his well-known services to be enlisted, and in the first campaign he acted as Deputy Quartermaster-General and Chief of the Staff to Sir Samuel Browne. When the second campaign began in the following autumn after the Cabul massacre, Sir Charles Macgregor was at once appointed Chief of the Staff to Sir Frederick Roberts. He bore a prominent share in all the operations round Cabul, and on the departure of the army to relieve Candahar he was entrusted with the command of the 3rd Brigade. On the day previous to the battle of Candahar he seized the Picket Hill after some severe skirmishing, but in the battle itself his brigade was in reserve, and the impetuosity of the leading regiments of the 1st and 2nd Brigades left very little to be done by those in their rear. However, the name of Macgregor will always be associated with this memorable victory. After the flight of Ayoub, and the gradual withdrawal of the English army, General Macgregor was commissioned to lead a primitive expedition into the Murree country. This tribe, which had long been the most lawless on the north-east Belooch frontier, gave in its submission, and it is gratifying to note that their conduct since this event has been far better than at any earlier period of our relations with them. Upon the close of the Afghan war General Macgregor was appointed Quartermaster-General in India, and on the expiration of his five years of office he was given the command of the Punjab Frontier Force, but his health, which had always been remarkably good, then began to break up, and twelve months later he found himself obliged to take sick leave, and, after a further brief interval, to resign this much-coveted command. He was, however, unable to reach England, and died at Cairo on Feb. 5. Sir Charles Macgregor received the honour of K.C.B. for the Candahar campaign, and he was also a Companion of both the Indian Orders. He married a second time, in 1883, Charlotte Mary, daughter of Mr. Frederick W. Jardine.

**The Duke of Leinster.**—Charles William Fitzgerald, fourth Duke of Leinster, and Premier Duke, Marquess, and Earl of Ireland, and head of the Fitzgerald family, was born March 30, 1819. He

was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. in 1840. He was honorary colonel of the 8rd battalion Royal Dublin Fusiliers, and was chancellor of the late Queen's University, a member of the senate of the Royal University, a visitor of the Queen's College, and a Commissioner of National Education. He was prominently connected with several other public institutions; he was president of the Royal Dublin Society and a governor of the National Gallery, an ex-president of the Royal Agricultural Society, and also ex-president of the Royal Zoological Society. He was also president of the Royal Archaeological Association of Ireland, and took an active interest in the Royal Horticultural Society. He represented the county Kildare in Parliament from 1847 to 1852 as a Moderate Liberal, but in recent years took little or no part in political life. He succeeded his father on Oct. 10, 1874, but had been previously, in the year 1870, called to the House of Lords as Baron Kildare. In Oct. 1847 he married Lady Caroline Leveson Gower, third daughter of the second Duke of Sutherland, and left issue eleven children. The Duke was appointed a Privy Councillor in 1879. He was a magistrate for Kildare and other counties. He was elected a member of the General Synod of the Church of Ireland, and was a very regular attendant at the annual meetings. He was also a member of the Dublin Diocesan Synod, and was one of the trustees of the diocese of Kildare. He led a simple, unostentatious, and useful life, having no ambition for distinction in the field of politics, but discharging with exemplary diligence and marked ability his social duties as a resident landlord, a magistrate, and the president of many public boards and councils. He took an active and influential part in every work likely to improve the condition of the people, both physical and moral. His sound judgment, practical intelligence, and earnest attention to the business in hand won for him the respect and confidence of all who were engaged with him; while his unfailing courtesy and

kindly spirit promoted harmonious co-operation. His character stood the severe test of the trying times which have come upon the country, and although he did not escape the troubles which his class suffered he showed to the last an anxious desire to retain the good-will of his tenants and, as far as possible, to meet their wishes. He at least was never fairly open to the reproach of being an absentee landlord who ground down his tenants by excessive rents which he spent in London or elsewhere, and who took no interest in their welfare. He lived all his life in the midst of his tenants, doing all he could to advance their social interests; but his sacrifices failed to satisfy them, whilst with their demands he was unable to comply. He then offered to sell his estates to his tenantry under Lord Ashbourne's Act, but no settlement had been arrived at the time of his death, which took place on Feb. 10 at Carlton, Maynooth.

**Admiral Sir Michael Seymour, G.C.B.**, who died on February 23, at Horndean, Hampshire, was the son of the late Sir Michael Seymour, K.C.B., famous for his capture of the French frigate *Thetis* in 1808, and was born in the year 1802. He entered the navy as a first-class volunteer in 1813, became commander in 1824, captain in 1826, and rear-admiral in 1854, vice-admiral in 1860, and admiral in 1864. Sir Michael Seymour was placed on the retired list in the year 1870, but in 1876 was made Vice-Admiral of the United Kingdom. He served in the Baltic during the first year of the Crimean war as captain of the fleet, and in 1855 as second in command. From 1856 to 1858 he was commander-in-chief in the Indian and Chinese seas, and from 1863 to 1866 he commanded at Portsmouth. He was Registrar and Secretary of the Order of the Bath for twenty-seven years (1830-57), and represented the borough of Devonport in the House of Commons from 1859 to 1863. Admiral Seymour (who was the uncle of Sir Michael Culme-Seymour) married in 1829, Dora, daughter of Sir W. Knighton.

The following deaths also occurred during the month:—On the 1st, at San Remo, aged 51, Colonel Sir John N. Bateman-Champain, R.E., K.C.M.G., Director-in-Chief of the Indo-European Government Telegraph Department. Originally an officer of the Royal Engineers (Bengal), he was specially selected to accompany Lieutenant-Colonel Patriok Stewart, C.B., R.E., to arrange for the construction of the Indo-European telegraph, and in the following year he was despatched to Persia, to superintend the laying of the line through that country. On the death of Colonel Stewart he became associated with Major-General Sir Frederick Goldsmid in the chief direction of the whole system. On the same date, aged 69,



**Charles Butler Clough, J.P., D.L.**, of Boughton House, Chester, and Llwyn Offa, Mold, Flintshire. He was the son of a Liverpool and South Carolina cotton merchant, and was the brother of the poet Arthur Hugh Clough. On the 2nd, at Monte Carlo, **Adolphus Warburton Moore, C.B.**, Political and Secret Secretary at the India Office. The son of Major John Arthur Moore, sometime an East India Director, he became a clerk in the Secretariat Department of the India House, and afterwards in the Political Department. He was private secretary to Lord Randolph Churchill when Secretary for India, and subsequently when Chancellor of the Exchequer. On the 4th, at Bath, aged 66, **General William Edward Mulcaster**. Son of Captain Sir William Howe Mulcaster, R.N., C.B., K.C.H., he entered the Bengal army, and served with the force under General Pollock at the forcing of the Khyber Pass. He subsequently served in the Punjab campaigns, and in Assam. On the 6th, in Paris, aged 88, **Baron Feuillet de Conches**, the "Father" of the French Foreign Office, for 40 years well known as a man of letters. On the same date, at Hampton Manor, Bath, aged 69, **Major Ralph Shuttleworth Allen, J.P., D.L.** He represented East Somerset, and was a major in the Royal Cornwall and Devon Miners Artillery. He was the direct lineal descendant of the brother of Ralph Allen of Prior Park, the friend of Pope, and was a magistrate and a deputy lieutenant for Somerset. Also on the same date, at Pull Court, Tewkesbury, aged 82, **William Dowdeswell, J.P., D.L.** Formerly he represented Tewkesbury. On the 7th, in Edinburgh, aged 82, **Sir George Deas, Kt. (1858)**, son of Francis Deas, of Falkland, Fifeshire. He was called to the Scottish Bar, and was successively a Lord of Sessions and a Lord Justiciary, bearing the courtesy title of Lord Deas. On the same date, at Manchester, aged 68, **Dr. John Watts**, an active worker in connection with schemes for the improvement of the working-classes. A vigorous supporter of the Anti-Corn-Law League in early life, he became a constant agitator for the removal of the taxes on knowledge. He drafted the original project in favour of national education, on which was based the Bill submitted to Parliament by Mr. Forster, ultimately known as the Education Act of 1870. On the 8th, at Massey Hall, Cheshire, aged 66, **Peter Rylands**, son of John Rylands, of Bewly House, Cheshire, successively member for Warrington and Burnley. A strongly pronounced Radical, he took an active part in all questions relating to financial economy and the reduction of the national expenditure, and was especially successful in introducing reforms into the Diplomatic and Consular services. In 1886 he joined the Unionist party, and carried with him the support of his constituents. On the 11th, in Paris, aged 76, **Napoléon Louis Joseph Alexandre Charles Berthier**, Prince at Duc de Wagram, the only son of the Marshal-Prince of Neuchatel and Princess Elizabeth of Bavaria. He had been educated in companionship with the King of Rome. On the 13th, at Blackheath, aged 83, the **Hon. and Rev. Henry Legge**, son of the third Earl of Dartmouth, for fifty years vicar of Lewisham. On the 14th, in Euston Road, aged 36, **Philip Bourke Marston**, the son of the well-known dramatic author, Westland Marston, LL.D., and himself a writer of poems and contributions to periodical literature. Although blind from his youth, he had acquired a wide knowledge of English and foreign writers. On the 18th, at Bournemouth, aged 48, **Sir George Cumine Strahan, B.A., G.C.M.G.**, the Governor Elect of Hong Kong, who had till the latter part of last year been Governor of Tasmania, and had held various posts in Malta and the colonies since the year 1848. On the 21st, in Half-moon Street, aged 80, **Percy William Doyle, C.B.**, formerly Minister Plenipotentiary at Mexico. He was the son of the late Lieutenant-General Sir Charles William Doyle, K.C.B., G.C.H. On the same date, aged 80, **Sir Charles Eurwicke Douglas, K.C.M.G.**, formerly M.P. for Banbury and Warwick. He was for a time private secretary to Viscount Goderich at the Colonial Office, and was King-at-Arms of the Order of St. Michael and St. George from 1852 to 1859. On the 28th, at Rome, aged 54, **Cardinal Jacobini**, the Papal Secretary of State, the Administrator of the Estates of the Holy See, and Secretary of the Propaganda.

## MARCH.

**Father Beckx.**—This distinguished ecclesiastic was born in 1794 of poor parents at Sechem, in Brabant. He began his education in a school at

Testelt, on the closing of which by Napoleon, in 1812, he continued his favourite classical studies by himself. In 1815 he entered the Mechlin semi-

nary, where his teacher, the future Archbishop Sterckx, considered him his best pupil. In 1819 he was ordained and appointed to the parish of Uccle, but he had already resolved on becoming a Jesuit, and after three months he entered Hildesheim College. On completing his theological studies he was employed, though young and delicate, in important missions. The Duke of Anhalt-Köthen, on becoming a Catholic, solicited his services as chaplain and superior of a Catholic mission. He held this post until the Duke's death, in 1847, when the duchy was merged in Anhalt-Dessau, and Father Beckz remained chaplain to the Duchess in Germany, Austria, and at Rome until her death. During his connection with this Princess he obtained, in 1846, permission from the Austrian Government for the readmission of the Jesuits into Venetia. In 1850 he was appointed rector of the Jesuit College at Louvain; in 1852 he was appointed head of the Austrian province of the Order; and in 1853 he succeeded Roothaan as Superior-General. Thenceforth his life was the history of Jesuitism, and only one of his predecessors held the post for a longer term. He saw the number of Jesuits more than doubled, and their re-establishment in France, Spain, Portugal, and America; but also their expulsion from a great part of Italy, and from Germany and France. On the union of Rome with Italy he withdrew to a country house near Florence, and continued to direct the Order till 1883, when Father Anderledy was appointed his Vicar-General and eventual successor. Six months afterwards he handed over the reins to Anderledy and retired to a Jesuit building at Rome, confiscated by the Government, but temporarily rented by the American seminary, where he died on March 4 in his 93rd year, retaining full possession of his faculties to the last.

**Henry Ward Beecher** was a son of the Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher, a distinguished American divine, and the fifth in descent from one of the earliest settlers in New England. Born at Litchfield, Connecticut, on June 24, 1813, Mr. Ward Beecher studied in public Latin schools at Boston, graduated at Amherst College in 1834, and studied theology at Lane Seminary. In 1837 he became pastor of a Presbyterian church at Lawrenceburg, and in 1839 he removed to Indianapolis. In 1847 he received a unanimous call to the Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, where he remained until his

death. Immediately upon his settlement in Brooklyn Mr. Beecher began to acquire a strong hold as a pulpit orator, and by the time of the Civil War no reputation stood higher than his own in this respect in the United States. He was chosen to deliver the address on the raising of the flag at Fort Sumter, and his oration on that occasion was of a most eloquent character. So far from confining himself to denominational or theological work, Mr. Beecher entered ardently into all the public movements of his time, frequently inveighing against slavery, and appearing upon platforms as an advocate of temperance, peace, and social and political reforms. A strong republican all through his career, he did not scruple to address political meetings or to preach political sermons from the pulpit. Mr. Beecher at one time edited the *Cincinnati Journal*, a religious weekly, and subsequently the *Farmer and Guardian*, an Indiana publication. When the *New York Independent* was established he became one of its leading contributors, and from 1861 to 1863 he acted as its editor. Many of his contributions were collected and published as "The Star Papers." In 1870 he became editor of the *Christian Union*, a position which he retained for ten years, resigning it in favour of his associate editor, Mr. Lyman Abbott. Mr. Beecher's regular weekly sermons, as taken down by stenographers, have been printed since 1859, and now form a considerable religious library under the title of "The Plymouth Pulpit." Mr. Beecher was also the author of "Lectures to Young Men," published in 1850; "Plymouth Collection of Hymns and Tunes," 1855; "Life Thoughts," 1858; "Pleasant Talks about Fruits, Flowers, and Farming," 1859; "Eyes and Ears," 1862; "Freedom and War," 1863; "Royal Truths," 1864; "Aids to Prayer," 1864; "Pulpit Pungencies," 1866; "Prayers from Plymouth Pulpit," 1867; "Norwood," a novel, 1867; "Overture of Angels," 1869; "Lecture Room Talks," 1870; "Morning and Evening Exercises," 1870; "Yale Lectures on Preaching," 1872-4; and "A Summer Parish," 1874. The Yale discourses were delivered in connection with the Lyman-Beecher Lectureship, founded by Mr. Henry W. Sage, a friend and hearer of Mr. Ward Beecher at the Plymouth Church at Brooklyn, probably the largest and most influential in the United States. In 1874 considerable sensation was caused in the United States and also in this country when Mr. Theodore Tilton, Mr. Beecher's

successor in the editorship of the *Independent*, charged him with criminality with Mrs. Tilton. A committee appointed by the Plymouth congregation reported that this charge was entirely without foundation; but Mr. Tilton, notwithstanding, brought a civil action against Mr. Beecher, laying his damages at \$100,000. After a protracted trial the jury failed to agree upon a verdict, nine being for acquittal and three for a conviction. On three occasions Mr. Beecher visited England. The second visit was paid in 1863, when he sought to disabuse the British public in regard to the issues of the American Civil War. His final visit was paid in 1886, when he appeared at the City Temple, Exeter Hall, and in many of the chief provincial towns. Mr. Beecher's religious views were unorthodox and out of harmony with those of the great body of the Congregationalists. In 1878 he formally announced that he had given up his previous belief in eternal punishment, and, while he held to the annihilation of the wicked, he believed in the restoration of all others. In consequence of these changes of belief Mr. Beecher withdrew from the Association of Congregational Churches in 1882. As a preacher Mr. Beecher was to the last degree unconventional, humour and pathos being very freely intermingled in his discourses. Dramatic in bearing, he filled his sermons with illustrations drawn from all sources, never forgetting, moreover, allusions apposite to the times. In 1871 he published the first volume of his "Life of Christ," and it appears it was the confinement and overwork incident to the finishing of this work that led to the attack of cerebral apoplexy to which he succumbed on March 8 at Brooklyn.

**Sir Robert Harvey, J.P., D.L.,** of Langley Park, Slough, who died there on March 22, was the only son of Mr. Robert Harvey, of Langley Park, by his first wife, and was born in the year 1825. He was educated at Eton and Oxford. He was lord of the manors of Langley, Bucks, and Crocombe Studeley, Somerset, and Captain of the Bucks Yeomanry. He sat in the House of Commons for Bucks as a Conservative from 1863 to 1868, and again from 1874 to 1885, and was created a baronet in 1868. He married first, in 1855, Diana Jane, daughter of the Venerable Stephen Creyke, Archdeacon of York; and second, in 1874, Margaret Breadalbane, widow of Alexander Anderson, of Newstead, N.S.W. and daughter of Sir John Fringle, fifth baronet.

**Viscountess Strangford.** — Emily Anne, Viscountess Strangford, was the youngest daughter of the late Admiral Sir Francis Beaufort, K.C.B., F.R.S. He died in 1857, and shortly afterwards she and her sister began their travels in the East, which extended over some years, and are described in "Egyptian Sepulchres and Syrian Shrines," a work in two volumes, published in 1860, which at once obtained great popularity, and passed through several editions. It was this work which led to her acquaintance with Percy, eighth and last Viscount Strangford, the eminent Orientalist and philologist, and in 1862 their marriage took place. After his death (in 1869) she remained for some years secluded from society, and devoted herself to philanthropic works. Among other things she took a deep interest in hospital nursing, and went through a course of training in one of the principal London hospitals in order to obtain a practical knowledge of the subject. The society called the National Association for Providing Trained Nurses for the Sick Poor owes its origin to her exertions, and many other nursing institutions are indebted to her for assistance and co-operation. Perhaps the most popular and notable of all the undertakings with which Lady Strangford was connected was the fund raised by her for the relief of the Bulgarian peasants at the time of the Bulgarian atrocities in 1876. Nearly 30,000*l.* was collected from many hundred thousand subscribers both at home and abroad, and the money was expended and applied under her own direction, with the assistance of Sir Vincent Kennett Barrington and others, and afforded to the recipients relief of incalculable value, whilst it established a bond of sympathy with Bulgaria which will never be forgotten. The hardships and anxieties incident to this undertaking told severely on her health, but her untiring energy and devotion carried her through. In 1877 Lady Strangford founded a fund for the relief of the Turkish sick and wounded in the war between Turkey and Russia. This fund also, which amounted to several thousand pounds, was expended under her personal supervision, and was the means of alleviating much misery. In order to save the wounded from the delay and suffering of removal, she went, with her staff of nurses, to the front, and there opened and maintained her hospitals. It was in the course of this war that Lady Strangford was taken prisoner by the Russians, and underwent hardships

from which she never fully recovered. The next important work undertaken by Lady Strangford was in 1882, when, at the request of the St. John Ambulance Association, she proceeded to Cairo, and established and opened the Victoria Hospital for the reception and relief of the sick and wounded. This hospital obtained the warm admiration of the Duke of Connaught, the Duke of Teck, Lord Wolseley, Lord Dufferin, and others, and in it were received and nursed many English officers and soldiers who owe their lives to the tender care and skillful nursing there obtained. Her Majesty took a deep interest in this hospital, and lent her name and subscribed to it, and, on Lady Strangford's return to England, gave her a private interview, and shortly afterwards conferred on her the distinction of the Red Cross, then recently instituted. Latterly Lady Strangford devoted most of her time and energies to the subject of emigration, in which she co-operated with Mrs. E. L. Blanchard. By them the Women's Emigration Society was established (Dorset Street, Portman Square) in 1882, and great numbers of persons have been sent out to the colonies or furnished with necessary information and assistance by that association. Lady Strangford's con-

nection with Bulgaria in 1876 created in her so profound an interest in the welfare of the country that she brought over and had educated in England five or six Bulgarians. She possessed in an extraordinary degree the power of organising and giving practical effect to charitable and benevolent schemes. Nothing was too small or too large for her to touch or attempt. She was always ready to lend her name and personal assistance to deserving objects, and her name never failed to draw subscriptions for any work with which it was connected. Moreover, her purse was always open, and she seriously crippled her means by her lavish generosity. In conjunction with all these absorbing occupations she found more or less time for society, and was intimate with many of the most distinguished scientific, literary, and political characters of the day. She was deeply interested in philology and geography, for which she founded and endowed a prize at Harrow in memory of her husband.

Her death, on board the ss. *Lusitania* on March 24, on the Mediterranean, occurred as she was on her way to organise and open the hospital for British seamen erected at Port Said by subscriptions, which were mostly due to her activity.

The following deaths also occurred during the month :—On the 2nd, at Well-bank, Sandbach, Cheshire, aged 78, **Joseph St. John Yates**, son of Joseph Yates, of Peel, Lancashire, one of the sixty county court judges appointed in 1847, on the creation of that office. On the same date, in Upper Phillimore Gardens, aged 66, **William Shaen, M.A.**, the head of the well-known legal firm of Shaen and Roscoe. He was an active worker in securing special legislation for women and children, and as a member of the Senate of University College, London, he took a prominent part in the establishment of the London School of Medicine for Women. On the 7th, at Horse Carrs, Rochdale, aged 63, **Thomas Watson, M.P.** for the Ilkeston Division of Derbyshire. Originally a working silk weaver, he amassed a large fortune as a silk spinner, and maker of hat cloth and imitation sealskin. On the 8th, at Goodwood, aged 62, **Frances Harriet, Duchess of Richmond and Gordon**, a daughter of Algernon Greville, for many years private secretary to the first Duke of Wellington and Bath, king-at-arms. On the same date, in Paris, aged 69, **Paul Féval**, a French novelist and dramatist. On the same date, at Nassau, New Providence, aged 67, **Captain James Buchanan Eads**, a distinguished American engineer, who constructed the first ironclad made in the United States. He was also the builder of the Mississippi Delta jetties, and of the great steel bridge at St. Louis. On the 11th, in Bryanston Square, aged 80, **Sir William Andrews, C.S.I.**, and a Fellow of many learned societies, who, having served for a short period in early life in India, took a prominent part in promoting railway and telegraphic communication with that country. He wrote works which attracted much attention on these subjects, but the great object of his life was the promotion of the Euphrates Valley railway. On the 12th, at Ingelheim, **Douwes Dekker**, a Dutch writer, best known by his pseudonym of "Multatuli." Formerly Resident over a district in Java, he published a short work arraigning the treatment of the natives by the Dutch East India Company, which involved him in so many troubles that he went into voluntary exile in Germany. On the 13th, at Turin, the **Abbé Passaglia**, a member of the Society of Jesuits. Having quitted the Order on account of his sympathy with the Italian revolution, he became a journalist, a deputy, and a professor

of moral philosophy. On the 15th, in South Street, aged 78, **Sir Robert Talver Gerard**, first Baron Gerard, of Bryn, Lancashire, who, having succeeded his brother, **Sir John Gerard**, as thirteenth baronet in 1854, was elevated to the peerage in 1876. On the same date, at Brixton Hill, aged 71, **William Collingwood Smith**, a well-known landscape painter, for upwards of twenty years the treasurer of the Royal Society of Painters in Water-colours. On the 17th, at Bath, aged 91, **Major John Quin Pardey**, who, having entered the 66th Regiment in 1811, was transferred the same year to the Royal Staff Corps, with which he served throughout the Peninsular War. On the same date, at Forest Hill, aged 79, **Sir William Hardy, F.S.A.**, deputy keeper of the Public Records, in which office he succeeded his brother, **Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy**. On the 18th, aged 68, **Count Stanislas de Blacas**, Chamberlain and virtual Prime Minister to the Count de Chambord. On the 20th, at Fernclough, Heaton, Bolton, aged 54, **John Kynaston Cross, M.P.** for Bolton, and Under Secretary of State for India. He was the head of a firm of cotton-spinners in Bolton and Manchester. On the 21st, aged 66, the **Rev. Archer Gurney**, son of **Richard Gurney**, of Tregony, Cornwall, for many years Resident Chaplain to the Church attached to the Embassy at Paris. On the same date, at Berlin, aged 60, **General Samuel Alexevitch Greig**, the Russian Minister of Finance 1878-1881. He was the son and grandson of well-known Russian admirals of Scottish extraction. He first served in the Guards, then held a civil post in the Ministry of Marine; was thence transferred to the Ministry of Finance, of which he became Controller-General 1874-8, when he succeeded his chief, **Reutern**. On the 23rd, aged 84, the **Rev. John Prideaux Lightfoot, D.D.**, for thirty-three years rector of Exeter College, Oxford. On the same date, at Brighton, aged 77, the **Hon. Geraldine Augusta, Countess de Jarnac**, daughter of the third Lord Foley, and the widow of **Philippe F. A. de Rohan Chabot**, Count de Jarnac, the author of 'Rockingham,' 'Electra,' &c., long attached to the French Embassy in London during the reign of Louis Philippe. After the fall of the Empire he was appointed French ambassador at St. James's, and held the post until his death, March 22, 1875. On the 24th, at Lowick Rectory, Thrapston, aged 70, the **Rev. William Lucas Collins**, rector of Lowick-cum-Slipston, and honorary Canon of Peterborough, a well-known author, and the editor of "Ancient Classics for English Readers." On the same date, aged 79, **William Stevens**. In early life a printer, he was instrumental in introducing the novelty of printing music from type. On the 25th, in Bedford Square, aged 79, the **Ven. Benjamin Harrison**, Canon of Canterbury, and Archdeacon of Maidstone, and for some years chaplain to Archbishop Howley. Eminent as a Hebrew scholar, he was one of the Old Testament revisers. On the 29th, at Birtley, near Guildford, aged 65, **General William James Loftus, C.B.**, of the 38th Regiment, with which he had served in the West Indies, in the Crimea, and during the Indian Mutiny. He was the son of Lieutenant-General D. F. Bentinck Loftus, of Kilbride, co. Wicklow. Distinguished in the Peninsular War. On the 31st, at Bournemouth, **Major-General Richard Clement Moody, R.E.** He was at one time Governor of the Falkland Islands, and as Chief Commissioner of Lands and Works in British Columbia, the foundations of its capital, New Westminster, were laid under his supervision in 1858.

## APRIL.

**Bishop Titcomb.**—The **Rev. Jonathan Holt Titcomb** was born in 1823, and graduated at St. Peter's College, Cambridge, taking his degree in 1841, and spending the early days of his ministry in Ireland. In 1845 Mr. Titcomb was appointed vicar of St. Andrew the Less, Cambridge, which he vacated fifteen years later on accepting the secretaryship of the Christian Vernacular Education Society. In 1861 the **Rev. Charles Kemble**, who had then accepted the rectory of Bath, appointed Mr. Titcomb his successor as vicar of St. Stephen's,

South Lambeth. Mr. Titcomb was rural dean of Clapham from 1870 till 1876, and was appointed an honorary canon of Winchester in 1874. In 1876 he was appointed vicar of Woking, and in the following year he was consecrated Bishop of Rangoon by Archbishop Tait. Five years later Bishop Titcomb suffered a great bereavement by the death of his eldest daughter. To add to the trial, a second daughter was prostrate, and the medical opinion was that nothing short of instant removal from the climate could save the sufferer's life. Bishop

Titcomb, therefore, determined to resign his appointment and return to England. After a period of rest he once more returned to work, and rendered great service by superintending the stations of the Established Church of England on the Continent as a deputy of the Bishop of London. His health, however, proved unequal to the strain upon it, and although a few months previously to his death he accepted the vicarage of St. Peter's, Brockley, his health was worn out, and he died at Bournemouth on April 2. Dr. Titcomb was the author of several works, including "Before the Cross: Short Chapters on Buddhism," "Personal Recollections of British Burmah," "Revelation in Progress," "Cautions for Doubters," and "Gladus Ecclesiæ, or Church Lessons for Young Churchmen."

**Lord Hindlip.**—Henry Allsopp, Lord Hindlip, was born in 1811, the son of Samuel Allsopp, of Burton-on-Trent, where the family had been settled in business for many years. His mother was Frances, daughter of Mr. Charles Fowler, of Shrewsbury. He married, in 1839, Elizabeth, daughter of the late Mr. William Tongue, of Comberford Hall, Tamworth. In 1874, when the Conservatives were successful all over the country and Mr. Gladstone resigned in consequence, Mr. Allsopp was elected as member for East Worcestershire, and he held the seat till 1880, when at the general election he shared in the discomfiture that befel so many of the Conservative party and was defeated at the poll. Before the resignation of Lord Beaconsfield Mr. Allsopp was created a baronet. In 1886 he was raised to the peerage with the title of Lord Hindlip. He was a justice of the peace and deputy-lieutenant for the counties of Derby, Stafford, and Worcester. He died on April 3, at his seat, Hindlip Hall, near Worcester, after a lingering illness, in his 76th year, and was succeeded by his son, the Hon. Samuel Charles Allsopp, member for Taunton.

**Rt. Hon. Charles Newdigate Newdegate.**—An only son of the late Mr. C. Newdigate Newdegate, by Maria, daughter of Mr. Ayscough Boucherett, heir of the late Sir Roger Newdigate, he was born in 1816, and educated at Eton, at King's College, London, and at Christ Church, Oxford, where he graduated M.A. and D.C.L. He entered Parliament, as member for North Warwickshire, in 1843, when he was returned unopposed as a protectionist for the constituency

which he uninterruptedly represented for forty-two years. The best part of Mr. Newdegate's life was spent in Parliamentary service. He had a wonderfully strong constitution, and this enabled him to gratify to a great extent his intense desire for work, although suffering at times of late years from an overworked brain. As evidence of his strength of will it may be mentioned that shortly before his death, while presiding at a parish meeting, he was seized with a fit and fell down unconscious, but on recovering insisted on completing the duties thus suddenly interrupted. Again, in 1882, while hunting with the Atherstone hounds, he was similarly seized and fell off his horse; but his determination not to be beaten led him, when he had sufficiently recovered, to remount and go on hunting as though nothing had occurred. A Conservative of the old school, Mr. Newdegate was best and most widely known throughout the country for his pronounced views on the Romish question. He was a vigorous opponent of the Romish Church, notwithstanding that his first tutor was a Roman Catholic; and he many times dwelt with exultation on the fact that the Pope had styled him a heretic. In more recent times he was consistently opposed to the entry of Mr. Bradlaugh into Parliament, and took an active part in that controversy. Mr. Newdegate was ever popular among his tenants, being a kind and considerate landlord. He was an exceedingly charitable man, and was esteemed by all with whom he came in contact. Soon after his retirement from Parliament he was sworn of the Privy Council, and subsequently he was presented by his former constituents with an illuminated address and 547*l.*, in recognition of his long and faithful services. He died at Arbury Hall, Warwickshire, after prolonged illness, on April 10.

**Earl of Longford.**—Sir William Lygon Pakenham, K.C.B., fourth Earl of Longford, was the second son of Thomas, third baron, who inherited the earldom of Longford from his grandmother, Elizabeth, Countess of Longford, in 1794. He was born in January 1819, was educated at Winchester, and entered the Army in 1837; he became colonel in 1855, succeeded to the title in 1860, became major-general in 1868, lieutenant-general in 1877, and general in 1879, and retired in 1881. As Colonel Pakenham he served in the Crimean War, and obtained a medal with four clasps, was made C.B., and

awarded the Legion of Honour, Second Class St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, Third Class Medjidieh, and Turkish Medal. He also served with distinction through the Indian mutiny. He was Adjutant-General of the Forces from 1858 to 1860, and was Under-Secretary of State for War from 1866 to 1868. Lord Longford was Lord-Lieutenant of County Longford and a deputy-lieutenant and justice of the peace for Westmeath. He married, in 1862, the Hon. Selina Rice Trevor, third daughter of Baron Dynevor, and is succeeded by his son, Hon. Thomas Pakenham, whose twin brother, William, died in 1876. Lord Longford was a Conservative in politics, but of moderate views; and was a popular landlord with his tenantry, among whom he resided. His death took place in London on April 19, aged 68.

**Lord Kinnaird.**—Arthur Fitzgerald Kinnaird, the tenth Baron Kinnaird in the Scottish Peerage, and Baron Kinnaird of Rossie in the United Kingdom, was the son of the eighth baron by the seventh daughter of the second Duke of Leinster. He was born in 1814, and married, in 1843, Mary Jane, daughter of the late Mr. W. H. Hoare, of the Grove, Mitcham, Surrey. He succeeded in January 1878, his brother in the Scottish barony by descent, and in the barony of 1860 by especial remainder. Arthur Kinnaird was educated at Eton, and on attaining his majority was attached to the British Embassy at St. Petersburg, where he remained until 1887. He acted for some time as private secretary to that popular Whig peer the late Earl of Durham. Subsequently he entered the well-known banking firm of Ransom & Co. as a partner. In 1837 he was elected for the city of Perth, and sat until August 1839, and again from May 1852 until he succeeded to the peerage in 1878. In the House of Commons he spoke frequently on Indian questions, upon which he had special knowledge, and he was a strong opponent of the bill for legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister. He was a Liberal in politics, and was keenly interested in all movements concerning the well-being of the working classes. For more than a generation there was no more familiar figure at the London May Meetings than that of Lord Kinnaird, and he was looked upon as the successor of Lord Shaftesbury on account of the prominent support he gave to many of the philanthropic and religious move-

ments with which the name of the latter was so long associated. In all efforts for raising woman in the social scale Lord Kinnaird took a special interest, actively labouring in their behalf in connection with homes, refuges, and reformatories. He died at his town residence, 2 Pall Mall East, on April 26, aged 72.

**Sir John Mellor.**—John Mellor was born at Hollinwood House, Oldham, on Jan. 1, 1809. He was the only son of a wealthy member of a family of Lancashire manufacturers, his father having been a partner in the firm of Gee, Mellor, Kershaw, and Co. After John Mellor's birth his father removed to Leicester, of which he became mayor. His son was first placed at the grammar school, but afterwards sent to the private school of the Rev. Charles Berry, a Unitarian Minister, who enjoyed at that time a high reputation in Leicester as a teacher. Here the foundations of John Mellor's success in life were laid, and here the bent was given to his mind which afterwards led him to distinction. Mellor the younger witnessed the arrival of the Judges, the pomp of the javelin-men, the respect of the sheriff, the awe of the populace, and the splendour of the Judge's lodgings. He at once assured his father that he elected to follow the profession of Judge, and the preliminary condition of entering at the Bar was easily fulfilled. It was originally intended that he should go to Oxford, and Lincoln College had even been selected. In those days, however, subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles was a condition of admission to the University, and it was not till later in life that Sir John became a member of the Church of England. John Mellor consequently remained at Leicester and entered the office of a local attorney, where he learnt to draw simple conveyances. A little later he began his career as a barrister, and was entered at the Inner Temple in 1828, and in the chambers of Thomas Chitty the younger he studied the now extinct mysteries of special pleading. Four years were devoted to work in Mr. Chitty's chambers, and the young lawyer had the advantage of attending at the same time the epoch-making lectures of John Austin at University College, whose course was also followed by John Stuart Mill.

Five years after his entrance at his Inn, Mr. Mellor was called to the Bar (June 7, 1833); in that same year he had at least one brief, for he was wont

to relate that with his first fee he bought his wedding-ring, and it was in 1838 that he married Miss Elizabeth Moseley, daughter of Mr. W. Moseley of Peckham Rye. In London he first lived in Woburn Place, Tavistock Square. He joined the Midland Circuit, and went the Leicester borough and Warwick sessions, where his father's position and his own popularity naturally gave him advantages. His sterling sense and clearness of head, his natural *bonhomie* and amiability, made him a good examiner of witnesses. He spoke readily and fluently, though without any affectation of eloquence. In 1849 he became Recorder of Warwick, was made Q.C. in 1851, and Recorder of Leicester in 1855. This steady ascent of the steps by which a common-law barrister climbs to high judicial office was assisted by several political struggles. In 1852 he stood for Warwick in the Liberal interest, and was beaten. In 1857 he met the same fate at Coventry; but in that year the populous borough of Great Yarmouth returned him to Parliament, when he gave a steady support to Lord Palmerston. In 1859 the constituency of Nottingham, selected Mr. Mellor as their representative; and in 1861, on the retirement of Mr. Justice Hill, he was raised to the Bench by Lord Westbury. Mr. Mellor was at this time the leader of his circuit, but it cannot be said that he was marked out by the general voice of the profession for the rank which he thus attained. Before taking his seat upon the Bench, John Mellor duly passed through Serjeants' Inn, then an indispensable stage in the conversion of the advocate into the Judge, and he received the accustomed honour of knighthood. He joined a Court (the Queen's Bench) in which the chief was the late Sir Alexander Cockburn, while his colleagues were Mr. Justice Wightman, Mr. Justice Crompton, and Mr. Justice Blackburn. With the latter Mellor was as little capable of vying in learning as with Sir Alexander Cockburn in brilliance; but he displayed, as the late Sir John Holker afterwards said of him, industry and ability, the acumen of a vigorous intelligence, combined with the most admirable and praiseworthy patience. The kindness of his heart and the amiability of his disposition led him sometimes to stanch the wounds which a learned but more irascible colleague made upon the professional pride of those who addressed them. In sitting with juries his grasp of principle and desire to do justice, as well as his prac-

tical knowledge of human nature, usually enabled him to guide them to a right conclusion. In some branches of law his authority was specially recognised, as in railway legislation, of which he had gained considerable experience not only in the Courts, but also in the course of an extensive practice before the Committees of the two Houses. He was the last survivor of the trio of judges before whom the Tichborne case was tried. Another *cause célèbre* was the attack at Manchester by Fenian conspirators upon the police, and the murder of Sergeant Brett, which Sir John Mellor was deputed to try in company with Mr. Justice Blackburn.

In addition to several important judgments on bills of sale, scrip certificates, &c., he was concerned with the series of cases which illustrated the duties of parents to send their children to school, and the difficulties which the School Board experienced in enforcing compliance with an obligation which is often against the interests of particular parents though to the advantage of the community at large. He had wished to retire some time before he put his resolution into force, and had been entitled to the Judge's pension for some two years and a half, when in 1879 he took formal leave of his colleagues and the Bar. Sir John Holker rose, on behalf of the Bar, and made a touching address, to which Mr. Justice Mellor replied with emotion.

Almost immediately after his retirement Sir John Mellor was applied to by Lord Selborne to aid in the work of the Bench, from which he had retired, by going as Commissioner of Assize to Manchester. A curious difficulty arose. His rank of a barrister retained as one of the Queen's Counsel was thought to have been vacated by his judgeship; his judgeship had been resigned; but it was discovered that the *status* of serjeant-at-law, which had been conferred upon him as a then indispensable qualification for judicial office on the Common Law side of Westminster Hall was indelible. As a serjeant, therefore, though Serjeants' Inn existed no more, Sir John Mellor was enabled to comply with the Lord Chancellor's request, and duly served as a Commissioner without pay. Sir John also conducted some few private arbitrations, and (being made a Privy Councillor) sometimes sat with the Judicial Committee. But latterly he passed most of his time at his house of Kingsdown, on the cliffs near Dover, where he amused himself in composing his latter-day pamphlet on the



abuse of swearing, in which he expressed himself as "profoundly convinced by a long judicial experience of the general worthlessness of oaths." Much earlier in life he had published two lectures, "The Christian Church before the Reformation" (1857) and "The Life and Times of John Selden" (1859). He retained a vivid interest in law and politics. The side he took in the Bradlaugh controversy is evident from his pamphlet already referred to, in which he proposed that the roll of the House

should be signed with a declaration, but that no oath should be sworn.

In the course of the winter he left England to pass the winter in the South of France, and his imperturbable demeanour during the earthquake at Cannes contributed greatly to allay the panic which had seized so many of his neighbours. A week after his return from the Riviera he was taken ill, and died at his house in Sussex Square, Hyde Park, April 26.

The following deaths also occurred during the month:—On the 4th, at March Hall, Edinburgh, aged 24, The Chisholm, the head of a distinguished Scotch family that had fought and suffered in the Stuart cause. On the 6th, in Eccleston Square, aged 77, Colonel Frederick Romilly, J.P., D.L. Deputy-Chairman of the Board of Customs, youngest son of the late Sir Samuel Romilly. He entered the army at an early age, but subsequently adopted a political life, representing Canterbury. On the same date, at New York, aged 44, Colonel Sir William Owen Lanyon, K.C.M.G., late Administrator of Griqualand West, and for some time Governor of the Transvaal. During the Egyptian War of 1882 he served as colonel on the Staff. He was the son of Sir Charles Lanyon, of White Abbey, co. Antrim. On the 11th, at Arundel Castle, aged 82, Flora, Duchess of Norfolk, the daughter of Charles Abney Hastings (now Lord Donington) and the Countess of Loudoun. On the 15th, in Hanover Square, aged 82, Admiral Edward Codd. Entered the Navy in 1820, and took part in the bombardment of St. Jean d'Acre under Admiral Sir Robert Sheppard, and in the Chinese War under Admiral Sir Edward Parker. He became a commander in 1844, and soon afterwards retired. On the same date, in St. George's Square, Pimlico, Admiral Hugh Dunlop, C.B., the son of General James Dunlop, sometime M.P. for the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. He entered the navy in 1821, and served during the Russian War in the Baltic, and was some time commander on the Jamaica station. He retired as full admiral in 1878. Also on the same date, in Belgrave Road, aged 63, Charles Campbell Prinsep, a Superintendent of Statistics in the East India Office. He compiled tables of great usefulness. He was earlier in life in the Secretary's Department of the Great Western Railway. On the 17th, in Paris, Lady Howard of Glossop, who was the daughter of the late John Greenwood, of Swardcliffe, Yorkshire. On the same date, in Kensington Square, aged 79, Colonel Sir Thomas Gore-Browne, C.B., K.C.M.G., Governor, successively, of St. Helena, New Zealand, Tasmania, and Bermuda. During the Afghan War of 1842 he commanded the 41st Regiment, taking part in all the battles. Also on the same date, in South Kensington, aged 74, James Wyld, J.P., D.C.L., Geographer to the Queen, and some time M.P. for Bodmin. He enjoyed a wide reputation as a man of science, and a leader in Educational movements, and had received seventeen European Orders. On the 19th, in George Street, Hanover Square, aged 53, Dr Alfred Meadows, F.R.C.P., Physician-Accoucheur to St. Mary's Hospital, a prolific writer on subjects connected with his department of practice. On the 20th, at the Charterhouse, aged 88, John A. Heraud, a poet and dramatist, for many years the dramatic critic of the *Athenæum* and *Illustrated London News*. On the 22nd, in Paris, aged 87, Pierre Alexis Hébert, an advocate at the Paris Bar, who, in the time of King Louis Philippe, had been Vice-President of the Chamber, and Minister of Justice. On the 27th, at Kilmallock, aged 60, William Henry O'Sullivan, late M.P. for co. Limerick, who, for nearly a quarter of a century had been identified with the varying phases of Irish politics, and had suffered imprisonment in consequence of his connection with them. He took a prominent part in agitations for grand jury, agrarian, and other reforms. On the same date, at Luchie, North Berwick, aged 72, Sir Henry Hamilton Dalrymple, J.P., D.L., sixth baronet, for some years Convener of Haddingtonshire. In early life he had been in the army, and had served at the capture of Coorey. On the 29th, at Ventnor, aged 27, Miss Frances E. Colenso, daughter of the Bishop of Natal. She took great interest in the public questions which engrossed her father's later years, and had herself published some works on the Zulu War and its results. On the 30th, at New York, aged 66, the Right Reverend Dr. Herbert Binney, Bishop of Nova Scotia, to which see he was consecrated in 1851, after having been for some years curate of St. Ebbe's Church, Oxford, and a Fellow and Tutor of Worcester College, Oxford.

## MAY.

**Samuel Cousins, R.A.** — Samuel Cousins, the son of poor parents, was born at Exeter, on May 9, 1801, and received his first education at one of the charity schools of that city. From an early age he showed a great aptitude for copying any drawings which came in his way. Some of his work having been shown to appreciative connoisseurs, he was advised to send to the Society of Arts, in London, a pencil copy of a head of Ben Jonson and another drawing, for which, at the age of twelve years, he was awarded two silver medals and a silver palette. With the help of his patrons, he was soon after sent to London, and was articled for seven years to S. W. Reynolds, the mezzotint engraver, whose assistant he became after the expiration of his indentures. It has been conjectured that many of the works issued during this latter period (1822-25), although bearing Reynolds' name, were executed wholly or in part by Cousins. His chief patron, however, had been his "county squire," Sir Thomas Acland, who, in 1825, entrusted Cousins with the picture Sir Thomas Lawrence had just finished, "Lady Acland and her children." The young engraver succeeded so well, that Lawrence at once commissioned him to engrave the famous "Master Lambton" (Lord Durham's son). His reputation as the chief engraver—after Reynolds' death—was at once recognised: and he continued for many years to reproduce Lawrence's chief works. In 1835 he was elected an Associate-Engraver of the Royal Academy, being the highest honour then accessible to members of his branch of art, and this rank he held for nineteen years. During this period he engraved the principal works of Sir David Wilkie, Sir Edwin Landseer, Sir Charles Eastlake, Millais' "Order of Release," and many other noteworthy works; his performances ranging from Faed's "Mitherless Bairn" to Winterhalter's courtly portraits. In 1854, the Royal Academy (having elected Mr. Solomon Hart Professor of Painting) passed a by-law by which engravers were rendered eligible for the full honours, and Mr. Cousins, in Feb. 1855, became the first recipient. By a coincidence worthy of notice it was in this year that the Royal Aca-

demicians were, for the first time, invited in their corporate capacity to dine at the Mansion House, the Lord Mayor of the year being Sir F. Graham Moon, formerly a printseller, like his predecessor Alderman Boydell. Mr. Cousins was not content to rest with the success he had gained as an engraver, and in 1870 he set himself to revive the then almost lost or abandoned process of mezzotint engraving. In 1870, taking advantage of the revival of the taste for the works of the old masters, he reproduced a number of Sir Joshua Reynolds's most popular works—"The Age of Innocence," "Penelope Boothby," "The Strawberry Girl," &c., all of which obtained immediate popularity. These were followed by mezzotints of some of Millais' child portraits, and up to within a twelvemonth of his death he was busy with fresh work. Naturally, in the course of his career he had amassed a large fortune; but his later success did not allow him to forget the struggle of his early years. A few years before his death he unostentatiously handed over to the trustees of the Royal Academy 15,000*l.* worth of securities to establish a fund for the benefit of aged and unsuccessful artists; while to the print-room of the British Museum he presented (in 1872) an almost entire set of his works, including private plates, and many of them in their various states. Cousins died on the 7th May at his house in Camden Square, where he had lived quietly and simply for many years, within two days of completing his 86th year.

The Hon. Sir Charles Cooper, late Chief Justice of South Australia, who died on the 24th inst. at his residence in Pulteney Street, Bath, at the advanced age of 92 years, was the son of Mr. Thomas Cooper, of Henley-on-Thames. He was born in 1795, and was called to the Bar of the Inner Temple in 1827. He went the Oxford Circuit until 1838, when he was appointed Judge of South Australia, where he landed in March 1839. He was sole judge until 1856, when he was appointed Chief Justice by the Governor and Legislative Council in June of that year. Two years later he received the honour of knighthood, and in 1861 he retired from the Bench on account of ill-health. He returned to England

and took up his residence at Bath, where his health greatly improved. Cooper's Creek, in the interior of Australia, was named in his honour. Sir Charles Cooper married, in 1855, Emily Grace, daughter of Mr. C. B. Newenham, of South Australia.

**Lord Saye and Sele.**—The Ven. Frederick Twisleton-Wykeham-Fiennes, Lord Saye and Sele, died at Hereford on May 25. He was the thirteenth baron, and was the eldest son of the late Hon. and Rev. Thomas James Twisleton, D.D., by his second wife, the daughter and co-heir of Mr. Benjamin Ashe. Born at Gaydon, in Northamptonshire, in the year 1799, he was educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford, where he graduated B.C.L. in 1825, and became D.C.L. in 1832. He was ordained in 1823, was made Prebendary of Hereford in 1825, treasurer of Hereford Cathedral in 1832, Canon Residentiary of Hereford in 1840, and Archdeacon of Hereford in 1863. His lordship assumed the additional names of Wykeham-Fiennes for himself and issue by royal licence in 1849. The same year he was elected High Steward of Banbury. He was twentieth in descent from Geoffrey Lord Saye, who was one of the twenty-five barons appointed to enforce the observance of Magna Charta. The family, paternally of Yorkshire origin, is descended from John Twisleton, of Barley, Yorkshire, who married the Hon. Elizabeth Fiennes; their great-great-grandson, Thomas Twisleton, of Broughton Castle, claimed the honours of the Fiennes family in right of his ancestor's marriage, and succeeded in proving his title to the ancient baronies of Saye and Sele in 1781. The first Lord Saye and Sele of the Fiennes family descended from the Baron of Magna Charta was Lord High Treasurer of England, but was beheaded by Jack Cade's mob in 1451. His descendant, after five generations, obtained a recognition of the title by letters patent to heirs general in 1608. Nathaniel Fiennes, Speaker of Cromwell's Upper House, was a member of the family. On the death in 1674 of James Fiennes, ninth baron and second viscount, the barony became abeyant between his two daughters, and terminated in 1788 in favour of General Twisleton, great-grandson of Elizabeth, the elder daughter. His son assumed in 1825 the additional name of Fiennes Hardley. The subject of this notice succeeded his cousin in 1847. He married first in 1827, the second daughter of

the fourth Viscount Powerscourt, who died in 1837; and, secondly, in 1857, third daughter of the first Lord Leigh. He contributed little to theological literature, having only appeared, as already mentioned, as editor of Archbishop Wake's "Church Catechism, with Scripture Proofs."

**The Right Rev. Bowley Hill, D.D.**, sixty-seventh Bishop of Sodor and Man, was the third son of Sir George Hill, third baronet, of St. Colomb's, county Londonderry, and Elizabeth Sophia, eldest daughter of Mr. John Rea. He was born in 1836, and was educated at Christ's Hospital and Trinity College, Cambridge. He was ordained a deacon in 1860 and a priest in 1861. Two years later he was appointed incumbent of St. Luke's, Edgware Road, London. In this year he married Caroline Maud, second daughter of Captain Alfred Chapman, R.N. From 1868 to 1871 he was rector of Frant, in Sussex, and from 1871 to 1873 he was vicar of St. Michael's, Chester Square, London. He was then appointed vicar of Sheffield, and in the following year rural dean of Sheffield, both which appointments, as also a canonry of York Cathedral, he held until 1877, when he was consecrated Bishop of the see of Sodor and Man. He was a prominent member of the Evangelical party and died on May 27.

**William Brabazon**, eleventh Earl of Meath, Baron Brabazon of Ardee, and Baron Chadworth, was born Oct. 25, 1803, the second son of his father, and was educated at Eton. At an early age he took an active interest in politics, and from 1837 to 1841 represented the county of Dublin as a Liberal, and supported the policy of the Government as administered by the Duke of Leinster, Lords Melbourne, Grey, and John Russell. Mr. Gladstone was Lord Meath's guest at Kilruddery during his first visit to Ireland; and for some time he supported his guest's subsequent policy, but eventually broke away from his leadership on the Home Rule question. Lord Meath, who succeeded to the family title in 1851, held amongst other honours the post of aide-de-camp to the Queen, colonel of 5th Royal Dublin Fusiliers, and lord-lieutenant and custos rotulorum of co. Wicklow, where, as in county Dublin, he possessed large estates. Among his numerous public acts was the building of the Town Hall at Bray, at his own expense,

which he presented to the town ; whilst the Meath Industrial School and Meath Hospital were not only connected with him by name, but their wellbeing was in no slight measure due to his active and intelligent interest and support. He married, in 1837, Harriet, second daughter of Sir Richard Brooke, Bart., and he died at his residence Kilruddery, near Bray, on May 26, aged 84 years.

Professor Thomas Spencer Baynes, LL.D., of St. Andrews, who died suddenly in London on May 29, from an affection of the heart, was born in 1823, at Wellington, Somersetshire. He was educated at Bath and Bristol, and at the University of Edinburgh. From 1851 to 1855 he was assistant to Sir William Hamilton, the distinguished Professor of Logic in Edinburgh University, and he published in the first-named year a translation of the "Port Royal Logic," which has since gone through seven editions. This was succeeded in 1852 by an "Essay on the New Analytic of Logical Forms." As a teacher of logic he was very popular with the students, investing the study of the science with much literary interest. In 1857 Professor Baynes left Edinburgh for London, having been appointed assistant editor of the *Daily News*, a post which he held until 1864. In addition to a large number of articles contributed to that journal on the Civil War in America, he was a frequent writer in the *Athenæum* and other literary journals; and he also maintained his hold upon his special subject of logic and mental science, delivering lectures and taking private pupils to prepare for the University and India Civil Service Examinations. From 1857 to 1868

Dr. Baynes was examiner in logic and mental philosophy in the University of London. In 1860 he published "The Song of Solomon in the Somersetshire Dialect," and in 1861 a privately printed work on "The Somersetshire Dialect: its Pronunciation." He was elected professor of logic, rhetoric, and metaphysics in the University of St. Andrews in October 1864. Professor Baynes examined in mental philosophy for the India Civil Service in 1871, and in 1873 he was re-appointed examiner in logic and mental philosophy in the University of London, holding the office for the usual term of five years. Under the special rule for the election of members on the ground of distinguished services, he was elected a member of the Athenæum Club by the committee in 1877. Professor Baynes during the years 1869-75 continued articles to the *Edinburgh Review*, and at various times to the *North British Review*, the *Saturday Review*, and *Fraser's Magazine*. The great work, however, with which Professor Baynes's name will be permanently associated is the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, of which he was principal editor, having as his associate Professor Robertson Smith. The publication of the new edition of this important undertaking, begun in 1875, had been brought down to the letter S; Professor Baynes having contributed to the last volume the article on Shakespeare; which is one of the most comprehensive studies made on the great national poet. He took his degree of LL.B. at the University of London, and in April 1874 the University of Edinburgh conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL.D.

The following deaths also occurred during the month :— On the 3rd, at Brighton, aged 84, General Sir Robert J. Hussey Vivian, G.C.B., a member of the Indian Council, and at one time Adjutant-General of the Madras Army. During the Crimean War, he organised and commanded the Turkish contingent of 20,000 men. On the same date, at the Park Hotel, Preston, Wilson Fox, M.D., F.R.C.P., physician in ordinary to the Queen. On the 5th, in Westbourne Park, aged 64, James Grant, the author of the "Romance of War," and numerous popular novels. In early life he had been in the army. On the 7th, in Edinburgh, aged 69, Thomas Stevenson, C.E., the author of books and papers on scientific subjects especially relating to meteorology, and the inventor of many improvements in the illumination of lighthouses. He was the son of the Robert Stevenson who built the Bell Rock Lighthouse. On the 11th, at Swansea, aged 56, Lieutenant-Colonel William Osborne Smith, C.M.G., son of W. H. Smith, of Henderwen, Glamorganshire. He served during the Crimean Campaign, and, resigning his command after the war, settled in Canada, organising there a regiment of Canadian militia. As deputy-adjutant-general of the Canadian forces, he took a prominent part in the repulse of Fenian raids in 1866. On the 12th, in Hogarth Road, Kensington, Admiral Edward Gardiner Fishbourne, C.B., an active colleague of the late Earl of Shaftesbury in the work of evangelising the masses. Entering the Royal Navy in 1824, he saw much active service on the African coast, and in the Chinese Seas. He was for many years honorary secretary to the Royal

Patriotic Fund, and to the Naval and Military Bible Society. On the 13th, at Killea Castle, Co. Kildare, aged 60, *Caroline*, the widow of the fourth Duke of Leinster. She was the daughter of second Duke of Sutherland, K.G. On the 14th, in Hyde Park Square, aged 78, *Sir John Peter De Gex, G.C., M.A.*, son of John De Gex, of Leicester Place, a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn, where he held the office of treasurer in 1882, receiving the honour of knighthood on the occasion of the opening of the Royal Courts of Justice. On the 15th, aged 30, the *Hon. Ion Grant Keith-Falconer, M.A.*, son of eighth Earl of Kintore, the Lord Almoner's Reader in Arabic in the University of Cambridge, where he had passed a very distinguished career. On the same date, at Tunbridge Wells, aged 73, *Frederic Douglas Hamilton*, successively consul-general, chargé d'affaires, and minister-president at Ecuador, from 1867 to 1883. The son of the late Captain A. B. Hamilton, R.N., he commenced his diplomatic life in 1834, as an attaché at Buenos Ayres, and afterwards served in Australia, Germany, and Sweden. On the 18th, aged 61, *Edmé Felix Alfred Vulpian*, an eminent French physiologist and author. On the 19th, aged 78, *Francoise Michel*, an eminent writer upon philology and Anglo-Norman history. On the 20th, at Todenham House, Gloucestershire, aged 86, *Sir Peter Van-Notten Pole, D.L.* Succeeded his father, Sir Peter Pole, as third baronet, and assumed the additional name of Van-Notten. On the 21st, in Devonshire Place, aged 68, *Sir Horace Jones*, the London city architect, an office to which he was elected in 1864. Nearly all the important architectural works executed by the Corporation since then were designed by him. On the same date, at the Royal Yacht Squadron Castle, Cowes, aged 82, *Admiral Lord Edward Russell, C.B.*, the son of sixth Duke of Bedford, for some years naval aide-de-camp to the Queen. On the 22nd, in Queen Anne's Mansions, aged 59, *John Aloysius Blake, M.P.* for Carlisle, much interested in the treatment of the insane, on which subject he has published several works. On the 24th, aged 82, *General Baron Ungern Sternberg*, a Russian officer who commanded all the irregular cavalry in the Crimean campaign, and who took a prominent part in the siege of Kars. On the 27th, at Banchory, aged 56, *Major-General Alexander Hadden Lindsay, C.B., R.A.* He served through the whole of the Indian Mutiny campaign. On the same date, at Walmer, aged 75, *Admiral Henry Harvey*, signal midshipman on board Sir Edward Codrington's flag-ship at the battle of Navarino. He served subsequently at the Cape of Good Hope, in New South Wales and elsewhere, retiring in 1866. On the same date, in Queen's Gardens, Bayswater, aged 89, *George Adams, C.B.* He was appointed to the commissariat department in Sicily during its occupation by the British forces in 1813. During the Irish famine of 1847 he acted as accountant and financial secretary to the Board of Public Works in Ireland, and on the breaking out of the Russian War he was appointed commissary-general of the Army in the East. He also served for a time in Canada as Crown arbitrator on the Rideau and Ottawa canals. On the same date, at Saltwood Castle, Kent, aged 52, *William Deedes*, son of William Deedes, of Sandling Park, Hythe. He entered the army and served with the Rifle Brigade in the Crimean campaign and throughout the Indian Mutiny. He was afterwards for several years a brigade-major at Aldershot. Retiring from the army in 1862, he was elected for East Kent, which he represented 1876-1880. On the same date, at West Brighton, aged 81, *Francis Fuller*, the last survivor of the three promoters of the Great Exhibition of 1861, while a prominent member of the Society of Arts. He afterwards took a large share in the formation of the Crystal Palace Company. On the 30th, aged 85, *Sir Robert North Collie Hamilton, K.C.B.*, of Avonoliffe, Stratford-on-Avon, sixth baronet, for many years in the Bengal Civil Service. On the 31st, at Southsea, aged 65, *Lieutenant-General William Henry Freese*, of the Madras Infantry. He served with the expeditionary force in China in 1840-42.

## JUNE.

*George James Finch Hatton*, eleventh Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham, who died on June 9, at his residence in Cadogan Mansions, Sloane Square, at the age of 72, was the eldest son of the eccentric peer who fought the duel with

the Duke of Wellington on account of his conduct with respect to Roman Catholic emancipation, by his first marriage with Lady Georgiana Charlotte Graham, daughter of the third Duke of Montrose. He was born in

May 1815, and was educated at Eton, whence he proceeded to Christ Church, Oxford. He took his bachelor's degree in 1835, obtaining a second class in classical honours. In 1837 he was elected M.P. in the Conservative interest for the Northern Division of Northamptonshire, and although he achieved a certain success in his passages of arms with O'Connell, he was not endowed with that peculiar temperament which then secured success in Parliament. He soon gave up all active participation in political life, and became one, and not the least remarkable, of the coterie which included Lord George Bentinck, Sir Massey Stanley, Lord Strafford, Lord Scarborough, Lord Forrester and his brother, Lord Chesterfield, Lord Gardiner, and Count d'Orsay. Among such surroundings Lord Winchelsea soon became an ardent votary of the turf; but although he at various times was the owner of horses of average merit, and had some skill as a gentleman rider, he never attained classical honours in that sport, *Impérieuse*, the best animal that ever belonged to him, having passed out of his possession previous to her victory in the St. Leger in 1857. He was a frequent correspondent of some of the daily and weekly papers on sporting, classical, and miscellaneous questions. His earliest contributions were to the *Keepsake* and the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and as a proof of the versatility of his talents it may be mentioned that he wrote and published in 1849 a paraphrase of the Book of Job, which attracted considerable attention at the time. Lord Winchelsea was twice married: first, in 1846, to Lady Constance Henrietta Paget, daughter of Lord Anglesey; and secondly, in 1882, to Lady Elizabeth Georgiana Conyngham, daughter of the second Marquis Conyngham, and widow of Mr. George L. Bryan, M.P., of Jenkinstown, county Kilkenny. His only son, Lord Maidstone, having died in 1879, without issue, the two earldoms and his other honours passed to his half-brother, the Hon. Murray Edward Gordon Finch-Hatton, of Haverholme Priory, near Sleaford, M.P. for South Lincolnshire, who was born in 1851, and married to Edith, daughter of Mr. Edward Harcourt, of Nuneham Park, late M.P. for Oxfordshire.

Theodore Walrond. Born in 1824, the son of Mr. Theodore Walrond of Calder Park, near Glasgow. At the age of ten he entered at Rugby, where he speedily became one of Dr. Arnold's

favourite pupils, and after five years had reached the sixth form. In 1840 he was captain of the school, the youngest boy who had ever attained that position, which he filled at the time of Dr. Arnold's death. Dr. Tait, who succeeded to the headmastership, acknowledged the invaluable help he got from the head of the school. Walrond distinguished himself equally in the cricket field and the football matches, for which the school's reputation then stood high. Having brought his school-life to a close with the greatest credit to himself, he began his Oxford career by winning, in 1842, the Balliol Scholarship, and finished by taking a first-class in classics, and with the reputation of being one of the best oars in the University. Arthur Stanley, A. H. Clough, and Richard Congreve, though some years older, were Rugby friends with whom he lived in the closest intimacy; while Ward, Palmer, and Jowett were tutors of his college. The years of his residence included the great Tractarian crisis, and the exodus of Cardinal Newman, Ward, and their followers to the Church of Rome. And Walrond not only lived in the centre of the ferment, but took a lively interest in the controversies. There were few rooms in which theologic, philosophic, and social problems were handled more freely,—not, indeed, without occasional shock to orthodox youth who might chance to be present; for in those days there were still some matters—such as the fundamental truths of Christianity—which it was not considered quite good form to discuss at breakfast and wine-parties. But though the storm raged round his head, and was fierce enough to unsteady the balance of several of his nearest friends, he never lost his own firm foothold, or his grasp on the Ten Commandments and the Church Catechism. From Balliol he went back to Rugby, where for three years he was one of the best and most popular of assistant-masters, and, but for reasons to which we need not allude here, would, at a later period of his life, have no doubt succeeded the present Bishop of London as headmaster.

In 1851 he went back to Balliol as Fellow and tutor, and remained there till 1856, when he was appointed Examiner to the newly created Civil Service Commission. Here he remained until his death, filling successively the posts of Secretary and Commissioner, to the latter of which he was appointed in 1875.

He was twice married: first, in

1859, to Charlotte Elliot, daughter of Rivenstale Grenfell, Esq., of Maidenhead; and second, in 1876, to Louisa, daughter of Charles Paswa Grenfell, of Taplow. He was made C.B. in 1871. He died, after a short illness, at his residence in Lancaster Gate, on June 16, aged 63.

**Sir Barrow Helbert Ellis, K.C.S.I.**, who died at Evian-les-Bains, Savoy, on the 20th, was born in the year 1823, and received his education at University College School. He then matriculated at the University of London, where he took a scholarship, and obtained classical honours in 1839. He then went to Haileybury, from which he passed into the Bombay Civil Service in July 1843. He reached India at the end of the same year, and his first appointment was as third assistant collector and magistrate, Ratnaghiri. He became second assistant in 1847, and was commissioner for investigating certain claims on the Nisam's Government in the following year. From 1851 to 1858 he served in Scinde, first as assistant commissioner, and afterwards as full commissioner, with special regard to revenue matters. In 1859 he was collector and magistrate

at Broach, and he also acted as Secretary to the Government of Bombay. He was then appointed in rapid succession Chief Secretary, member of the Legislative Council, and in 1866 member of the Bombay Council. Five years later he became the Bombay member of the Viceroy's Council, and two months after his retirement he was nominated to the India Council at home. This appointment, being one of ten years, expired by the natural effluxion of time in 1885. As Sir Barrow Ellis's principal work was done in his bureau, it has left little record, and the materials for either description or praise are slender. He was considered an excellent revenue and settlement officer, and perhaps his chief merits were the rapidity with which he got through his work, and his accessibility at all times to natives. He was one of the chief promoters of the Northbrook Club, which has in view the bringing into closer social relations the native and European members of the Indian services. Sir Barrow Ellis was a Jew, both in race and religion, and his body was brought to this country for interment in accordance with the rites of his ancient faith.

The following deaths also occurred in the same month:—On the 3rd, at Paris, aged 70, **Albéric Second**, a distinguished French *littérateur* and dramatic author, manager of the Odéon Theatre under the Empire. On the same date, at Macon, New York, aged 68, **William Almon Wheeler**, one time Vice-President of the United States. His adjustment of some political difficulties in Louisiana has become known as the "Wheeler Compromise." On the 5th, at Prague, aged 60, **Heinrich Jaroslav**, Count of Clam-Martinier, who was the leader of the Ultra-Conservative Czech party in the Austrian Parliament. On the same date, aged 85, **Lady Sturt**, widow of Captain Charles Sturt, the distinguished Australian discoverer, who died before his appointment as K.C.M.G. was completed. On the same date, at Upper Norwood, **Edward Francis Harrison, C.S.I.**, of the Bengal Civil Service, a distinguished member of the Financial Department. He was mainly responsible for the introduction of paper currency into India. He held the appointment of Comptroller-General of India for twelve years, and in 1878 he was sent by the English Government into Turkey to inquire into the state of the finances of that country. On the 7th, at Dunblane, N.B., aged 76, **Colonel Alexander Angus Croll**, of Beechwood, Reigate, a well-known civil engineer, who, as chairman of the United Kingdom Electric Telegraph Company, was a pioneer in the extension of telegraphy at home and abroad. A magistrate for several counties, he took much interest in questions relating to prison discipline. On the 9th, aged 76, the **Rev. Henry Hubert Cornish, D.D.**, last Principal of New Inn Hall, Oxford, an office he had held since 1866. On the 12th, at Llandudno, aged 76, **Henry Sherbrooke, J.P.**, D.L., son of the Rev. Robert Lowe, Rector of Bingham, Nottinghamshire, and half-brother of Viscount Sherbrooke. He took the name of Sherbrooke on succeeding his cousin in the Oston estates. On the same date, at Paris, aged 49, **M. Battie**, Senator of the Gers, and formerly Professor of the Paris Faculty of Law. He was Minister of Public Instruction in 1873. On the 14th, at Schwabach, aged 71, **General Sir Edmund Ogle, B.E.**, son of the Rev. James Ogle. He succeeded his cousin as sixth baronet in 1885. On the 15th, at Kuzenev, near Moscow, aged 81, the **Baron de Bode**, whose name had been for many years before the public as a claimant against the British Government for a vast sum as a compensation for the confiscation of his father's estates in France in the revolution of 1793, on the plea that it was contrary to a treaty protecting British subjects, his mother having been an Englishwoman. His father, on his flight from France, took refuge in Prussia,

where he was granted an estate by the Empress Catherine. The late baron retired thither in 1861, and spent his time in improving it. On the 18th, at Cheltenham, **Thomas Fiott Hughes**, a great linguist, who was one of the two selected from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in 1848, to be sent as attachés to Constantinople. The other was the late Viscount Strangford, whom he succeeded as Oriental Secretary there. During the Crimean War he was instrumental in raising the Bashi-Bazouks. On the 20th, at Wimbledon, aged 64, **Finlay Knight**, one of the registrars of the Court of Bankruptcy. He originally practised as a solicitor in Birmingham. He was called to the Bar of the Inner Temple in 1867. On the 23rd, in the Albany, aged 80, **Admiral John Elphinstone Erskine, F.R.G.S.**, son of the late David Erskine of Cardross. He served in the Baltic during the Russian War and was for a time aide-de-camp to the Queen. He represented Shropshire as a Conservative from 1865 to 1874. On the 25th, at Leeds, aged 44, the **Rev. Harman Chaloner Ogle**, Fellow and Tutor of Magdalene College, Oxford, and some time Warden of Queen's College, Birmingham. On the same date, at Milan, **Dr. Filippo Filippi**, musical critic of *La Perseveranza*, and the leading writer of Italy on musical subjects. On the 26th, in Hyde Park Terrace, aged 55, **Lionel Louis Cohen, M.P.** for North Paddington, son of Louis Cohen, senior partner in the well-known firm of Cohen & Sons, foreign bankers, a manager and trustee of the Stock Exchange. He served on the Royal Commission on the Depression of Trade, and on that on the Currency, and on the Committee on Endowed Schools, and was President of the Jewish Board of Guardians. On the 27th, at Beech House, Ringwood, aged 70, **J. Henry Dart**, a Bencher of Lincoln's Inn, the senior conveyancing counsel of the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice, an office to which he was appointed in 1860, and one of the Verderers of the New Forest. He was the author of a standard legal work on "Forests." On the 28th, at Bournemouth, aged 48, **John Shaw**, for many years secretary of the South Eastern Railway Company.

## JULY.

**Marquess of Winchester.**—**John Paulet**, fourteenth marquess, was the eldest son of Charles Ingoldsby, thirteenth marquess, by his marriage with Anne, daughter and heiress of Mr. John Burroughes. He was born June 3, 1801, was educated at Eton, succeeded to his father's honours in 1843, and in 1852 was appointed to the Lord-Lieutenancy of Hampshire. He was also "Vice-Admiral of the Coast of Dorset" and honorary colonel of the 8rd Battalion of the Hampshire Regiment. Lord Winchester married, in 1855, the Hon. Mary Montagu, eldest daughter of the sixth Lord Rokeby, a title now extinct; but he was left a widower in 1868. He was a man of a vigorous constitution, devoted to out-of-door employments, an experienced and successful agriculturist, and a prompt and careful man of business. From the connection of his father with the Courts of George III. and the Regent he became acquainted very early in life with many distinguished men at the beginning of the century. He was present at the funeral of the great Lord Nelson in the year 1806, and in Aug. 1815, when he was at home for his holidays, the Regent arrived to spend the night at Ampport on his way to

Dover. The news had just arrived of the surrender of Napoleon on board the "Bellerophon," and Lord Winchester well remembered the conversation which passed at his father's table that night. It is known that Napoleon, when he gave himself up, expected to be permitted to remain in England, and it was suggested that a residence should be found for him in Wales. The comment the Regent passed on this proposal Lord Winchester remembered was, "If Bonaparte comes to England I may as well leave it at once." It was on the occasion of this visit that Lord Winchester received the promise of a commission in the 10th Hussars from the Regent. In the cellars at Ampport there was, and still remains, some very fine Jamaica rum, said to be now 200 years old. The Regent, whenever he visited Ampport, was given some of this rum, and he appreciated it so much that he was in the habit of taking two bottles away with him when he left. On this occasion, however, the servant forgot to place the two bottles in the Regent's travelling carriage, and the error having been discovered a short time after the Royal party had left, Lord Winchester, then Lord Wiltshire,



was sent off by his father on horseback to overtake the Regent's carriage and hand him the two bottles of rum. When he overtook the party the Regent complimented him on his horsemanship, and promised him a commission in his own regiment, the 10th Hussars, which he held for many years, and from which he retired as lieutenant-colonel. As a youth the late Lord Winchester was much in the society of his uncle, Lord Henry Paulet, Vice-Admiral of the White, and he dined with him on board his ship at Spithead when a great dinner was given to those who assembled to witness the first steamer steam up the Solent. Though quite a youth at the time, his memory retained much of the conversation he heard on that occasion, and he would often laugh in recounting the terrible disasters which it was then prophesied would happen to this country in consequence of this innovation. Lord Winchester, though he took great interest in political matters, and though he was a constant attendant in the House of Lords, never took a prominent part in the debates. The Prince Consort, shortly after his marriage, sent for Lord Winchester and asked him to accept a high post in the Court, but, in declining the honour thus proffered, he explained that the estates to which he had recently succeeded were much embarrassed, and that he had set himself the task of rehabilitating the fortunes of his family. He spent the best years of his life in the work of estate management, and he always held that the first duty of men in his position was to attend personally to those matters. As a young man, he travelled in Russia and Austria, and was for some time attached to the Austrian army. He was for some years aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington. He was premier marquis of England and Hereditary Bearer of the Cup of Maintenance. Had full state been observed on the occasion of the Jubilee thanksgiving service, Lord Winchester had, though much weakened in health, announced his intention of being present to fulfil his hereditary duty. His death, which was unexpected in spite of his advanced age, took place on July 4, at his favourite residence, Ampthorp, St. Mary's, near Andover.

Alfred Krupp, the proprietor of the celebrated steelworks and gun foundry, died 18th inst. at his villa, near Essen. He was born on April 11, 1810, at Essen, where his father, Frederick Charles Krupp, had set up a small foundry. When his father died Herr Krupp and

his brother carried on the business in partnership with their mother until 1848, when Alfred became sole possessor of it and (preserving the firm's old style of "Friedrich Krupp") developed it into the greatest steel-casting industry in the world. After patient and long-continued experiments and countless failures he succeeded in making steel in huge blocks. In the London Exhibition of 1851 he showed a block of cast steel of forty-five centners, whereas previously one of twenty centners had been considered a marvel. Herr Krupp's great achievements in this branch of industry were honourably attested by his exhibits at Munich (1854) and Paris (1855), and still more remarkably in the Universal Exhibitions of London (1862), Paris (1867), Vienna (1873), and Philadelphia (1876), and others. The Krupp steel-foundry some years before the owner's death, covered an area of over 1,000 acres, and employed 10,600 workmen, in addition to the 5,000 men employed in other undertakings of the firm. No fewer than seventy-seven steam-hammers were constantly at work. Railway lines connected the works with the railway system of the country; and the establishment included a chemical laboratory, a photographing and lithographing house, with book printing and binding workshops. The articles produced included axles, wheels, machinery of various kinds, cannon, and shells and other missiles; some of the cannon rivalling in size and power the most tremendous productions of Whitworth and Armstrong. The merit of the Krupp cannon consisted quite as much in the use of the finest, strongest, and purest metal as in the peculiarity of their construction or "building." These breech-loading cannon have been found to possess almost unsurpassable durability, accuracy, and range; and it may be mentioned that the plentiful shell fire which harassed Lord Wolseley's forces at Kassassin was delivered from Krupp cannon purchased by the Egyptian Government at Essen. Up to 1876 Herr Krupp had delivered to different Governments 15,000 cannon, mostly equipped with carriages and ammunition. After the close of the Franco-German War the German army was supplied throughout with the perfected field-piece of Herr Krupp, and the whole of the German coasts are defended by battery guns of his design and construction, which were tried on a strip of land seven miles long, fitted up as a cannon-range, near Dülmen, in Westphalia. The firm also carried on extensive mining and smelting works, and owned

much land, rich in iron-ore, in Northern Spain, employing four steamers in the conveyance of the metal to Germany. Herr Krupp's genius came opportunely to the aid of his countrymen in the crisis brought on by Prince Bismarck's resolute efforts to attain German unity. His achievements in the course of a long and active career have more than once been rewarded by his Sovereign and by foreign princes, and some time ago it was announced that the Emperor had conferred upon him the rank of baron. Herr Krupp was, however, not only a successful manufacturer and clever inventor. In all practical projects for the amelioration of his workmen he took an active interest, and by his will he bequeathed a large sum for their benefit, liberally sharing with his people the colossal fortune he had amassed by their aid.

Agostino Depretis was born in Stradella, Piedmont, in 1811, and, completing his studies at Turin, entered into the practice of the law in his native town. At an early age he entered with zeal into all the agitations and movements which preceded the entry of Charles Albert into the belligerent propaganda of Italian rights, as journalist, as orator, and patriot. He did not, like so many of his subsequent colleagues, unite legal and military activity—there was nothing belligerent in his disposition; he was a counsellor and administrator; but after the abdication of Charles Albert, and the failure of his policy, Depretis was, in 1849, made Governor of Brescia. In 1850 he was elected to the Piedmontese Chamber of Deputies, where he seems to have been at first in the Opposition, although holding his post of Civil Governor. He was a co-worker with Cavour, and in 1861 was sent by him to Sicily as prodictator, to carry into formal act the union to Italy by proclamation of the statute. He entered the Cabinet of Rattazzi after the death of Cavour, and

until December of the following year was Minister of Public Works. He again was in the Cabinet under Ricasoli, first as Minister of the Marine and then of Finance.

After the death of Rattazzi he became chief of the Opposition, and led the attack which overthrew the Minghetti Cabinet in 1876. The old Conservative influence was waning in Italy, and a mildly Radical policy was followed by Depretis, abolishing the *macinato*, or tax on grinding of corn, and forbidding religious processions outside the churches—a practice which had been made a political as well as religious appliance. In 1877 Depretis was overthrown again by a combination led by Cairoli, but the Parliamentary incompetence of the new Prime Minister made him an easy prey to the ability of Depretis, who in his new Ministry laid the foundation of what has been ever since known as "Transformism," by which his satirists said that he went in as a Minister of the Left and governed as a Minister of the Right. Again the combination of the unstable elements overthrew Depretis, and Cairoli was recalled, but only made a Ministry by taking in his rival, who from that time has been so constant a quantity in all Parliamentary combinations that he was called "the indispensable." His death had been apprehended for months. His appearances at Monte Citorio became more and more rare, and his face showed rapid ravages of age and wear. Early in the summer he was thought to be near death, but was unwilling to leave Rome for his native place before the conclusion of the session. He lived quietly, almost obscurely, on a third floor in the Via Nazionale, and it was there that he died, on July 29. The mourning throughout Italy when the news transpired was general and sincere, and his colleagues in both Houses united in paying the tribute of their interest and admiration.

The following deaths also occurred during the month:—On the 1st, at Paignton, aged 77, Vice-Admiral Edward James Bedford, R.N., much employed in Admiralty surveys of the English and Scottish coasts, as well as those of Newfoundland and South America. On the 3rd, at Ardincaple Castle, Helensburgh, aged 84, Humphry Ewing Crum-Ewing, Lord-Lieutenant of Dumbartonshire, for many years M.P. for Paisley. On the same date, in Eccleston Square, aged 75, General George Ramsay (Bengal Army), many years Resident at the Courts of Nagpore and Nepal. He was the son of the late Honourable Andrew Ramsay, and grandson of the sixth Earl of Dalhousie. On the same date, in York Terrace, Regent's Park, aged 61, Lindsay Sloper, a pianoforte player, and the composer of many popular pieces. Also on the same date, aged 86, Admiral Sir Henry Mangles Denham, F.R.S., son of the late Henry Denham of Sherborne. He was knighted in 1867 in recognition of his hydrographical services, his maritime explorations and production of charts. He married Isabella, daughter of Rev. Joseph Cole of Carmarthen. On the 4th, at

the Close, Salisbury, aged 94, **Dr. Fawcett**, the father of the late Right Hon. Henry Fawcett. As Mayor of Salisbury in 1832 he had presided at the public dinner in the market-place given in celebration of the passing of the Reform Bill. On the same date, at Old Palace Yard, Westminster, aged 76, **Right Hon. John Floyer**, of West Stafford, P.C., J.P., D.L., formerly M.P. for Dorset, for many years Chairman of Quarter Sessions. He was the son of the Rev. William Floyer of West Stafford, and came of an old Lincolnshire family. Shortly before his death he was created a Privy Councillor. Also on the same date, at Hyde Park Mansions, aged 53, **Major-General Irwin Montgomery Greig, R.E.** (Bombay), field engineer in the Abyssinian Expeditionary Force in 1868. On the 6th, at Rathmines, Dublin, **Lieutenant-Colonel John Francis Stephens**, late of 89th (Dorsetshire) Regiment; served as adjutant-general in the Anglo-Chinese Force under General Gordon during the Taeping rebellion in 1863. On the 7th, at Halse, aged 82, **Professor Pott**, the last of the trio who, with Bopp and Grimm, founded the study of comparative philology. On the 8th, at Leam House, Kensington, aged 64, **John Wright Oakes, A.R.A.** On the 9th, in Sackville Street, aged 56, the **Hon. Sir Ashley Eden, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.**, son of third Lord Auckland, sometime Bishop of Bath and Wells. He was educated at Winchester and Harleyburg, and in 1852 he entered the Bengal Civil Service; was secretary to Governor of Bengal 1860-1871, Chief Commissioner in Burmah 1871-6, and Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal 1876-82. On his retirement he was made a member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India. He married, in 1861, Eva Maria, daughter of Vice-Admiral Money, C.B. On the 11th, in London, aged 38, **Hugh Brooke Low**, Resident of the Reganey district, in the service of the Sarawak Government. He was the son of Sir Hugh Low, K.C.M.G., and godson of Rajah Brooke of Sarawak. On the 12th, at Bath, aged 89, the **Rev. John Bathurst Deane, M.A., F.S.A.**, Rector of St. Mary, Outwich, in the City of London. He was for many years a classical and mathematical master at Merchant Taylors School, and the author of several literary and antiquarian works. On the same date, at Carnmoney, co. Antrim, **General William James Smythe, F.R.S.**, Colonel Commandant of Royal Artillery, which corps he entered in 1833, and served in the first Caffre War. He had been a Commissioner to the Fiji Islands, and was for a time Director of the Magnetic and Meteorological Observatory at St. Helena. On the 13th, aged 61, **Elmé Marie Caro**, an eminent French philosophical writer, and a member of the French Academy; Professor of Philosophy to the Faculty of Letters at Paris. On the 19th, aged 78, the **Rev. Lewis Edwards, D.D.**, Principal of Bala College, the school established by him in 1837 for Calvinistic Methodists, over the development of which he presided for fifty years. On the 21st, at Durham, the **Right Rev. Monsignor Provost Consett**, Vicar Capitular, twice nominated by the unanimous voice of the Chapter to the vacant Roman Catholic bishopric of Hexham and Newcastle, which he declined to accept on account of his age. On the 25th, in Charlotte Street, Bedford Square, aged 75, **Henry Mayhew**, a writer of magazine and newspaper articles; best known for his work upon "London Labour and the London Poor." He was one of the original promoters of *Punch*, and in conjunction with his brothers Horace and Augustus he wrote numerous works of fiction. On the same date, at Grange Park, Ealing, aged 80, **Sir Stephen Walecott**, late Commissioner of the Government Emigration Board. The son of the late R. J. Walecott, of Barbadoes, he was called to the Bar of Lincoln's Inn, and had been successively an Assistant-Commissioner for Inquiring into the Poor Laws, and Chief Secretary to the Government of Canada. On the 26th, at Salt Lake, aged 80, **John Taylor**, President of the Mormon Church, and the successor of Brigham Young. He was a native of England. On the 27th, at Upper Norwood, **Rear-Admiral Charles R. F. Boxer**. Entering the Navy in 1834, he served in the Crimean War, being then specially employed in landing troops and horses. During the Trent affair he was appointed agent at Parana, where he received the thanks of the Admiralty for his zeal and perseverance in forcing his way up the St. Lawrence, with the Scots Guards on board, when it was blocked with ice. On the same date, at Worthing, **Mrs. Wilson Barrett**, who under the professional name of Miss Heath was an actress of considerable ability at the Princess's Theatre, under Mr. Charles Kean's management. She was subsequently reader to the Queen. On the 29th, at Eaux Chaudes, Pyrenees, aged 63, **Sir Thomas George Knox, K.C.M.G.** He entered the 98th Foot in 1842, and, quitting it in 1848, he served with the Siamese army until appointed interpreter at Bangkok, after which time he became successively Acting Consul, Consul, and Consul-General. On the same date, at Ravensdale Park, Newry, aged 72, **Thomas Fortescue**, first Baron Clermont, the son of the late Colonel Chichester Fortescue, of Dromiskin, co. Louth; he was created a peer in

1852, with remainder to his brother, Lord Carlingford. On the 30th, in Cadogan Place, aged 38, Commander the Hon. Francis Robert Sandilands. He served in the Egyptian War of 1882, and received the Albert Medal for attempting to save the life of a corporal. He was the son of the Hon. and Rev. John Sandilands, and was raised to the rank of a baron's son on his brother becoming twelfth Lord Torphichen. On the 31st, at Lostwithiel, aged 79, Thomas Simon Bolitho, of Penzance, D.L. and D.W.

## AUGUST.

**Michael Nikiforovitch Katkoff**, the scion of a noble family, was born at Moscow in the year 1820. He studied at Moscow University and afterwards at Königsberg and Berlin, where he became a student and devoted follower of Schelling. On his return to Russia he was appointed Professor of Philosophy at Moscow, but he resigned his chair in 1849 in consequence of the restrictions placed on academical teaching by the Czar Nicholas. In 1856 he made his first journalistic venture by publishing the *Russki Wjestnik*, in which he propounded the ideas of modern Liberalism, and especially advocated a system of self-government on the model of the English Constitution. He at the same time declared that he had no sympathy with the Radical and Socialist party. The revolution in Poland, and the force lent by that event to revolutionary doctrines in Russia itself, induced Katkoff, who had become editor of the *Moscow Gazette* in 1861, to change his political views, and he became the Apostle of National Russia. He was the real author of the despatch of General Mouravieff to Wilna in 1861, and that vigorous exponent of the power of Russia was daily extolled in the columns of Katkoff's journal. Poland was told that she had no chance "but to unite her aspirations with those of Russia, and to inoculate herself with the principles which have been elaborated and elaborate themselves in the political development of the Russian people." If Katkoff contributed to the exaltation of Mouravieff he also took his part in the downfall of the pacific Marquis Wielopolski, who would have given the Poles a large share in the administration of their country. But Katkoff preached a more attractive doctrine than justice to Poland—viz. the Russification of the Empire of the Czar. If he was anti-Pole on the Vistula he was not less anti-German in the Baltic provinces, and indeed he was the first, as he was the chief, exponent of the cry

Russia for the Russians. The causes of his growth of popularity with Government and people alike may be easily inferred—he was useful to the former, and in the latter he awoke the spark of patriotism and national self-confidence.

Although Katkoff had become a politician and a public writer, he had not forgotten the habits and training of his university career, and he advocated with Leontieff (who became associated with him in all his enterprises until his death in 1875) the classical humanitarian system of education; but being opposed by the Minister of Instruction, Golovnin, he founded, in 1865, an academy of his own at Moscow, subsequently known as the Lyceum Grand Duke Nicholas. The triumph of Golovnin was brief, for he fell in May of the following year, and Katkoff and Leontieff effected a complete revolution of the system in force in all the gymnasia of the empire. The new law was carried out by Count Tolstoi, under the instigation of Katkoff, in face of the opposition of the entire press, and after Tolstoi's death, in April 1880, Katkoff caused it to be carried on without any alteration. After the death of Alexander II. he became the head of the National party, and it was due to his influence that the proposed summoning of a Parliament of provincial delegates was abandoned. This triumph resulted in the dismissal of the ministers Loris Melikoff, Abaza, and Miliutine, and in the triumphs of the so-called national and unquestionably reactionary system. Katkoff was then offered but refused the portfolio of Minister of Instruction. He accepted, however, the dignity of a privy councillor. By this time his views on educational matters had been modified by his political leanings, and he had abandoned the teachings of Schelling for those of the advanced Russian school. Proof of this was furnished in his using his influence with the minister Delyanoff to procure the abandonment of the liberal University

statutes of 1868, which he had been himself instrumental in procuring, and thus he went back in his earlier protestations.

Starting from the assumption that Russia, to maintain her present greatness and to become greater in the eyes of the world, should nationalise the different elements of the empire, Katkoff was throughout the greater part of his career anti-German in everything except the system of education. In 1884, however, he caused it to be made known that he regarded the alliance with Germany as useful to Russia, and that he saw no reason why she should not live on good terms with Austria-Hungary. But those views were only dictated by a temporary necessity, and expressed out of deference to the Court. Katkoff will always be remembered in Russia as the eloquent exponent of Russian instincts, and the real feeling at the bottom of the national regret caused by his death will be a sense that, great as were the services he rendered Russia under Nicholas and under Alexander II., his influence with Alexander III., and the development of the national feeling in Russia which he had himself done so much to create, would have furnished him with the opportunities of placing the seal of triumph to the propaganda of Russianising the empire, inaugurated and pursued by the brilliant publicist.

Worn out by constant work, Katkoff's excitable nature broke down early in the year. For a long time hopes were entertained of his ultimate recovery; but a sudden relapse, from which he never rallied, closed his career on August 1, at Moscow.

Antonio Carra, the assassin of Charles III., Duke of Parma, in 1854, died on August 6, unrecognised and unknown, in a hospital in Philadelphia. The Duke had been welcomed by his people on coming to his throne a few years before, in succession to the Archduchess Maria Louisa, widow of the Emperor Napoleon I., but he quickly became detested on account of his arbitrary government, and still more because of the profligacy of his private life. He was married to a most amiable princess, a sister of the Comte de Chambord; but his licentious conduct earned for him the bitter hatred of men of all classes within his duchy. A sort of association of vengeance was formed against him; and he was marked out for death by the "Giovane Italia." But the Duke was brave and fearless, and

although he knew well his life was in danger, he despised the men he had so deeply injured too much to take any precautions. Antonio Carra, a saddler by trade, was engaged to be married to a cigar-maker of wonderful beauty. The Duke heard of this girl and soon boasted that he had supplanted the saddler. The local committee of the "Giovane Italia" met on March 25, 1854, to consider how, when, and by whom "justice" should be executed on Duke Charles for his oppressive political conduct. Antonio Carra presented himself to the committee, and claimed the right of assassinating the Duke, explaining that he would do the deed with an awl as the weapon with which he was best acquainted. Many of those present protested against transforming an act of political "justice" into a deed of private personal vengeance. But the majority accepted the proposal of Carra, who the next evening stabbed the Duke with a large awl in the breast as he was entering his palace after his afternoon walk. The assassin fled, climbed over the city wall at a lonely spot, then went around and presented himself at the gate of St. Barbara, and after much entreaty was allowed to enter. He gave some money to the warder to get a drink of wine, and during his absence put on the hands of the clock at the gatehouse by an hour. The Duke never recovered consciousness after he was stabbed, and died within an hour; but his death was kept secret till next day, in order to allow time to the Ministers to secure the succession of the Duchess as Regent for her young son. Carra was arrested and tried, but the positive evidence of the gate warder procured his acquittal. He went to America, and settled in Philadelphia; but Italians kept aloof from the man whom they regarded as a private murderer, not as a political assassin. In 1861 he returned to Parma, where he expected to be received with open arms as one of the "victims of tyranny" who had suffered the most shameful wrong. But his old friends of the "Giovane Italia" were unwilling to acknowledge that he had any claims upon them. Deeply disappointed, he returned to Philadelphia, where he was known as an industrious and intelligent but unlucky workman, and his name and story were alike unknown to his American associates.

The Right Hon. James Anthony Lawson, LL.D., Justice of the Queen's Bench Division, died on August 12, at

his residence, Shankill, Dublin. He was born in the city of Waterford in the year 1817, and was educated in Trinity College, where he took high honours in classics, and won a scholarship in 1836. In 1837 he obtained a senior moderatorship and first in ethics and logic, and took his degree in 1838. In 1840 he was called to the Irish Bar, but his connexion with the university was renewed by his appointment to the Whately Professorship of Political Economy as successor to the late Isaac Butt, who had been the first professor. He soon obtained a good practice, especially in the Courts of Equity, and in 1857 was made a Q.C., and appointed law adviser at Dublin Castle. In 1859 he became Solicitor-General under the second Administration of Lord Palmerston, on the promotion of the late Judge Deasy. On Mr. O'Hagan's elevation to the Bench in 1865 Mr. Lawson succeeded to the Attorney-Generalship at a very critical period. The Fenian conspiracy which had been formed after the suppression of the partial revolt in 1858 had become formidable, and it became his duty to grapple with it. This he did with singular courage and strength. By a vigorous stroke he suppressed the *Irish People* newspaper and cut at the root of the conspiracy. The leaders were arrested and prosecuted, and Fenianism was for a time effectually crushed. In the discharge of what he regarded as an imperative duty he incurred much obloquy and danger, but he never flinched or wavered for a moment in his settled purpose. He pursued it with steady perseverance until the last trace of the conspiracy was obliterated. In 1868, on the elevation of Mr. Justice O'Hagan to the Lord Chancellorship, an office to which, irrespectively of etiquette or usage, his services to the country and his legal attainments gave him a special claim, Mr. Lawson succeeded to the vacant judgeship in the Common Pleas. He was selected by Mr. Gladstone as Chief Commissioner to carry out the provisions of the Church Act while still retaining his seat on the Bench. In 1892 he was transferred to the Queen's Bench Division, where his legal knowledge and experience were universally recognised, and he possessed the highest authority. It was his lot to have many duties to discharge in the administration of the criminal law, which made him obnoxious to those who transgressed it and to those who sympathised with them. He was marked out for vengeance, but his courage and his

sense of responsibility never failed him, and he went through an ordeal which severely tried him, and would have broken down a mind less firm and fearless, with a calm inflexible resolution which won the respect of his bitterest enemies, and the admiration of every loyal and well-disposed citizen. In 1882 an attempt was made upon his life as he was walking towards the Kildare Street Club by a man named Delany, who was afterwards tried for the Phoenix Park murders, but became an approver and gave important evidence which helped to convict the actual assassins. Judge Lawson had been under police protection, not at his own desire, but because the authorities thought it necessary. The great mental strain to which he was subjected for so long a time no doubt affected his health, and his naturally vigorous constitution ultimately gave way under its harassing influence. Mr. Justice Lawson was a scholar of refined and cultivated taste, who found relief from the anxious cares of his office in literary pursuits; and no better enjoyment could be afforded to him in his leisure hours than in renewing his acquaintance with classical authors, and exercising his talents in versifying and translating. He was in politics a constant Liberal of the old constitutional type, who refused to sacrifice his principles in countenancing revolutionary changes. He stood for the University of Dublin as a Liberal in April 1867, but was defeated. In 1866 he was returned for the borough of Portarlington, and took an active part in carrying the Church Act and the Land Act of 1870. He took great interest in social questions, and was for some time president of the Statistical Society, to which he contributed many interesting papers. He had been in failing health for a considerable time, and although he struggled resolutely to discharge his judicial duties at the recent assizes, he was obliged to leave the court and return to town. He underwent a severe operation upon one of his eyes, the sight of which he lost, and this added to his enfeebled condition. Few public men have lived in Ireland who have been more distinguished or played a more important part in the history of the country. His name has been identified with some of the most remarkable events which have taken place during the last twenty years, and the value of the services which he rendered to the Crown and the country in more than one political emergency cannot be overestimated. From an early period he

displayed great intellectual power and force of character, but it was when a perilous crisis arose and the existence of government was threatened by a revolutionary conspiracy that his qualities were fully developed and called into activity.

Richard Jefferies was the son of a Wiltshire farmer, born about 1848. Little is known of his early life and education, but while still young he was in the habit of contributing letters and articles to local papers on country life. In 1870 he came to London, where he at once made himself a name as a writer of books and a contributor of essays to magazines and periodical literature. The first book which bore his name was, however, on a very different subject, "Practical Hints for Reporting, Editing, and Authorship" (1873); and in the following year he published his first novel, "The Scarlet Shawl," which, however, fell flat. It was not until 1878 that his series of sketches, "The Gamekeeper at Home," appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and at once attracted general attention. This was followed at short intervals by "Wild Life in a Southern County," "Round about a Great Estate," "Hodge and his Masters," "Nature near London," "The Life of the Fields," "Red Deer," and "The Open Air," the last of which was published in 1885. In each and all of these Mr. Jefferies seized with photographic accuracy the physical aspects of the country he was describing, and the characteristics of country people. For insight into the obscurer sights and sounds of the field and forest, and in analysing their influence upon mankind, Mr. Jefferies was without a rival. Mr. Jefferies also wrote a number of works of fiction, which are certainly not so well known as his pictures on country scenes. These included, in addition to "The Scarlet Shawl," "Restless Human Hearts," "World's End," "Greene Fern Farm," "Word Magic," "Bevis, the Story of a Boy," "The Dewy Morn," "After London, or Wild England," and "Amaryllis at the Fair." Also he wrote in 1883 a work of great interest, entitled "The Story of my Heart: an Autobiography." For a long time he had been in deplorable health, aggravated by pecuniary difficulties, which his friends did their best to alleviate; but he was unable or unwilling to abstain from work in spite of his failing strength. Thoroughly worn out, he died at Goring on the 14th, at a comparatively early age.

John Palgrave Simpson, a well-known dramatic author, died on the 19th at his residence, Alfred Place West, South Kensington. Born in Norfolk in the year 1807, he was educated under a private tutor and at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of B.A., and proceeded M.A. in due course. Although intended for the Church, he manifested a repugnance to taking orders, and abandoned all idea of adopting the clerical profession. Mr. Simpson's family were in prosperous circumstances, and he was enabled to travel for several years on the Continent, residing during that period at various foreign Courts. Upon his return to England, however, after a severe reverse of fortune, he was compelled to enter the literary profession. He had a light and facile pen, and for many years contributed with success to the pages of *Fraser* and *Blackwood* and *Bentley's Miscellany*. In 1846 appeared his "Second Love and Other Tales." This was followed by "Gisella: a Novel," and "Letters from the Danube," published in 1847; and "The Lily of Paris, or the King's Nurse," and "Pictures from Revolutionary Paris," which appeared in 1848. On taking up his abode definitely in England, which he did in 1850, Mr. Simpson began to write for the stage, and it was in connexion with the drama that his name became most widely known to the public. Some of his pieces were adapted from the French, and all were constructed with an eye to strong histrionic effects. His dramatic works consist of no fewer than some sixty plays and farces. Two of his most acceptable dramas were "World and Stage" and "Second Love," the latter of which became very popular in the United States, and was translated into several foreign languages. Other plays which may be mentioned are "Sybilla, or Step by Step," "A Scrap of Paper," "Alone," and "Time and the Hour." In conjunction with Mr. Herman Merivale, Mr. Simpson wrote the popular and powerful drama, "All for her," originally produced at the Holborn Theatre, which was very successful, and has taken rank with the few permanent dramatic productions of the time. Mr. Simpson also wrote, in collaboration with Mr. Merivale, "Court Cards," "A School for Coquettes," &c. In 1865 he wrote a "Life of Weber," compiled from materials collected by the son of the great composer; and more recently he published a novel entitled "For Ever and Never." He was also the

author of a great number of tales and sketches in magazines, reviews, and Christmas periodicals. Mr. Simpson

was for some time secretary to the Dramatic Authors' Society.

The following deaths also occurred during the month:—On the 1st at Vale Royal, Northwich, Cheshire, aged 75, **Hugh Cholmondeley**, second Baron Delamere. Born Oct. 3, 1811, educated at Eton, and entered 1st Life Guards, he was M.P. for Denbighshire 1840-1, and Montgomery 1841-7. He married first, in 1848, Lady Sarah Hay, daughter of the tenth Earl of Kinnoull; and second, in 1860, Augusta Emily, eldest daughter of Sir George Hamilton Seymour, G.C.B. On the 2nd, aged 75, **General Félissier**, brother of the *Maréchal Duc de Malakhoff*, and one of the defenders of Paris in 1870. He had been on his brother's staff in the Crimea. On the 5th, at Poonah, **Sir Maxwell Melville, K.C.S.I., C.S.I.**, a member of Council of the Government of Bombay. He entered the Bombay Civil Service in 1856. On the 7th, at Malta, aged 66, **Sir Joseph Ritchie Lyon Dickson, M.D.**, appointed in 1874 to the post of physician to the Legation at Teheran, where since 1849 he had been the medical attendant of the Shah. He was the son of the late John Dickson, R.A., Lord Nelson's surgeon at Copenhagen, and was knighted on the occasion of the Shah of Persia's visit to England in 1873. On the 9th, in Belgrave Square, aged 78, **Edward, first Baron de Ramsey**, son of William Henry Fellowes of Ramsey Abbey, Hunts, which county he represented 1837-80. He married, 1845, Hon. Mary Julia, eldest daughter of the fourth Baron Sordes, and was raised to the peerage on the occasion of the Queen's Jubilee. On the same date, at Mecca, **Hadji Loja**, the Bosnian chieftain and Mussulman fanatic, who organised a guerilla insurrection against the Austrian occupation of Bosnia. He was sentenced to imprisonment, but was soon afterwards released, and granted a small pension by the Austrian Government, on the condition of never returning to Bosnia. On 11th, in London, aged 84, **Sir Richard Green-Price**, of Norton Manor, Presteign, Radnorshire, first baronet 1874, M.P. for Radnor in 1863-9 and 1880-5. Eldest surviving son of George Green, and Margaret, daughter of Richard Price of Kingston, Radnorshire, whose name he assumed. On 15th, at Wellington, New Zealand, **Sir Julian van Haast**, Director of the Canterbury Museum, New Zealand. On 16th, at Northleigh, Reading, aged 64, **General Lawrence Shadwell, C.B.**, son of the late Vice-Chancellor Sir Lancelot Shadwell. He had served in the Crimea, and had held various military appointments in England and in Nova Scotia. On the same date, at New-quay, Cardiganshire, aged 83, the **Rev. John Jones**, vicar of Llandysiliogogo, a bard who is best known to Welshmen by his bardic name *Idrysiayna*. He was the author of several works, and enjoyed a pension on the Civil List in recognition of his services to Welsh literature. Also on the same date, at Woodshol, Massachusetts, aged 64, **Professor Spencer Fullerton Baird, LL.D.**, a distinguished American naturalist, who was Director of the National Museum and Head of the Smithsonian Institute. He had published many books and papers on natural history, especially on that of North America. On the 17th, at Bergen, aged 70, **Ole Bull**, a celebrated violinist, who was called the *Paganini of the North*, and was well known throughout Europe. On the 18th, at Comragh, co. Waterford, aged 70, **John Palliser, C.M.G.**, son of Wray Palliser of Comragh and Derryuskán. Under a commission from Government in 1857-60, he topographically determined the British North American boundary line, from Lake Superior in Canada, across the Rocky Mountains, and thence to the western sea-coast. On the 19th, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, aged 83, **Alan Clark, M.A.**, of Harvard College, a member of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, and of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. In early life he had been an engraver for calico-printing, and afterwards an expert in miniature portrait-painting, but he is best known by the skill he showed in the improvement of telegraphic and astronomical instruments. On the 21st, at Vienna, aged 67, **Johannes Nordmann**, a well-known novelist and journalist, whose real name was *Bumpelmaier*. Originally an actor, he employed his savings in completing his education, and achieved distinction by his first publications. On the 24th, at Grandholm, Teignmouth, aged 80, **General Colin Campbell M'Intyre, C.B.**, late 78th Highlanders, who had served in the Persian campaign of 1857, and had accompanied General Havelock's force to the relief of Lucknow. On the 25th, at Bettisfield Park, Flintshire, aged 76, **Sir Wyndham Edward Hanmer**, fourth baronet, son of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Hanmer. He was, on his retirement, major in the Royal Horse Guards. On the 25th, at Doneraile Court, co. Cork, aged 69, **Hayes St. Leger**, fourth Viscount Doneraile, elected in 1855 representative peer for Ireland. On the 26th, at Newberries, Radley, aged 70,



**Sir Francis Somerville Head**, second baronet, served in the East India Company's service 1835-43; married, 1843, Mary Jane, eldest daughter of Robert Garnett of Wyreside, Lancashire. On the 26th, in Wilton Crescent, aged 79, **Charles Romilly**, son of Sir Samuel Romilly and brother of Lord Romilly and formerly Clerk of the Crown in Chancery. On the 27th, at Guergueland, Finisterre, aged 72, the **Marquis de Flœuc**, from 1868 to 1878 Deputy Governor of the Bank of France, and as such during the Commune did much by his firmness and courage to save it from spoliation. In early life he held a post in the Turkish Treasury, and during his long residence in Constantinople he founded the Ottoman Bank. On the same date, at Johannisbad in Silesia, aged 39, **Dr. P. F. Frankl**, Rabbi of Berlin, who was one of the most distinguished Jews in Europe. He was the author of several works, and was the colleague of Professor Graetz in the editorship of the leading organ of Jewish scholarship in Europe, and a most successful lecturer at the High School of Jewish Science at Berlin. On the same date, at Brussels, aged 32, **Charles Wiener**, a medallist, whose best known English works are the Queen Victoria and Prince Consort medals, those commemorating the visits of the Emperor Napoleon and the Czar of Russia to the city of London, and the medal recording the acquisition of Epping Forest. On the 31st, at Dublin, **Thomas Baldwin**, one of the first sub-commissioners appointed under the Land Act of 1881.

## SEPTEMBER.

**Count von Werder.**—Auguste Charles Frederick Guillaume Leopold, Count von Werder, was born in 1808, and entered the Prussian army in 1825 as a volunteer in the regiment of the Gardes du Corps, and the following year became an officer in the 1st Regiment of Infantry Guards. After studying for three years at the General Military Academy in order to qualify for the post of general staff officer, he was permitted by the Prussian war authorities to attach himself to the Army of the Caucasus, where he distinguished himself as an engineer officer, and received two Russian decorations in recognition of his services. He was made a captain in 1846 and major in 1851 of the 33rd Infantry Regiment, and then passed into the Landwehr Battalion of the 43rd Infantry Regiment as commandant. In 1858 he was appointed to the command of the Field Jäger Corps; two years later he became a major-general, and in 1866 he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general. In that year he commanded the 3rd Infantry Division in the Army of Prince Frederick Charles, and for his services at Gitschin and Koenigsraetz he obtained the order of merit. In the Franco-German war General von Werder was attached to the 3rd Army Corps of the Crown Prince of Prussia, and the story of his investment of Strasburg and of Belfort, and the memorable victory over Bourbaki after a battle lasting three days, formed one of the most thrilling chapters in the history of the war. He was one of the very few commanders on whom the

Grand Cross was conferred for their services in the campaign—the only surviving commander of the same Order being the Crown Prince the King of Saxony and Count von Moltke. Personally thanked by the Emperor, who presented him with a sword specially made in his honour, General von Werder was, after the signature of the preliminaries of peace, the object of the most enthusiastic ovations in Southern Germany, where the movements of Bourbaki for some time kept the country in fear of an invasion. Freiburg voted him a monument, and the university conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. In 1879, with advancing years, he retired with the title of Count, residing chiefly on his estate in Pomerania, where he died on the 12th inst., aged 78.

**Lady Brassey**, whose death took place at sea on the 14th inst., was the daughter of the late Mr. John Allnutt, of Charles Street, Berkeley Square. In the year 1860 she was married to Mr. Thomas Brassey, M.P. for Hastings, who became Sir Thomas Brassey, K.C.B., in 1881, and in 1886 was created Baron Brassey. Lady Brassey was of a remarkably adventurous disposition, with a great predilection for travel, both by land and sea. In 1876 Sir Thos. and Lady Brassey undertook a voyage round the world in their yacht the "Sunbeam." The account of this famous "Voyage in the 'Sunbeam'" was not originally intended for publication, but was compiled merely with a view to interest her

father and her own home circle. The notes, which afterwards took shape as a volume, were despatched to England from time to time from the various ports at which the "Sunbeam" touched. Subsequently copies were made for a few private friends, and at length her ladyship was prevailed upon to publish the account of her voyage in book form, which she did in 1878. The work had an instant success, and in a very short time it had passed through four editions. An abridged edition appeared in 1879; an adaptation for school and class reading in 1880; while in 1881 Messrs. Longmans and Co. issued a complete edition at 6d., in paper covers, which has had an enormous circulation. Lady Brassey was invested by the King of the Sandwich Islands with the Order of Kapiolani, in recognition of her description of his kingdom and of the hospitality extended to him at Lord Brassey's seat, Normanhurst Castle, in July 1881. Before her voyage of eleven months in the "Sunbeam," Lady Brassey had travelled in the east of Europe and in the United States. She printed, for private distribution only, "The Flight of the Meteor," being a recital of two cruises in the Mediterranean and travels in the East; and in 1872 she issued an account of "A Voyage in the 'Eothen,'" which describes her trip to Canada and the United States. In 1880 Lady Brassey wrote and published her "Sunshine and Storm in the East, or Cruises to Cyprus and Constantinople," a narrative full of graphic touches of description both of character and scenery. A sumptuous edition of this work was issued, with two maps and 114 illustrations, engraved by Pearson, chiefly from drawings by the Hon. A. Y. Bingham, with a cover from an original design by Gustave Doré. In 1882 Captain Stuart-Wortley executed and published a series of photographs upon "Tahiti," the letterpress being contributed by Lady Brassey. Lord and Lady Brassey's last voyage was to Australia and New Zealand, where they were warmly received by the inhabitants of the chief colonial towns. Lord Brassey left England in the "Sunbeam" on Nov. 19, 1886, and was joined by Lady Brassey at Bombay, whither she had travelled by P. and O. steamer, on Jan. 3, with her children. She had been unwell for some time before she left this country, and it was hoped that a long voyage would completely restore her. After a tour of six weeks through India, Lord and Lady Brassey embarked in the "Sunbeam," and proceeded to Ceylon,

Rangoon, Moulmein, Singapore, British North Borneo, Macassar, and thence to Albany in Western Australia. After a stay at Albany the "Sunbeam" went to Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane, Rockhampton, Cooktown, Thursday Island, and Port Darwin. At the time of Lady Brassey's death the "Sunbeam" was on her way to Mauritius and the Cape of Good Hope, seven days' sail from Port Darwin, about 1,000 miles, and it was imperative that the last sad rites should be observed in mid-ocean. Lady Brassey took a great interest in many humanitarian movements, and she was mainly instrumental in establishing centres of the St. John Ambulance Association. In Nov. 1881 she was elected a Dame Chevalière of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

The Rev. Charles Anthony Swainson, D.D., Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, and Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, was born in 1819, and was educated at Trinity College, where he obtained a scholarship and graduated in 1841 in the Mathematical Tripos, obtaining the high position of Sixth Wrangler. Professor Stokes was the Senior Wrangler of that year, and among Dr. Swainson's other contemporaries in the Mathematical Tripos were the late Master of Pembroke (Dr. Power), Bishop Ellicott, the late Bishop of Ripon (Dr. Bickersteth), Dr. Titcomb (late Bishop of Rangoon), and Lord Thring. Soon after taking his degree Mr. Swainson was elected to a fellowship at Christ's College. He resided a few years at Cambridge, and left on his appointment as Principal of the Theological College at Chichester, to which was added a canonry in the cathedral. He retained the former appointment until 1864, when a vacancy occurred in the Norrisian Professorship of Divinity by the promotion of Dr. Harold Browne to the see of Ely. Dr. Swainson was elected to succeed him, and returned into residence at Cambridge. He held the Norrisian Professorship until 1875, when Dr. Lightfoot vacated the Lady Margaret Professorship on being appointed to the Bishopric of Durham. As a lecturer Professor Swainson was highly appreciated, and his class-room was always well filled. In 1881, on the death of Dr. Cartmell, Master of Christ's, Professor Swainson was elected to succeed him. During his comparatively short tenure of the Mastership he proved himself to be an able administrator and cautious adviser during a period which, owing to various causes, such as the recent

changes in the college statutes, the depreciation in the college revenues owing to agricultural depression, and the demands from the university on the college funds, was one of extreme anxiety. He was distinguished for the uniform courtesy and kindness with which he discharged his duties, and all with whom he was brought into contact, either as professor, Master of his college, or Vice-Chancellor, will ever retain a pleasant memory of him. He served the office of Vice-Chancellor during the year 1886-7,

and the laborious duties of that office, which he conscientiously performed, affected his health most seriously. Among other university appointments he held were those of Whitehall preacher in 1849, Hulsean lecturer in 1857, Lady Margaret preacher in 1865; while in 1866 he was appointed Ramsden preacher. He published, besides sermons, various theological works which displayed his accurate scholarship and sound learning. He died at the Master's lodge on the 16th inst.

The following deaths also occurred during the month:—On the 1st, at Harrogate, **General David Simpson**, late of the Bengal army, which he entered in 1819, and he commanded a force against the rebels in the hills north of Jullundur in 1848-9. He was the son of the late David Simpson of Teviotbank, Roxburghshire. On the 4th, at Torloisk, Isle of Mull, aged 38, **Charles John Spencer**, Earl Compton, eldest son of the fourth Marquess of Northampton. On the 5th, at Ness Side, Inverness, **Alfred Denison**. In early life he had acted as secretary to his brother, the late Viscount Ossington, when Speaker of the House of Commons. On the 6th, suddenly on a moor, near Inverness, aged 61, **Simon Fraser**, fifteenth Baron Lovat, Lord Lieutenant of Inverness-shire. On the 8th, at Ashbourne House, Limerick, aged 73, **Edmond T. Synan**, sometime M.P. for Limerick. On the same date, at Glenfinart House, Argyllshire, aged 70, **General Sir John Douglas, G.C.B.** He commanded the 79th Highlanders in the Crimean and Indian Mutiny campaigns, and also for some time held the command of the forces in North Britain. He was the son of the late General Sir Neill Douglas, K.C.B. On the 10th, in Edinburgh, aged 70, **William Nelson**, of the publishing firm of Nelson and Sons, a steady promoter of all movements affecting the moral and social well-being of the people, and a great benefactor of his native city. On the 11th, at the Priory, Hatfield Peverel, near Chelmsford, aged 48, **Sir Charles Young**, seventh baronet, the author of several successful plays. On the 18th, at Teddington, Dr. G. L. M. **Strauss**, who was well known in literary and artistic circles as the "Old Bohemian." He was sketched as "Dr. Goliath" in "Mrs. Lirriper's Lodgings." For some time an inhabitant of the Charterhouse, he had subsequently become an out-pensioner. On the 15th, at Canterbury, aged 44, **Lieutenant-Colonel Trevor John Chichele Plowden, C.I.E.**, of the Bengal Army. On the same date, in Cavendish Square, aged 87, **Richard Quain, F.R.C.S., F.R.S.**, Surgeon Extraordinary to the Queen. On the same date, at Cheltenham, aged 68, the **Rev. W. S. Symonds**, rector of Pendock, the son of the late W. Symonds of Elsdon. He was an archaeologist and geologist, upon which subjects he had written several important works and papers. On the 17th, at Bray, aged 75, the **Right Honourable Henry Ormsby**, ex-Judge of the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice in Ireland, and also ex-Judge of the Landed Estates Court (1875-8), Solicitor-General for Ireland in 1868 and again in 1874, and Attorney-General in 1875, the son of the late Rev. H. Ormsby, rector of Kilskeer, co. Meath. On the 18th, in Holland Park, aged 89, **Her Highness the Maharani Dhuleep Singh**. She was married to the Maharajah in 1864, and had been educated at the American Presbyterian Mission in Egypt. On the same date, at St. Andrews, N.B., **Coleman Robert Hepe Moncrieff Aitken, V.C.**, a distinction which he received for various acts of gallantry performed during the defence of the residency of Lucknow. On the same date, at Hortland House, Kildare, aged 60, **Sir William Fitzmaurice J. Hart**, fourth baronet. On the 22nd, at Tyntesfield, Wraxall, Somersetshire, aged 68, **Matilda Blanche**, the widow of William Gibbs of Tyntesfield, well known for her munificent charity. She was the daughter of Sir T. Crawley Beevey, of Flaxley Abbey. On the 28rd, at Burntwood, Caterham, aged 66, **Major-General Henry Hyde**, formerly of the Bengal Engineers, with which corps he did much distinguished service. He had held the appointment of Master of the Calcutta Mint, organising and superintending the Paper Currency Department, and after leaving India in 1876 he became Inspector-General of Stores at the India Office. On the 24th, at Elmore Court, Gloucestershire, aged 71, **Sir William Vernon Guise**, fourth baronet. On the 25th, at Constantinople, at an advanced age, **Admiral Faris Effendi**, a great Arabic scholar. At an early age he became a Christian, and translated the Bible

into Arabic. He afterwards reverted to Mahomedanism, and started a newspaper at Constantinople, which had great influence throughout the whole of Islam. On the 29th, at Wiesbaden, aged 76, Professor von Langenbeck, a celebrated surgeon, who had the reputation of being the best operator in Germany. As Surgeon-General of the Prussian Army he did conspicuous work in the campaigns of 1866 and 1870, for which he was ennobled by the Emperor.

## OCTOBER.

**Mrs. Craik (Miss Mulock).—**Mrs. Craik, formerly Miss Dinah Maria Mulock, died suddenly on the 12th inst. at her home at Shortlands, Kent. Mrs. Craik was 61 years of age, having been born in 1826 at Stoke-upon-Trent. Her first novel, "The Ogilvies," published in 1849, was followed by "Olive" in 1850, a work which fully supported the promise of its predecessor. These were quickly followed by "The Head of the Family" in 1851, and "Agatha's Husband" in 1852. It was not until 1857 that the most popular and best known of Miss Mulock's literary efforts, and that which fully established her fame as an authoress—"John Halifax, Gentleman"—appeared. This was followed in 1859 by "A Life for a Life," and by "Mistress and Maid" in 1863. Her next novel was "Christian's Mistake," published in 1865; her other novels being "Two Marriages," 1867, "My Mother and I," 1874, "The Laurel Bush," 1876, "Miss Tommy," 1884, and "King Arthur," 1886. Miss Mulock also published collections of fugitive papers, entitled "Romantic Tales," "Domestic Tales," "Nothing New," "Studies from Life," "A Woman's Thoughts about Women," and a volume of poems. Among the miscellaneous works which have appeared from her pen are "Sermons out of Church," 1875, "A Legacy," 1878, "Plain Speaking," 1882, and others. When the *English Illustrated Magazine* was founded, Mrs. Craik became a regular contributor and wrote two series of papers, afterwards republished in separate volumes—"An Unsentimental Journey through Cornwall" and "An Unknown Country"—the latter describing a tour in Ireland. Some years ago she obtained a pension of 60*l.* a year from the Civil List in consideration of her services to literature, in which she had early attained a distinct place. If she had none of the fire of genius, if she wanted alike the invention of Miss Yonge and the extraordinary versatility of Mrs. Oliphant—to name those two of her contemporaries with whom it is most natural to compare her—she was at least a skilful writer, with considerable power of constructing a story and a genuine gift of

observation. Miss Mulock in 1865 was married to Mr. George Lillie Craik, a partner in the publishing house of Macmillan and Co.

George Fordham, whose death occurred on the 12th inst, at his residence at Slough, after a long and wasting illness, was in his 51st year. He served his apprenticeship to R. Drewitt, one of the trainers at Lewes, which was at that time an important centre of training, and he began to ride in public about 1852, and two years after this he rode the winner of the Chester Cup, Epaminondas, the actual weight carried being only 4 st. 10 lbs. The lad's bodily weight was considerably under 56 lbs., and at that time the *minimum* impost in a handicap was even lower than it was subsequently made. Fordham did not seem, however, to have suffered any ill effects from being kept down to so light a weight while a boy, for he was riding for upwards of thirty years with only a very short interruption, and when he finally retired from his profession his riding weight was not much, if anything, over 8 st. Fordham does not appear to have suffered any ill effects from keeping himself down to the limits required. Between the date of his victory in the Chester Cup of 1854 and his final retirement from his profession, after winning the One Thousand Guineas for M. Lefèvre on Hauteur in 1883, he rode seven winners of the One Thousand Guineas, five of the Oaks, three of the Two Thousand Guineas, and one of the Derby, the St. Leger being the only one of the great three-year old prizes which he failed to secure. Fordham, though he had plenty of employment between the years 1854 and 1859, did not make his mark in any of the classic races until the latter year, when he had the good fortune to ride Mr. Stirling Crawford's Mayonnaise for the One Thousand Guineas, and Lord Londesborough's Summerside for the Oaks, while in 1861 he won the Newmarket race a second time on Mr. Fleming's Nemesis, and a third time, in 1865, on the Duke of Beaufort's Siberia. In the interval he had once at least nearly won the Derby

this being when, on Lord Clidden, he was beaten a head by Macaroni, the late Tom Chaloner riding the latter, just as he had ridden The Marquis in the St. Leger the previous autumn, when Fordham, riding Buckstone for Mr. Merry, was also beaten by a short head. Fordham was getting some of his best riding about this period, being employed by the Duke of Beaufort and the late Mr. John Bowes, who rarely came over from France to England to see his horses run, and who only saw Fordham twice during the many years that the latter wore his cap and jacket. It so happened that the second and last time that Mr. Bowes saw him was at Newmarket, when two horses, own brother and sister, both belonging to Mr. Bowes and both ridden by Fordham, won two succeeding races, the distance being in each instance only a head. This was a very curious coincidence, but the story comes from the late Mr. Bowes himself, and may be relied upon as absolutely correct. In the years which followed 1865 Fordham was for a long period at the head of the winning jockeys, but his best seasons were in 1867, when he won the Two Thousand Guineas on the Duke of Beaufort's Vauban, and in 1868, when he rode Formosa in the Two Thousand Guineas—which she divided after a dead heat with Mr. Stirling Crawford's Moslem—the One Thousand Guineas, and the Oaks. But after being successful in all these races with her, it was his ill-fortune to have the mount upon Paul Jones in the St. Leger, for which the latter could do no better than run second to her. In the following season he for the fourth time won the One Thousand Guineas on the Duke of Beaufort's Scottish Queen, while fortune once more smiled upon him in the Oaks of 1870, as, riding Mr. Graham's Gamos, he beat Sunshine and Hester, both of whom were better favourites. It was two days before this that Fordham sustained one of the greatest of his many disappointments in the Derby, as Mr. Merry's Maagregor, upon whom good odds were betted, and who seemed to have the race at his mercy, broke down during the contest, and it really seemed as if Fordham never was to win either a Derby or a St. Leger. It was just after he had won the Oaks on Gamos that the war between France and Germany brought about the retirement of Count de Lagrange and the taking over of nearly all his horses by M. Lefèvre, who secured the services of Fordham as his first jockey. For

M. Lefèvre Fordham won the Oaks on Reine in 1872 and a great many other good races of all sorts. Finding that his health was not very good, Fordham determined to give up riding, and for several years he was not seen in the saddle, not even to ride a match or two for his old master, Mr. Ten Broeck, for whom he had won the Cesarewitch many years before on Prioresse after a dead heat with two others. Pecuniary losses, however, necessitated his resuming his profession, and it may be regarded as in one sense fortunate for him that he did so, as it enabled him at last to be enrolled among the winners of the Derby. Success came when least expected, as Fordham, who had been defeated when riding so many favourites, won the race in 1879 for the late Baron L. de Rothschild on Sir Bevy's, who started at very long odds and was by no means a good horse. Fordham was riding a good deal at this time for Mr. Stirling Crawford, and he had the mount upon that good mare Thebais when she won the One Thousand Guineas and the Oaks, while a twelvemonth before he had the satisfaction of winning the Two Thousand Guineas for his old employer, the Duke of Beaufort, on Petronel. These were, with the exception of his victory on Hauteur, the last of his successes in the great three-year-old prizes, and it would be easy to lengthen out this list very considerably by enumerating his principal successes in events such as the Ascot and Goodwood Cups, the Cambridgeshire, which he won four times, and other great handicaps and two-year-old prizes. Fordham owed a great deal of his success to the fact that he rode with his head as well as with his hands, and he was never seen to greater advantage than in one of those matches which the late Admiral Rous and Mr. Ten Broeck loved to make.

Right Hon. A. J. B. Beresford-Hope, M.P., died at his house at Bedgebury, on 20th inst. He was the youngest son of the late Mr. Thomas Hope, of Deepdene, widely known as an Oriental scholar and a munificent patron of art, and also as the author of "Anastatius" and other works, and his wife, the Hon. Louisa Beresford, daughter of the first Baron Decies, Archbishop of Tuam. Mr. Beresford-Hope was born on Jan. 25, 1820. He was educated at Harrow and at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1841, and took his M.A. in 1844. He early evinced deep interest in archaeological and

Church questions, and was a prominent member, and sometime president of the Cambridge Camden Society, afterwards the Ecclesiological Society. Artistic and architectural questions also engrossed much of his attention, and he was a firm advocate of Gothic principles in art. Being the inheritor of great wealth, he purchased in 1844 the ancient buildings of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, as a College for Missionary Clergy. Mr. Beresford-Hope was president of the Royal Institute of British Architects from 1865 to 1867, and at various times he lectured upon art. During the time of the American Civil War Mr. Beresford-Hope took a deep interest in the struggle, and delivered a course of three lectures upon the following aspects of the conflict:—"A Popular View of the Civil War;" "England, the North, and the South;" and "The Results of the American Disruption." In 1842 he published a volume of "Poems," and in the following year translated the "Hymns of the Church" for popular use. These were succeeded at intervals by "Letters on Church Matters," by D.C.L., "The English Cathedral of the Nineteenth Century," and "Worship in the Church of England." Late in life he essayed fiction, and in his novels, "Strictly Tied up" and "The Brandreths," will be found many smartly written and amusing descriptions of society in the present day. He was also the author of a large number of pamphlets, papers, and articles, many of which were published anonymously. He was the chief proprietor of the *Saturday Review* from the first.

Mr. Beresford-Hope's political career was not less varied and successful than was his literary success. He entered Parliament as member for Maidstone in the year 1841, and from that time forward, with few intermissions, his figure was one of the most familiar in the House of Commons. He was elected as an Independent Conservative, and retained that character to the last. His party could not always depend on his vote upon political questions, but in all matters relating to the Church he was the unswerving defender of its rights in its relations to the State. Retiring from Maidstone in 1852, he was out of Parliament for a few years, but in March 1857, when Lord Palmerston appealed to the country after his defeat on the Chinese question, he was re-elected for his old borough. In the session of 1859 he gave his "undying, undeviating, and unmitigated opposi-

tion" to the Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill, a proposal which he continued to oppose vigorously in many subsequent sessions. In the same session he likewise delivered a lengthy and important speech against Sir John Trelawny's Bill for the Abolition of Church Rates, a measure which he traced to political motives, and whose object he asserted to be the destruction of Church property. At the elections of 1859 Mr. Beresford-Hope was an unsuccessful candidate for the University of Cambridge. Three years later he was defeated at Stoke-upon-Trent, but in July 1865 he was returned for that borough. In 1868 he was elected for the University of Cambridge, and continued to represent the University until his death. He was an uncompromising opponent of the Conservative Reform Bill of 1867, taunting Mr. Disraeli with outbidding Liberals in a Liberal market, and denouncing the Bill as a two-faced measure. It was on this occasion, when alluding to Mr. Beresford-Hope's peculiar delivery of his speeches, that Mr. Disraeli uttered his retort about his opponent's "Batavian grace." He took a prominent part in the debates on Mr. Gladstone's Irish Church Bill (1869), and in the session of 1873 moved the rejection of Mr. Osborne Morgan's Burials Bill. During the last ten years Mr. Beresford-Hope's appearance as a speaker in the House of Commons had been rather infrequent, but he was a constant attendant at the House as long as his health permitted.

The honorary degree of D.C.L. was conferred upon Mr. Beresford-Hope by the University of Oxford in 1848, that of LL.D. by Cambridge University in 1864, and that of LL.D. by Dublin University, as well as by the Universities of Washington, Lee, and South Tennessee (United States), in 1881. He was a justice of the peace and a deputy lieutenant for Kent, a justice of the peace for the county of Stafford, president of the Architectural Museum, a trustee of the British Museum and of the National Portrait Gallery, and a Fellow of numerous learned societies. He imbibed his father's strong literary, artistic, and antiquarian tastes. On coming into the English estates of Marshal Viscount Beresford he prefixed to his family name the surname of Beresford by royal licence. He had the two fine seats of Bedgebury Park, Cranbrook, Kent, and Beresford Hall, Staffordshire, and he was a member of the Carlton, Athenæum, United University, Oxford and Cambridge, and

**New University Clubs.** He was created a Privy Counsellor in April 1880. Mr. Beresford-Hope married, in 1842, Lady Mildred Arabella Charlotte Henrietta, eldest daughter of the second Marquess of Salisbury.

**E. B. Washburne.**—Elihu B. Washburne was born at Livermore, in the State of Maine, Sept. 28, 1816. He served an apprenticeship in the office of the *Kennebec Journal*, and studied law at Harvard University. Settling in practice at Galena, Illinois, he was elected a member of Congress in 1852, and was successively re-elected seven times, acquiring a prominent position in the Republican party. He served as chairman of the Committee of Commerce for many years, and distinguished himself as an advocate of economy and retrenchment. He had the merit of having procured General Grant his appointment of Brigadier-General, and he remained the fast friend of the General during all the vicissitudes of his military career. When the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson was proposed, Mr. Washburne made a speech in Congress which created profound sensation. He affirmed that the whole official career of the President "had been marked by a wicked disregard of all the obligations of public duty, and by a degree of perfidy and treachery and turpitude unheard of in the history of the rulers of a free people," while his personal and official character had "made him the opprobrium of both hemispheres, and brought ineffable disgrace on the American name." The speaker likewise made a fierce attack upon all the departments of the Administration, and affirmed that, under the rule of the President, they had become demoralised and corrupt to an extent which could find no parallel in the history of any country in any age. In the session of Congress of 1869 Mr. Washburne introduced a very important Bill to repeal an Act regulating the tenure of certain civil offices. The measure it sought to repeal was one placing absolutely in the power of the Senate all the great offices of the Executive except that of President. Mr. Washburne's Bill was adopted by Congress by 121 to 47 votes, but it was amended in the Senate. As finally passed, it provided that civil officers should hold office for the term for which they were appointed, unless sooner removed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, or by the appointment, with the like advice and

consent, of a successor. Certain discretionary powers, however, were reserved for the President. Mr. Washburne's individual influence in Congress was probably greater than that of any other person, which was due alike to his forcible eloquence and to the skilful manner in which he treated all public questions. He was decreed by the 38th Congress the title of "Father of the Chamber," having held a seat in the Assembly for a longer period uninterruptedly than any other member. He was one of the strongest opponents of slavery and was held in high esteem by the Republican Anti-Slavery party.

When General Grant became President in 1869 he appointed his friend Mr. Washburne Secretary of State—the most influential post in the Cabinet. He was the moving spirit of the Ministry, and so great was his influence that the Democratic organs spoke with pleasant sarcasm of "the Washburne Administration with the marionette Grant." Ill-health, however, caused Mr. Washburne to resign his position, much to the regret of his friends, who had looked for a vigorous policy under his direction. But he was still to be of service to his country, and only a few days after his resignation of the office of Secretary of State he accepted the post of United States Minister to France. He had not long been in Paris before the Franco-German war of 1870-1 broke out. In the French journals of the time, and also in Mr. Labouchere's "Diary of the Besieged Resident," there are many references to Mr. Washburne, who remained in Paris all through the siege. His firm and cheerful bearing did much to inspire the inhabitants with confidence. After the revolution of Sept. 4, 1870, he was the first member of the Diplomatic Body to recognise officially the Government of the National Defence. Mr. Washburne did his utmost to induce the French Government to agree to an armistice, and told them emphatically that they ought not to sacrifice Paris without the prospect of a successful issue. The American Minister was the only person who received the English papers in the beleaguered city, but he was obliged to keep a grimly strict watch over them after Bismarck discovered that the contents of the journals had become known to other residents. He wrote to M. Jules Favre that the people of the United States, who were united in traditional bonds of friendship with France, watched with deep interest the struggle of the French people who were

seeking to found stable institutions, based upon the inalienable right of the whole community to live and labour in union and brotherhood. During the siege Mr. Washburne established an ambulance at the American Legation in Paris. When the hostages were condemned to death by the Commune he made an earnest but unsuccessful effort to save them, and paid a farewell visit to Monsignor Darboy, Archbishop of Paris, in the prison of La Roquette. In an address delivered at the banquet of the Franco-American Union on Nov. 6, 1875, Mr. Washburne eloquently recalled the great part which France had played in the work of American independence, which had awakened lasting sentiments of gratitude in every American heart.

In May 1877, on the election of President Hayes as supreme head of the State, Mr. Washburne, whose health had never been very strong, took the opportunity of Grant's retirement to send in his own resignation as Minister to France. It may be mentioned that in June 1876 his name had figured upon the Republican lists for the Presidency. Before the departure of Mr. Washburne from the French capital numerous banquets were offered to him both by French citizens and the American colony; and probably no Minister had ever succeeded more thoroughly in gaining the good-will of the various classes of society among which he moved.

Mr. Washburne wrote a sketch of "Governor Coles of Illinois, and the Slavery Struggle of 1823-34," and supplied an introduction to "The Life of Abraham Lincoln," written by his friend the Hon. J. N. Arnold. Shortly after his decease Mr. Washburne's European reminiscences were published in London, under the title of "Recollections of a Minister to France: the Empire, the Franco-German War, the Commune, and the Republic." In social and familiar circles Mr. Washburne was warmly appreciated for his frank and genial manners, and he had a fund of anecdotes relating to his distinguished contemporaries, Thiers, Bismarck, Favre, Grant, Lincoln, and others.

After a long illness, which prevented his taking part in public affairs, Mr. Washburne died at New York on the 23rd inst., having recently entered his seventy-second year.

**Sir George Macfarren.**—Sir George Alexander Macfarren, who died at his

residence, Hamilton Terrace, St. John's Wood, on the 31st inst., was born in London on March 2, 1813. At the age of fourteen he commenced his musical education under Charles Lucas, and in 1829 entered the Royal Academy of Music, where he took lessons from Cipriani Potter. Five years later he was appointed professor in that institution. He had already begun to make his mark as a composer. His first symphony was written at the age of fifteen, and in 1834 he had already produced three other works of that class, his fourth symphony (in F minor) being given in that year at one of the concerts of the Society of British Musicians. His overture to "Chevy Chase," one of the best of his orchestral works, was written in 1836. In 1838 he essayed opera for the first time, his "Devil's Opera" being produced at the English Opera-house. It was followed by "Don Quixote" (1846), "Charles II." (1849), "Robin Hood" (1860), "Jessy Lea" (1863), "She Stoops to Conquer," "The Soldier's Legacy," and "Helvellyn" (all in 1864). He also wrote several cantatas, among the most important being "Lenore" (1852), "May-day" (1856), "Christmas" (1860), and "The Lady of the Lake" (1877). Not until late in life did he attempt the oratorio, his first and best work of this class being "St. John the Baptist," produced at the Bristol Festival of 1878. His other oratorios are "The Resurrection" (Birmingham, 1876), "Joseph" (Leeds, 1877), and "King David" (Leeds, 1883). In addition to the large works already named he produced an enormous quantity of chamber music, church music, and songs, the amount of which is the more astonishing when it is remembered that during the latter part of his life he was totally blind, and that the whole of his later works had to be written from his dictation by an amanuensis.

It is, however, less as a composer than as a profound theorist and writer on music that Macfarren will take his place in the history of the art. When in 1845 the late Dr. Alfred Day published his "Treatise on Harmony," Macfarren was the only musician of mark who gave in his adhesion to the system, against which the prejudice among professors was so strong that it was forbidden to teach on Day's system at the Royal Academy. Macfarren had to resign his professorship because he persisted in teaching what he believed to be the truth as regards harmony, though he was subsequently reinstated



when more liberal views began to prevail. In 1860 he published his "Rudiments of Harmony," founded on Dr. Day's system; and this work was followed in 1867 by "Six Lectures on Harmony delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain," in which the same views are set forth and illustrated by numerous examples from the works of the great masters. In 1875 he published his interesting "Eighty Musical Sentences to illustrate Chromatic Chords," and in 1879 his valuable treatise on counterpoint. This list by no means completes the record of his literary labours: he was a frequent contributor to the *Musical World*, the *Musical Times*, and other papers; he wrote many of the lives of musicians for the "Imperial Dictionary of Universal Biography;" and he was for many years the writer of the analytical programmes for the Philharmonic Society.

On the death of Sterndale Bennett in 1875, Macfarren succeeded him in

the Chair of Music at Cambridge, and as the Principal of the Royal Academy. As a teacher he was essentially thorough. He possessed the art of winning the warm regard of his pupils, by whom he will be sorely missed. In his musical views he was a curious mixture of the conservative and the radical. While in some of the examples to be found in his own harmony book progressions of a very extreme character are to be met with, he entertained an almost morbid horror of much of the music of the new school, especially of the works of Wagner. As a teacher and an examiner Sir George Macfarren's memory was marvellous. For the purposes of apt illustration he appeared to have all the works of the great masters at his fingers' ends; and it was often surprising to hear him, after he had become entirely blind, point out all the mistakes in a long exercise which a pupil had played through to him only once.

The following deaths also occurred during the month:—On the 1st, at Manchester, aged 48, **Charles Moseley**, of the Chapelfield Works in that place; he devoted much time to promoting telephonic communication between the adjoining towns, and was associated in the direction of the Edison Electric Light Company, and latterly in the vigorous promotion of the Manchester Ship Canal Company. On the 4th, in London, aged 71, **David Fisher**, a well-known actor at the London theatres. His early life was spent amongst the Norfolk and Suffolk Company of Comedians, an association of players established and managed for many years by members of his family. On the 5th, at St. Faith's Mede, Winchester, aged 71, **General Sir Arthur Mitford Becher, K.C.B.**, son of Colonel G. Becher, B.L.C. He served throughout various Indian campaigns, and was Quartermaster-General of the army from 1852 to 1863, and was severely wounded at the siege of Delhi. On the same date, in Spring Gardens, aged 66, **Captain Peter Augustus Arkwright, R.N.**, sometime M.P. for North Derbyshire, son of Peter Arkwright, of Willersley Hall, Derbyshire. He entered the navy at an early age, and saw much active service in the Baltic during the Crimean war. On the 6th, in Paris, aged 87, **M. de Viel-Castet**, a French politician and man of letters, and the oldest member of the Academy. In early life he was in the diplomatic service, and he subsequently held a post in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which he resigned after the *coup d'état*. He was the grand-nephew of Mirabeau. On the 7th, at Great Marlow, aged 59, **James Grierson**, general manager of the Great Western Railway. Under his management, extending over twenty years, the line acquired its present importance, connecting the Paddington terminus with all the principal towns and ports on the west coast, from Manchester and Birkenhead round the coast to Weymouth on the south. The value of the 100l. shares on his appointment as manager was 47l. On the same date, at the Observatory, Birkdale, Southport, aged 73, **Joseph Baxendell, F.R.S., F.R.A.S.**, city astronomer to the Manchester Corporation, to whom was in a measure due the adoption of the system of signalling storms round the coast. On the 9th, in Paris, aged 64, **Maurice Strakosch**, the celebrated impresario, who produced Patti, Nilsson, and other musical stars. On the 10th, at Manderston, Berwickshire, aged 78, **Sir William Miller, Bart., M.P.** for Leith 1859-68, and for Berwickshire 1873-4, created a baronet in 1874. On the 11th, in Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, aged 54, **Sir Thomas Graham Briggs, Bart.**, of Farley Hill, Barbadoes, where he was a large landed proprietor, and a member of the Federal Council of the Leeward Islands. On the 12th, in Portugal Street, aged 64, **General Charles Henry Morris, R.A., C.B.** He served in the Crimean war, and was for a time on the personal staff of General Bosquet as Military Commissioner to the 2nd Corps of the French army. On the 14th, at Ventnor, aged 70, the Chevalier **Jacob Yonde William Lloyd**, of Clochpasen, Montgomeryshire, a

distinguished Welsh antiquary. Formerly a clergyman of the Church of England, he became a Roman Catholic, and served in the Pontifical Zouaves, receiving from the Pope the Knighthood of St. Gregory. His original surname was Hinde, which he exchanged for that of Lloyd. On the 16th, in Burmah, Captain H. E. Walter Beville, the son of Major-General Beville, C.B., of Burfield Hall, Wymondham, who whilst acting as an assistant magistrate at Rangoon volunteered to serve in Upper Burmah, and was killed while leading the attack against a large party of insurgents. On the 17th, at Berlin, aged 62, Professor Kirchhoff, a celebrated scientist, best known, in connection with Professor Bunsen, of Heidelberg, as a discoverer of the spectrum analysis. On the same date, at Chelsea, aged 80, Robert Hunt, F.R.S., for many years keeper of the Mining Records in the Museum of Practical Geology. From his special study of the chemical influence of solar rays he was the discoverer of several important photographic processes. Also on the same date, at Dunedin, Brisbane, Queensland, aged 46, Sir Ralph St. George Gore, the son of the late St. George Gore, of Warwick, Queensland, who succeeded his cousin as ninth baronet in 1878. He was immigration agent for Queensland. On the 18th, in Paris, aged 85, Alfred Auguste Cuvillier-Fleury, an eminent literary critic, and a member of the French Academy. For half a century he was connected with the *Journal des Débats*. In early life he had been tutor, and was afterwards secretary to the Duc d'Aumale, having previously been private secretary and travelling companion to Louis Bonaparte, ex-King of Holland. On the 19th, at Tabley Hall, Knutsford, Cheshire, aged 75, George Warren, second Baron de Tabley. He was a Lord in Waiting 1853-8 and 1859-66, and Treasurer of the Household 1868-72. He succeeded his father as second baron in 1827, and in 1832 assumed the name and arms of Warren in lieu of Leicester. On the same date, at Horrabridge, South Devon, aged 59, Montagu Bere, G.C., County Court Judge. On the 20th, at Hyde Park Gate, aged 72, Baron Herman de Stern, a leading member of the Jewish community, and the head of the financial house of Stern Brothers. A native of Frankfurt, he established in 1849, in conjunction with his brother, the late Viscount de Stern, a foreign banking business in London. He was principally connected with Portuguese finance, and was created a baron by the King of Portugal. On the same date, at Tömmmerup in Zealand, of which he had been the parish priest since 1862, aged 72, Pastor Valdemar Thisted, author of the popular "Letters from Hell," published in Danish under the pseudonym of Rowel. Under the pseudonyms of Emanuel St. Hermidad and that of Herodian he was the author of novels, travels, and verses, as well as of works of theological polemics. On the 21st, aged 72, Admiral Jauréguiberry. He distinguished himself in the Crimea, in Cochin-China, and in China, and with the Army of the Loire, under General Chanzy, in 1870. On the same date, at Brooke House, Isle of Wight, aged 84, Charles Seely, J.P. and D.L. He sat as Liberal member for Lincoln 1847-8 and 1861-85. On the 22nd, at Hayward's Heath, aged 69, Sir Henry William Gordon, K.C.B., of Elm Park Gardens, S.W., son of Lieut.-Gen. H. W. Gordon, R.A., and the brother of General Gordon, the hero of Khartoum. He entered the 59th Regiment, and served on the Staff in the East and West Indies and in China. During the Irish famine he was appointed Assistant Poor-Law Commissioner for Ireland 1847-8, and in 1855 was appointed to the Ordnance Department, and served in the Crimea and became Commissary-General in the army. On the same date, at the School-house, Uppingham, aged 66, the Rev. Edward Thring, M.A., the Head Master. Under his able direction Uppingham was raised to the first rank among public schools, whilst his writings upon education exercised a wide influence upon the science of teaching. On the 24th, at Catton Hall, Staffordshire, aged 62, the Rev. Sir George Wilmot-Horton, of Osmaston Hall and Catton Hall, Derbyshire, and of Walton, Staffordshire, and formerly rector of Garboldisham, Norfolk. The youngest son of the Right Hon. Sir Robert Wilmot-Horton, he succeeded his brother as fifth baronet in 1880. On the 25th, at Queen Anne's Mansions, aged 76, Sir Philip Edmond Wodehouse, G.C.S.I., K.C.B. The son of the late Edmond Wodehouse, of Sennow Lodge, Norfolk, he entered the Civil Service of Ceylon in 1828, and during his fifty years of service he held, amongst other important posts, that of Governor of British Guiana 1854-62, of the Cape of Good Hope 1862-70, and of Bombay 1872-7. On the 26th, at Dieppe, Henry Laurence Kenny Levick, for many years Packet Agent to the Government of India, first English Consul at Suez, where he had lived for upwards of forty-one years, and was of material assistance to Lieutenant Waghorn, the pioneer of the overland route to India. On the 27th, at Vienna, aged 74, Johannes Ronge, the founder of the new German Catholicism. He also took part in the revolutionary political movements in 1848, joining

the Republican party in the Frankfort National Assembly, and was for a time exiled from Germany. On the 29th, in Dublin, aged 79, the Rt. Hon. Jonathan Christian, late Lord Justice of Appeal. The son of a Dublin solicitor, he was called to the Irish Bar in 1834, and filled the various offices to which he was successively promoted with ability and distinction.

## NOVEMBER.

**Madame Otto Goldschmidt** (Jenny Lind).—Jenny Lind was born on Oct. 6, 1820, at Stockholm, and is said to have evinced musical talent and a beautiful voice in her fourth year. Mdlle. Lundberg, the famous dancer, heard the child in her ninth year, and induced her parents to send her as a pupil to the school of singing attached to the Court Theatre of her native city. Berg and Crölius were her first masters, and she made her *debut* as Agatha in "Der Freischütz" at Stockholm in 1838, playing also Euryanthe, Alice in "Robert le Diable," and Spontini's *La Vestale* with signal success. But although she pleased the public she failed to satisfy herself, and in 1841, when her engagement at Stockholm had expired, she went to Paris, to place herself under Manuel Garcia, with whom she studied for several months, and appeared once at the Grand Opéra in 1842, but without success. It is said that this disappointment induced her to make a vow never to sing in Paris again, and this she strictly kept, although tempting offers were not wanting at a later period when her fame had become European. In another sense, however, her stay in Paris was to have important consequences. Meyerbeer heard her, and discovered the rich promise which the Parisian public had failed to see, and it was through his means that she obtained the engagement at the Berlin Opera, from which her international celebrity may be said to date. This was in 1844, when Jenny Lind appeared in Meyerbeer's "The Camp of Silesia," the principal soprano part of which had been specially written for her. Here her success was instantaneous. The public greeted her as the "Swedish Nightingale," and Moscheles, who happened to be in Berlin, and later on in London, became one of her warmest friends.

Jenny Lind's first appearance on the London stage took place at Her Majesty's Theatre on May 4, 1847, and was preluded by every art of *réclame* then in fashion. Two rival managers, Lumley and Bunn, went to law over her, and one of them recovered heavy damages, afterwards reduced, in the

Court of Queen's Bench. The lady's Continental successes and her private virtues, her charity, and her childlike innocence, were daily canvassed by the newspapers. The four operas in which she was positively successful were "Robert il Diavolo" (as Alice), "La Sonnambula," "La Figlia del Regimento," and "Nozze di Figaro," her *Norma* having been a failure. But that her own bias was not really for the stage is sufficiently proved by the fact that she left the opera as early as 1849, her last appearance "on any stage," as Alice in "Robert le Diable," taking place on March 18 of that year. Henceforth she confined herself exclusively to the concert platform, and there she gained laurels even greener and more lucrative than those of the earlier stages of her career. Her singing of Swedish songs was in its way unequalled; these simple ditties became the rage of the town, and Moscheles and other fashionable composers of the day transferred them to the piano. But still greater triumphs were in store for the artist in oratorio. Her singing in Mendelssohn's "Elijah" still lives in the memory of those who heard it. The first performance in England of Schumann's "Paradise and the Peri," with Jenny Lind as the principal soprano, which was given at the Hanover Square Rooms in the presence of the Queen (July 1856), was also a memorable incident in the great artist's career.

In 1850 Jenny Lind went to America under the auspices of Mr. Barnum, and accompanied by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Julius Benedict. Here she remained for two years giving concerts under Mr. Barnum's management, and later on on her own account, and the profits realised by her were fabulous, being variously stated as 20,000*l.* and \$3,000,000. It was at Boston, on Feb. 5, 1852, that she married Mr. Otto Goldschmidt, the well-known composer, whom she had previously known at Hamburg, and who assisted her at her concerts. Returned to Europe, the young couple settled first at Dresden and afterwards at Wiesbaden and Hamburg. In 1856, however, Jenny Lind once more appeared on the English

concert platform, and England she finally made her home. Living in comparative retirement from society, the great artist gathered round her a circle of admiring friends, and never lost her interest in the two chief objects of her life, music and charity. Her last appearance on a public concert platform took place at Dusseldorf in 1870, when she took the soprano part in her husband's oratorio of "Ruth;" and since then she was heard only at charitable concerts and in private.

The whole of her American earnings, it has been said, was devoted to founding and endowing art scholarships and other charities in her native Sweden; while in England, the country of her adoption, among other charities she has given a whole hospital to Liverpool and a wing of another to Norwich. The scholarship founded in memory of her friend Felix Mendelssohn also benefited largely by her help and countenance; and it may be said with truth that her generosity and sympathy were never appealed to in vain by those who had any just claims upon them.

Of late years Madame Lind-Goldschmidt was actively interested in the Bach Choir, as long as it was conducted by her husband, and she was seen at the head of the *sopranos* at each of the concerts given by that institution. She also held a professorship of singing at the Royal College of Music, but this she had resigned a few months before her death, thus severing the last link with her art. Her holidays she loved to spend at a house bought by her on the slope of the Malvern Hills, and it was here that she died, surrounded by her husband and family, on 2nd inst., aged 67 years.

**Lord Wolverton.**—George Grenfell Glyn, Baron Wolverton, of Wolverton, Bucks, who died quite suddenly at Brighton on 6th inst., was the eldest son of George Carr, first baron, by Marianne, daughter of the late Pascoe Grenfell, M.P., of Taplow House, Bucks, and was born in London in the year 1824. He was educated at Rugby School, and on attaining his majority he was admitted to a partnership in the famous banking-house of Glyn, Mills, Currie, and Co. Three years later he married Georgiana Maria, eldest daughter of the Rev. George Tufnell, of Uffington, Berks. Mr. Glyn entered the House of Commons as member for Shaftesbury in 1857, and continued to represent that borough until his accession to the peerage in 1878. The confidence reposed in his tact and business qualities by

the chiefs of his own party was shown by his appointment as Patronage Secretary to the Treasury in December 1868, discharging the onerous and delicate duties of his office to the entire satisfaction of his party for nearly five eventful years. The death of his father, George Carr, first Baron Wolverton, in August 1873, compelled Mr. Glyn to vacate his seat in the Lower House, and to relinquish the important confidential office he had so long held. He was appointed Whip in the early days of the first Gladstone Government, and his resignation preceded Mr. Gladstone's fall and temporary retirement by a few months only. In 1873 Lord Wolverton became a member of the Privy Council. On Mr. Gladstone's return to office in 1880 Lord Wolverton was created Paymaster-General, and he held that office throughout the course of the second Gladstone Ministry. In the brief Administration of 1886 he was Postmaster-General. Lord Wolverton was always a thorough-going party man. His great wealth and position and his skill in organisation enabled him to exercise a very considerable influence over both the leaders and the rank and file of his party, and he was always ready to lavish time and money on the promotion of party ends and the improvement of party discipline. But if Lord Wolverton's expenditure on party objects was of such a kind as sometimes to arouse the murmurs of his opponents and the protests and suspicions of good judges of electoral law, he could spend generously on occasion on objects of real charity and real utility to the public service. For example, on his resignation of the office of Postmaster-General in 1886 he wrote a graceful letter to his successor, devoting the sum of public money he had received as his salary for the use of a charity connected with the department. His long service in the House and as Secretary to the Treasury brought Lord Wolverton into close relations with all sorts and conditions of public men.

**Valentine Baker Pasha.**—Born in 1825, and the son of Mr. Samuel Baker, who was connected in its early planting days with Ceylon, where we believe he passed his youth, Valentine Baker entered the English army in 1848 as a cornet in the 12th Lancers. He had not been long in the army when he was sent on active service to the Cape when the Caffre war broke out in 1852. He distinguished himself in several engagements by his pluck and coolness,

on one occasion killing two Caffre warriors with his own hand. From the Cape his regiment went to India, and then, after a brief stay in that country, it was ordered to the Crimea, whither it proceeded by the short route through the Red Sea and Egypt. He was present at the battle of the Tchernaya, where he received a wound, and is said to have expressed regret that the advantage obtained by the allies in that action was not pressed home to the complete rout of the Russians by a cavalry charge. On the close of the war he returned to England, and on obtaining his majority in 1859 exchanged into the 10th Hussars, with which regiment his name will be permanently associated. In the following year he became colonel commandant of that regiment, which post he held for thirteen years. During those years he gained the name of a strict disciplinarian and an able authority on cavalry tactics, while he unquestionably made the 10th the smartest cavalry regiment in our army. In 1873 he was obliged to resign his command of the regiment by the operation of the rules of seniority. During these years he had several times appeared as a writer on military subjects—as, for instance, in 1858, when he wrote "The British Cavalry, with Remarks on its Practical Organisation;" in 1860, "Our National Defences Practically considered;" and, in 1869, on "Army Reform." He also put in practice several practical improvements in his regiment, and among these a better way of hobbling cavalry horses.

After his retirement from the command, Baker, with true instinct seeing the war-cloud gathering on the Turkish frontiers, and believing that England would be drawn into the struggle, visited the Persian province of Khorasan with his two friends, Captains Clayton and Gill, both officers of exceptional chivalry and merit, and both destined by a strange fatality to meet a violent death, the one from an accident at polo, the other, better known, at the hands of the Arabs. That visit to places now much better known than then resulted in the production of a book of more than average interest, and entitled "Clouds in the East." This work and Colonel Burnaby's "Ride to Khiva" were the first attempts to draw popular attention to the Russian advance in Central Asia, and to the establishment of the Czar's power on the Aral and the Oxus. From this most interesting tour Colonel Baker returned to take up the post of Assistant Quartermaster-

General at Alderabot, which he held at the time of that discreditable incident which gave his name an unenviable notoriety and blighted his whole career. For the offence he committed he received a heavy punishment in imprisonment and in the pecuniary loss of several thousand pounds, and in the professional disgrace resulting from the removal of his name from the Army List. In 1877 he left England to take service with the Sultan, who was embroiled with rebellious vassals, and who was on the point of engaging in a death-struggle with a more formidable foe. In the early part of the Russo-Turkish war he did not take a very prominent part, although he was appointed Staff Military Adviser to the Turkish Commander-in-Chief at the entrenched camp of Shumla. But it was not until after the fall of Plevna, and on the retreat of the Turkish forces to Adrianople and the sea, that Baker's military qualities were made conspicuous. His retreat from Ortukoi, during which he was accompanied by his old friend the late Colonel Burnaby, was executed in a masterly manner, with dispirited troops, closely pursued by a flushed and victorious foe. It was certainly the highest piece of military work he ever accomplished, and had Suleiman Pasha shown the same qualities at Shipka the fall of Plevna might never have been recorded. Colonel Baker subsequently wrote the history of the campaign of which he had seen so much in a two-volume work entitled "The War in Bulgaria."

The third and last phase of his career began with his leaving the service of the Sultan—in which he held the military rank of general or ferik, and the title of Pasha—for that of the Khedive, which offered greater opportunity of useful employment, and in which also he could comfort his injured spirit by the belief that he was indirectly promoting the interests of his country. Tempted by the offer of the command of the new Egyptian army, the hero of the Shipka abandoned a brilliant career in Turkey, and had hardly arrived in Cairo when he was curtly refused the position which had been promised him. He was thus compelled to accept the inferior position of the command of the Egyptian police, in which his great abilities were wasted, and in which a much inferior man might have succeeded better. The blunder of the English Government was partially repaired at the expense of the Egyptian Treasury. The timorous policy

of the English Government again sacrificed him to the interests of that Government in the expedition to relieve Sinkat with a police rabble. Tel-el-Kebir having been won, it seemed as if Egypt would be allowed to resume her normal tranquillity, and that the best way to effect a reduction in the English garrison was to organise an efficient and trustworthy gendarmerie. To this work Baker Pasha was appointed. It was unfortunate that these men and the other Egyptian troops, before they had gained confidence in themselves and in facing the formidable Soudanese, whose reputation was then at its highest, should have been sent on a regular military expedition for the relief of Tokar. That attempt resulted in a defeat, and in the despatch of an English expedition to Suakin. It had indirectly another result—the bringing together of the ex-colonel and his old regiment, then on its return from the usual period of service in India, after a separation of ten years. The scene was one of unexpected enthusiasm, and the fact that the regiment was going into action a very few days later lent additional pathos to the scene on board the "Jumna." In that action Baker Pasha led the 10th to the charge, receiving a severe wound on his cheek which endangered his eyesight. In consequence of these meritorious services in the field, as well as in his office at Cairo, many thought that Baker Pasha had fairly gained his claim to the satisfaction of seeing his name once more figure on the list of the English army, especially as he asked neither for pay nor for seniority, and great efforts were made to procure his reinstatement. The efforts were, however, unavailing; and the death of his wife and daughter following at short intervals seemed to have crushed his spirit. He nevertheless pursued his work in Egypt, and it was whilst inspecting the police at Suez that he was struck down by fever. The attack was considered a slight one, and he was well enough to start by a launch to meet his nieces, the daughters of Sir Samuel Baker. He did not, however, get further than Tel-el-Kebir, when he suddenly succumbed on the 17th inst.

**The Earl of Dalhousie, K.T.**—Lord Dalhousie was the eldest son of George Maule Ramsay, twelfth earl, and was born in 1847, and commenced life as a midshipman in 1861 in the Royal Navy, from which he retired in 1879, with the rank of commander, after eighteen

years' service, the last two of which were passed in command of the "Britannia," and at once entered himself as an undergraduate at Balliol College, Oxford. The life of Lord Ramsay up till this time had not been before the public more than that of any other naval officer in active service, when suddenly he embarked on a political career. Mr. Torr, one of the members for Liverpool, at that time a three-cornered constituency, had died, and the vacancy thus occasioned was contested in February 1880 by Lord Ramsay and Mr. Edward Whitley, the present member for the Everton Division of Liverpool. The contest excited an unusual amount of interest, not only in Liverpool, but throughout the country. With much ability and untiring energy Lord Ramsay fought for the Liberal cause, and the interest excited by the circumstances of the contest was much enhanced by the fact that Lord Ramsay's father, the then Earl of Dalhousie, was not only passively but actively opposed to his son's candidature. Lord Ramsay was unsuccessful, only polling 23,885 votes to Mr. Whitley's 26,106—a minority of 2,221. Within a few weeks of this by-election a general election was entered upon, and Lord Ramsay had by his uphill fight for the vacant seat gained for himself such a conspicuous position in the Liberal party, and such a firm hold upon the constituency, that he was selected as the Liberal minority member for Liverpool with Lord Sandon, afterwards Earl of Harrowby, and Mr. E. Whitley as his Conservative colleagues in the representation. There being no contest upon the occasion, Lord Ramsay enjoyed the distinction of being the very first new member returned to the Parliament of 1880-5. His possession of a seat in the Lower House, however, proved but of very brief duration, for on July 20 his father died, and he was transferred to the House of Lords in succession to the peerage. In the following September he accepted office as a lord in waiting to the Queen in Mr. Gladstone's Administration. This post he held throughout that Administration, and though not having an opportunity to fill a more arduous one, was rewarded for his services by being created a Knight of the Thistle in November 1881, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the Earl of Airlie. Upon the introduction of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill, and the consequent retirement of Sir George Trevelyan from the then recently created Secretaryship of State for Scotland, Lord Dalhousie

accepted the office, and filled it till the resignation of Mr. Gladstone's Government. He had been placed on the retired list of the Royal Navy in 1884, his health, which was never very robust, preventing him from taking any prominent part in public affairs. The trip which he and the countess had taken to the United States was entered upon as much in the interest of health as in that of amusement and instruction. His relations with his tenants on his extensive estates in Scotland were of the most satisfactory and friendly character, and he proved himself, during his

short tenure of the estates, a model landlord. Lord Dalhousie married, in December 1877, Lady Ida Louise Bennet, youngest daughter of Charles, sixth Earl of Tankerville, whose death preceded that of her husband by only a few hours. They had reached le Havre in safety, but Lady Dalhousie's health had suffered on the voyage, and on the 24th inst. she died from blood-poisoning and exhaustion. Lord Dalhousie retired to rest in apparent health, but a few hours later was seized by apoplexy, from which he never rallied, dying early on the morning of the 25th inst.

The following deaths also occurred during the month :—On the 1st, in Eaton Place, aged 82, **Harry Burrard Dalsell**, eleventh Earl of Carnwath. Formerly in the Bengal Artillery, he succeeded his brother in 1875. They were the sons of the seventh earl, to whom the family honours had been restored by an Act of Parliament in 1826, after their attainder as a punishment to the sixth earl for his share in the rebellion of 1715. On the 2nd, at Melchbourne Park, Bedford, aged 47, **St. Andrew St. John**, fifteenth Baron St. John of Bletsoe. On the same date, in Chesterfield Street, Mayfair, aged 83, **Sir Richard Duckworth King**, who succeeded his father, the late Admiral Sir Richard King, G.C.B., as third baronet. Also on the same date, in London, aged 76, **Alfred Domett, C.M.G.**, formerly minister for Crown lands and premier of New Zealand. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and was known as the author of some poems and other works. Also on the same date, at Siddington Rectory, Cirencester, aged 65, the **Hon. and Rev. John Gifford**, the son of the first Baron Gifford. On the 3rd, aged 78, **John Hosack**, a metropolitan police magistrate, a bencher of the Middle Temple, and the author of various papers on Mary Queen of Scots. On the 7th, in Paris, aged 77, **Alexandre Quentin Bauchart**, a politician of some eminence under the Empire, retiring into private life upon its fall. During the revolution of 1848 he had been distinguished in the Constitutional and Legislative Assemblies as a staunch supporter of Prince Napoleon, afterwards Emperor. On the 8th, at Bretby Hall, aged 86, the **Hon. Alfred John George Byng**, late of 7th Hussars. He was the son of the first Earl of Strathford by his second marriage, and had served in the two South African campaigns. On the 9th, in Paris, aged 60, **General Roussel de Courcy**, a distinguished French general, who served in the Crimea, Mexico, and Italy, and lately commanded the French forces in Tonquin. On the 10th, at Panshanger, aged 51, the **Hon. Henry Frederick Cowper, M.P.** for Hertfordshire 1865–85. Second son of the sixth Earl Cowper. On the 11th, at Cullies, co. Cavan, the **Most Rev. Bernard Finegan**, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kilmore. On the same date, at Belsfield, Windermere, aged 70, **H. W. Schneider**, the founder of the Barrow Steel Works, and for many years their director, and of the Barrow Shipbuilding Works. He represented Norwich for a short time. Also on the same date, at Dunbar House, Esher, aged 75, **Colonel the Hon. Richard Thomas Rowley, M.P.** for Harwich 1860–5, third son of first Baron Langford, and formerly in the Scots Fusilier Guards. On the 14th, at Melbourne, aged 78, **David Charteris M'Arthur**, one of the oldest of Australian colonists. After a service dating from 1835 in the Bank of Australasia he eventually became general superintendent of its colonial banking establishments. On the 15th, at Nechoat, near Morlaix, aged 83, **General Le Flô**, Minister of War during the siege of Paris. On the suppression of the Commune he was appointed to the Embassy at St. Petersburg, which post he resigned in 1879. He had been amongst the number of the deputies who were expelled from France at the time of the *coup d'état*. On the 16th, suddenly, aged 78, **Alderman Sir William M'Arthur, K.C.M.G.**, many years M.P. for Lambeth. On the 17th, at Aumont, Senlis, France, aged 49, **John Chaworth Masters**, of Annesley Hall, Wiverton Hall, and Colwick Hall, Notts, where he was formerly a well-known master of foxhounds. On the same date, aged 59, **John Algernon Clarke**, a well-known writer upon agricultural subjects, successively the editor of the *Chambers of Agriculture Journal* and *Bell's Weekly Messenger*. Also on the same date, at Bushy Ruff House, near Dover, aged 78, **General Henry Darby-Griffith, C.B.**, colonel of 5th Lancers, and late of the Scots

Greys, which regiment he commanded throughout the Eastern campaign of 1854-5. He was the son of the late Major-General Darby-Griffith, of Padworth House, Bucks. Also on the same date, aged 98, **Monsignor Andreas Reess**, Bishop of Strasburg, who, as a member of the German Reichstag, after a time of protest, acknowledged the finality of the peace of Frankfort, and cultivated friendly relations with the German Government. He founded the periodical *Der Katholik*. On the 18th, at Upper Norwood, aged 76, **George Rushout**, Baron Northwick, formerly M.P. for Evesham and for East Worcestershire. The son of the late Hon. and Rev. George Rushout-Bowles, he succeeded his uncle as third baron in 1859. On the 19th, at St. Leonard's-on-Sea, aged 76, **Colonel Edward Akroyd**, late of Bankfield, Halifax, successively M.P. for Huddersfield and Halifax. On the same date, at the Palace Hotel, Edinburgh, aged 76, **David Balfour**, of Balfour Castle and Trenable, Kirkwall, the largest proprietor in the Orkney Islands. Also on the same date, at Milner Field, Saltaire, aged 45, **Titus Salt**, second son of the late Sir Titus Salt, Bart. On the 20th, at Meen Glas, co. Donegal, aged 76, **James Hewitt**, fourth Viscount Lifford, a representative peer for Ireland. On the same date, aged 77, **Louis Gallait, H.R.A., &c.**, one of the most distinguished of contemporary Belgian painters, and director of the Brussels Museum of Painting. On the 21st, in South Kensington, aged 64, **Lieutenant-General Dominic Jacotin Gamble, C.B.** He served with distinction in Turkey, the Crimea, and New Zealand, and was named Governor to Prince Hassan, the son of the Khedive, during his stay in England. On the same date, at Brighton, aged 65, **Prince John of Bourbon**, the father of Don Carlos, in whose favour, in 1868, he resigned his pretensions to the Spanish throne. On the 23rd, at Richmond, aged 97, **General Henry Lawrence**, formerly of the Bengal Native Infantry, having, however, commenced his career in the East India Company's service on board an Indiaman as a naval cadet. On the 25th, in Bayswater, aged 64, **Lieutenant-General Frederic Alexander**, late of the Bengal Staff Corps. He served with Sir C. Napier's expeditionary force in Scinde and throughout the Punjab campaign. On the same date, aged 81, **John Ridley**, of Belsize Park, the inventor of the reaping machine which bears his name. He gave his invention as a free gift to the colony of South Australia, where he had been an early settler. On the 28th, at Endsleigh Gardens, aged 56, **Charles London Bloxam**, Professor of Chemistry at King's College, London, the author of a well-known manual of chemistry and other works. On the 29th, at Wear House, Exeter, aged 78, **Sir John Thomas Buller Duckworth**, formerly M.P. for Exeter. He succeeded his father, the late Admiral Sir John T. Duckworth, as second baronet in 1817, and was for forty-five years Chairman of Quarter Sessions. On the same date, at Framingham, Norfolk, aged 76, **George Henry Christie**, formerly the head of the eminent firm of art auctioneers, which had been established in Old Pall Mall by his grandfather about the year 1762. On the 30th, at Banwell, Somerset, aged 84, **Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Eaton Cotgrave**, late of the Bombay Horse Artillery. Educated for the army at Addiscombe, before entering it in 1820 he had been in the Royal Navy, and served as a midshipman at the battle of Algiers in 1816.

## DECEMBER.

**Lord Lyons.** — Richard Bickerton Pemell, second Baron and first Viscount and Earl Lyons, came of an old family originally settled in Antigua, and united by marriage with one of the best families in the United States. Henry Lyons of Antigua, and sometime of Philadelphia, married a daughter of Samuel Winthrop, grandson of John Winthrop, first Governor of Massachusetts. His descendant Edmund, the first Baron Lyons, was born at Burton, in Hampshire (England), Nov. 21, 1790. He early entered upon a naval career, and after seeing a century of active service, in 1827 he was appointed to the "Blonde," with which he took part in blockading

Navarino. The "Blonde" was the first English man-of-war that ever entered the Black Sea. On the formation of the independent kingdom of Greece Admiral Lyons was commissioned to convey King Otho and his suite to Athens. He was knighted and appointed British Minister to the new Court, where he resided for fourteen years. In February 1849 he became British Minister at Berne, and in 1851 was transferred to Stockholm. When the Crimean war broke out Admiral Lyons was appointed second in command of the Black Sea fleet, and on the retirement of Admiral Dundas, in December 1854, he succeeded to the chief command. He performed many



brilliant naval services, and during the siege of Sebastopol, whenever opportunity was afforded, he constantly traversed the lines in front of the fort, participating also in the military operations. When he returned to England he was the recipient of numerous honours and ovations, and on June 23, 1856, he was called to the House of Lords as Baron Lyons of Christchurch.

Admiral Lord Lyons married Augusta Louisa, daughter of Captain Josias Rogers, R.N., and by her he had issue two sons and two daughters. The elder son was the peer now deceased. The second son, Captain Edmund Mowbray Lyons, R.N., who was unmarried, highly distinguished himself in the Crimea, and was killed in action in 1855. The admiral's elder daughter, Anne Theresa Bickerton Lyons, married the Baron von Würtzburg, of Bavaria, and the younger married the fourteenth Duke of Norfolk.

Richard Lyons, whose death we now record, was born at Lynton on April 26, 1817. He was educated at Winchester and at Christ Church, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. in 1838 and M.A. in 1843. At 22 years of age he entered the diplomatic service, being appointed unpaid attaché at Athens; in October 1844 he became paid attaché at that place, where he remained until 1852. He was then transferred to Dresden, and in 1853 went thence to Florence. In 1856 he was appointed Secretary of Legation at Florence, and advanced to the rank of Envoy in 1858. In the latter year he succeeded his father in the barony and the baronetcy. Lord Lyons was soon to find his skill as a diplomatist put to a severe test, for in December 1858 he was sent out to Washington as British representative to the United States. In little more than two years after his arrival there the great American civil war broke out. Lord Lyons had a very difficult part to play. He was instructed in the outset to give no advice unless requested to do so by the contending parties, but at the same time he was to express on every fitting occasion the earnest desire entertained by her Majesty's Government that the differences between the North and South might be peacefully adjusted. The affair of the British mail steamer "Trent," with the seizure of the Confederate Commissioners, Messrs. Slidell and Mason, in November 1861, nearly led to a rupture between England and the United States. It became Lord Lyons' duty to consider whether he should at once demand the release of the prisoners, or

await instructions from his chief. He chose the latter course, not one word on the subject passing between him and Mr. Seward till the arrival of despatches from Lord Russell. Lord Russell instructed Lord Lyons to demand the release of the Commissioners with a suitable apology. Mr. Seward, on behalf of the American Government, claimed that Messrs. Slidell and Mason were contraband of war, but this was strenuously denied by Lords Russell and Lyons, and the note of the British Government was supported by communications from France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Italy. Lord Lyons waited upon Mr. Seward, and informed him that he had received instructions to leave Washington in seven days unless the British demands were complied with. Eventually, and after a lengthy diplomatic correspondence, the basis of a settlement was arrived at, and the American Government stated that the friendly spirit and the discretion which Lord Lyons had manifested in the whole matter, from the day on which the intelligence of the seizure reached Washington, had more than anything else contributed to the satisfactory settlement of the question.

Lord Lyons, moreover, conducted an intricate correspondence with the American Minister and with Earl Russell on the subject of the Declaration of Paris, and on the question of the blockade of the southern ports. Also, on April 7, 1862, he concluded at Washington, on behalf of her Majesty, a treaty with the United States for the suppression of the slave trade. The treaty, which gave extensive rights of search to the cruisers of both nations, was hailed with satisfaction in this country. During the progress of the war Lord Lyons was further engaged in important correspondence with the home Government upon such questions as the proposed recognition of the Southern Confederacy, President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, the case of the "Alabama" and other matters. The anxieties of the period during which his lordship represented Great Britain at Washington told severely upon his health. On personal grounds he would have desired an earlier relief from the excessive strain, but he could not be spared. However, in February 1865 Lord Lyons resigned his position as Envoy Extraordinary to the United States, and was succeeded by Sir F. A. Bruce. Taking only a few months' rest from the public service, in the following August he was appointed Ambassador at Constantinople. He re-

mained in the Turkish capital for barely two years, and was then transferred to Paris, taking up his abode as British Minister at the French Court in July 1867.

Lord Lyons succeeded a very capable diplomatist, Earl Cowley, but he was not long before he justified his appointment to this onerous post. His tact and urbanity made him a successful Minister, and one whose advice was frequently solicited and acted upon by the Emperor Napoleon. He was unable, however, to stem the tide of martial aggressiveness which burst all bounds in 1870, and plunged France into her most disastrous conflict with Germany. Lord Lyons had repeated interviews with the Duc de Grammont on the candidature of the Prince of Hohenzollern for the Spanish throne, the immediate and ostensible cause of the war. He declined, however, to pledge the good offices of England to bring pressure to bear upon the King of Prussia on the question of expressly forbidding the Hohenzollern candidature, though he stated that her Majesty's Government were most anxious to effect a reconciliation between France and Prussia. A final effort was made by England to avert war, but in vain. France was humbled at the feet of Prussia, and after a series of overwhelming disasters the Emperor Napoleon surrendered at Sedan. The French Republic was proclaimed, and the war still proceeded. The Germans marched upon Paris, but before the investment of the city began Lord Lyons sent a letter by Mr. (now Sir Edward) Malet, Secretary to the British Embassy in Paris, asking whether Count Bismarck would confer with M. Jules Favre on the conditions of an armistice. Count Bismarck consented to an interview; but in the end M. Favre returned to Paris dispirited, and the German conditions were rejected by the Government of National Defence.

Paris was soon surrounded by German soldiers, and the siege began. All the foreign Ambassadors left the capital, with the exception of Mr. Washburne, Minister of the United States. In the English Parliament certain animadversions were made upon Lord Lyons regarding the manner of his withdrawal from Paris. The British Ambassador departed for Tours with a section of the Provisional Government, which England, together with several other Powers, had already recognised as the *de facto* Government of France. Subsequently defending himself for this step in a letter to Lord Granville, Lord Lyons

said he conceived it to be his duty at the time neither to reject the advice of the French Minister for Foreign Affairs nor to separate himself from his principal colleagues. He considered that it would be on all accounts inexpedient to allow himself to be shut up in Paris and to be deprived of all speedy and satisfactory means of communicating with the English Foreign Office. Lord Lyons had no sooner left Paris than all communication by road with the city was intercepted, and the last telegraphic wire was cut. The minor diplomatists who were left with Mr. Washburne in the besieged city were refused by the German authorities all facilities for corresponding with their Governments otherwise than by open letters. Lord Lyons accompanied the delegation of the Government first to Tours and subsequently to Bordeaux, and his action was accepted by the French as conclusive proof of the desire of her Majesty's Government to maintain intimate and friendly relations with them; while his doing so ensured the most effectual means of maintaining communications with London. It will readily be admitted that all through the critical period of the Franco-German war he acted with great discretion and resolution.

In 1873 Lord Lyons concluded negotiations with the French Government for the renewal of the Commercial Treaty which the Emperor Napoleon had made with England in 1860, but which M. Thiers had superseded by a Convention more in conformity with his own Protectionist predilections. It was agreed to maintain the system in force before the fall of the Empire until the end of the year 1876. When Queen Victoria visited the Continent in 1876 Lord Lyons had the honour of receiving her Majesty at La Villette, and introduced to her the French President, Marshal MacMahon. He continued to hold the appointment of Ambassador at Paris until November of the present year, when he resigned and was succeeded by the Earl of Lytton. It is understood that Lord Lyons was offered the Secretaryship of Foreign Affairs by Lord Salisbury in 1886.

Lord Lyons was made a K.C.B. in 1860, was advanced to the rank of G.C.B. in 1862, and was sworn a member of the Privy Council on March 9, 1865. At the Oxford Commemoration in June 1865 he received the honorary degree of D.C.L. In November 1881 he was created Viscount Lyons of Christchurch, in the county of Southampton

and on his resignation this autumn he was advanced to an earldom. He was never married, and with him his titles became extinct. The circumstances of his conversion to the Romish faith were thus given after his death :—" He spoke about the change of his religion six weeks ago. Since then, and even before he went regularly to attend daily Mass, he was engaged in serious religious studies. He intended, as soon as he felt he was prepared, to be received into the Church of Rome, but up to the time of his illness, which occurred on Monday, Nov. 28, he had not taken the final step. After his seizure it is extremely doubtful to what extent he retained consciousness; but the Bishop of Southwark (Dr. Butt), with whom for some time he had had consultations, felt so convinced of his disposition and intention that he received him into the Church and administered to him extreme unction." He died from the effects of a paralytic seizure, after a week's lingering, at Norfolk House, St. James's Square, on 5th inst., and was buried with the full rites of the Church of Rome in the Fitzalan Chapel at Arundel.

**Sir George Burrows, Bart.** — Sir George Burrows, M.D. and Hon. LL.D. Cantab., D.C.L. Oxon., F.R.S., F.R.C.P., Hon. Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, Physician in Ordinary to her Majesty the Queen, and consulting physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, died on 12th inst. in his 87th year, exhausted by repeated attacks of bronchitis and asthma, but in full possession of his faculties. He came of an old Kentish family, established certainly as long back as the Commonwealth, at Chalk, in the neighbourhood of Gravesend, where his father, Dr. George Mann Burrows, himself an eminent member of the medical profession, was born in 1771. Sir George Burrows was born on Nov. 28, 1801, in Bloomsbury Square, his father then residing there, and received the earlier part of his education at a school then in high repute at Ealing, where he had for school-fellows Cardinal Newman, Mr. F. W. Newman, and other distinguished men. On leaving school, and with a view of gaining some preliminary insight into medicine and its handmaid sciences, he attended the lectures of the famous anatomist and surgeon, John Abernethy, at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, of Professor Brande, on chemistry, and of Professor Faraday, on electricity and other subjects. At the end of the two years he proceeded to Caius College,

Cambridge, where, although he had obtained a Tancred Medical Studentship, he gave himself up entirely (finding time by the way to organise and pull stroke in the first racing six-oar on the Cam) to the special study of the place, and graduated as Tenth Wrangler in the Mathematical Tripos of 1825. He was immediately elected a Fellow of his college and Junior Mathematical Lecturer. Returning presently to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, he became a pupil of Sir W. Lawrence and of Dr. Peter Mere Latham, who, together with Sir Thomas Watson, were then among the leading lights of that famous medical school. After having taken his medical degree at Cambridge and his diploma at the Royal College of Physicians, he availed himself of a favourable opportunity for foreign travel, and for some time was engaged in study at the University of Pavia, in Paris, and in Germany. During his stay in Italy he had abundant opportunities for watching the epidemic of Asiatic cholera, then just freshly imported into Europe; and upon its making its appearance in London, in the year 1832, he was placed in charge of the auxiliary hospital established by the governors of St. Bartholomew's to meet the exigencies of the outbreak. This was his first official connection with the institution. A little later, in 1834, he was appointed the first assistant physician to take charge of out-patients, and was associated with Dr. P. M. Latham as joint lecturer on the Science and Practice of Medicine. In 1841, upon Dr. Latham's enforced withdrawal from ill-health, he became sole lecturer, and was promoted to the full physiciancy, an office which he held with great distinction, as a successful teacher of medicine at the bedside, till 1863, when he retired from the acting staff and was elected the first honorary consulting physician. Always an eager advocate of the cause of education, he attached himself to the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge shortly after its foundation by Lord Brougham, and worked zealously with him as one of the members of his committee. At the Royal College of Physicians, where he early distinguished himself as a leader of liberal reforms, he was nominated for all the principal lectureships, and filled in turn the offices of Member of Council, Censor, College Representative on the General Medical Council, and finally, with the unanimous voice of the Fellows, President of the College. It was during his tenure of office as President

—namely, in 1874—that he was made a baronet. Having been appointed Physician Extraordinary to her Majesty the Queen in 1870, he became Physician in Ordinary in 1873, on the death of Sir H. Holland. He was a member of the Senate of the University of London, President of the General Medical Council of Education, of the Royal Medico-Chirurgical Society, and of the British Medical Association. One of his latest honours, and one which he very highly valued, was his election as the first Honorary Medical Fellow of his old college—Caius. In 1834 he married Elinor, the youngest daughter of his old master (John Abernethy), by whom (she predeceased him) he had several children.

**Sir Robert Montgomery, K.C.B., G.C.S.I.**—Sir Robert Montgomery, whose death occurred on 28th inst. at the advanced age of 78, was the son of the Rev. Samuel Law Montgomery, rector of Lower Moville, co. Donegal. He entered the Bengal Civil Service in 1828, and after filling with credit subordinate offices in the North-West Provinces was transferred to the Punjab by the Marquess of Dalhousie, and took an important part in the organisation of that newly subjected province as, successively, Commissioner of the Lahore Division, member of the Board of Administration in association with Henry and John Lawrence, and Judicial Commissioner. It was in the latter capacity, and as representing in the absence of his chief, Sir John Lawrence, the civil power at Lahore, that he shared with the military authorities the grave responsibility of the momentous decision under which, immediately the seizure of Delhi by the mutineers was known, the large force of native troops in the neighbouring cantonments of Mian Mir was summarily disarmed. This hazardous operation was successfully performed by a single weak European battalion, and was the earliest masterstroke of that resolute policy which carried the British Empire safely through the crucial trial resulting from the sudden

defection of nearly the whole of the overgrown native army. It was speedily repeated at Peshawar and wherever a sufficient force of European troops was available, and not only assured the peace of the Punjab, but rendered possible the subsequent conversion of that country into the base of operations for the crowning mercy of the recovery of Delhi. Sir Robert Montgomery's services on this critical occasion were ungrudgingly acknowledged by Sir John Lawrence; he was selected by Lord Canning to succeed Sir James Outram as Chief Commissioner of Oude; and was principally instrumental in enforcing the revised policy of the Governor-General in effecting the pacification of that disordered province. The rapid and complete success of his administration led to his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in succession to Sir John Lawrence, and he continued to hold that important office until his return to England in 1865. Although the times in which he acted called not seldom for the exercise in an eminent degree of stern masculine qualities, there was probably never an Englishman in India who was so generally beloved by the native communities with which he was brought in contact. One of the districts of the Punjab is named after him, and a memorial hall at Lahore erected by the voluntary contributions of all classes attests his widespread popularity. He had gained in an equal degree the confidence of the Government under which he served, and of its subjects whose interests his life was passed in promoting. Within a few years of his return to his native land Sir Robert became a member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, to the assistance of which he brought an experience exceptionally valuable from its having been acquired in the discharge of the highest political functions during a crisis which exacted all the powers and resources of the national character for the maintenance of the Queen's Empire in India. Sir Robert was created K.C.B. 1859, and G.C.S.I. 1866.

The following deaths also occurred during the month:—On the 1st, *Miss Jane Gibson*, aged 102 and six months, the daughter of the late John Gibson of Oakbank and Johnstone. She was the founder of the "John Gibson Bursaries" in Glasgow University. On the 2nd, at the Deanery, Rochester, aged 76, the **Very Rev. Dr. Scott**, Dean of Rochester, and formerly Master of Balliol College, Oxford. He was one of the first Greek scholars of the day, and in conjunction with Dr. Liddell was the author of the well-known Greek-English Lexicon; he was also one of the revisers of the New Testament. On the same date, at Harlesden, aged 70, **Sir William Edwin Smart, K.C.B., M.D.**, Inspector-General of Hospitals and Fleets (retired). During the Crimean war he was in charge of the Naval Brigade Hos-

pital, and he was one of the naval honorary physicians to the Queen. On the 3rd, the Most Rev. Daniel M'Gettigan, D.D., Archbishop of Armagh, and Roman Catholic Primate of All Ireland. On the same date, at Roydon Hall, Diss, Norfolk, aged 80, George Edward Frere, F.R.S., son of the late Edward Frere, of Glydach, Llanelly, and the elder brother of the late Sir Bartle Frere. On the 4th, at Trinity College, Cambridge, aged 50, the Rev. Coutts Trotter, M.A., Vice-Master and Fellow of the college, son of Alexander Trotter, of Devonshire Place House. On the 5th, at the Midland Hotel, St. Pancras, aged 72, the Rev. Edward Henry Julius, 6th Baron Hawke, of Wighill Park, Tadcaster. The son of the late Hon. Martin Bladen Edward Hawke, he succeeded his cousin in 1870, and was rector of Willingham, Lincolnshire, for twenty-one years. On the same date, at New York, aged 49, A. L. Tottenham, M.P. for Winchester, the son of the late N. L. Tottenham, and was formerly in the Rifle Brigade. On the 6th, Dr. Power, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Waterford. On the same date, aged 79, Philippe Rousseau, a well-known French painter, son of a celebrated actor. Also on the same date, at Ealing, aged 79, Sir Bryan Robinson, late Judge of the Supreme Court of Newfoundland, whence he had twice been a delegate to England on important colonial affairs. The son of the late Rev. Christopher Robinson, rector of Granard, Ireland, he was educated in Dublin, and called to the colonial Bar of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. On the 7th, at West Kensington, aged 44, Miss Margaret Veley, a novelist and a writer of poems. She first attracted notice by her novel "For Percival." On the 10th, at Herbert Crescent, Hans Place, aged 50, Lieutenant-Colonel John Hobart Culme-Seymour, late of 68th Regiment, Clerk of the Cheque, and Adjutant of the Honourable Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms, son of the late Rev. Sir John Hobart Culme-Seymour, Bart., and had served in the Crimean and New Zealand wars. On the 13th, at Monymuck, Aberdeenshire, aged 59, Sir Francis William Grant, son of the late Robert Grant, of Tillyfour, Aberdeenshire, Convener of the County, and succeeded his brother as eighth baronet in 1884; at one time in the 17th Lancers. On the 16th, near Fort William, N.B., aged 62, the Rev. Alexander Heriot Mackenzie, who had long held a prominent place amongst the advanced Ritualist clergy, firstly as curate to the Rev. Bryan King, at St. George's-in-the-East, and afterwards as incumbent of St. Alban's, Holborn, and of St. Peter's, London Docks. On the same date, at the Lodge, Weston-super-Mare, aged 72, Frederick John William Lambart, eighth Earl of Cavan, to which title he succeeded on his grandfather's death in 1837. On the 17th, at Albert Mansions, aged 76, Dr. Arthur Farre, M.D., F.R.S., Physician Extraordinary to the Queen. He was recognised as being at the head of his profession in obstetrical science and surgery. He was the son of the late John Richard Farre, M.D. On the 19th, at Ballymagarvey, co. Meath, aged 59, Professor Balfour Stewart, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., Professor of Natural Philosophy in Owens College, Manchester, who was the author of numerous treatises, especially on meteorology and magnetism. On the 28th, aged 81, Jules van Praet, Minister of the King's Household, the highest court official in Belgium. He was a distinguished historian, and had been secretary of the deputation which went to London to offer the crown to Leopold I. On the 29th, at Kilkee, co. Clare, aged 95, Captain Charles Fitzgerald, R.N., C.B., who was formerly Governor of the Gambia and of Western Australia, son of the late Robert Fitzgerald, of Kilkee. On the 30th, at Hartree, Peeblesshire, aged 51, Alexander Dickson, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.Ed., Professor of Botany at the University of Edinburgh. On the same date, at Rome, aged 69, Cardinal Lorenzo Brandi, who was formerly Minister of Police to Pope Pius IX. In his later years he was Prefect of the Congregation of the Propaganda.

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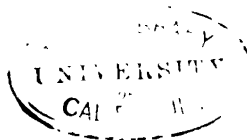
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